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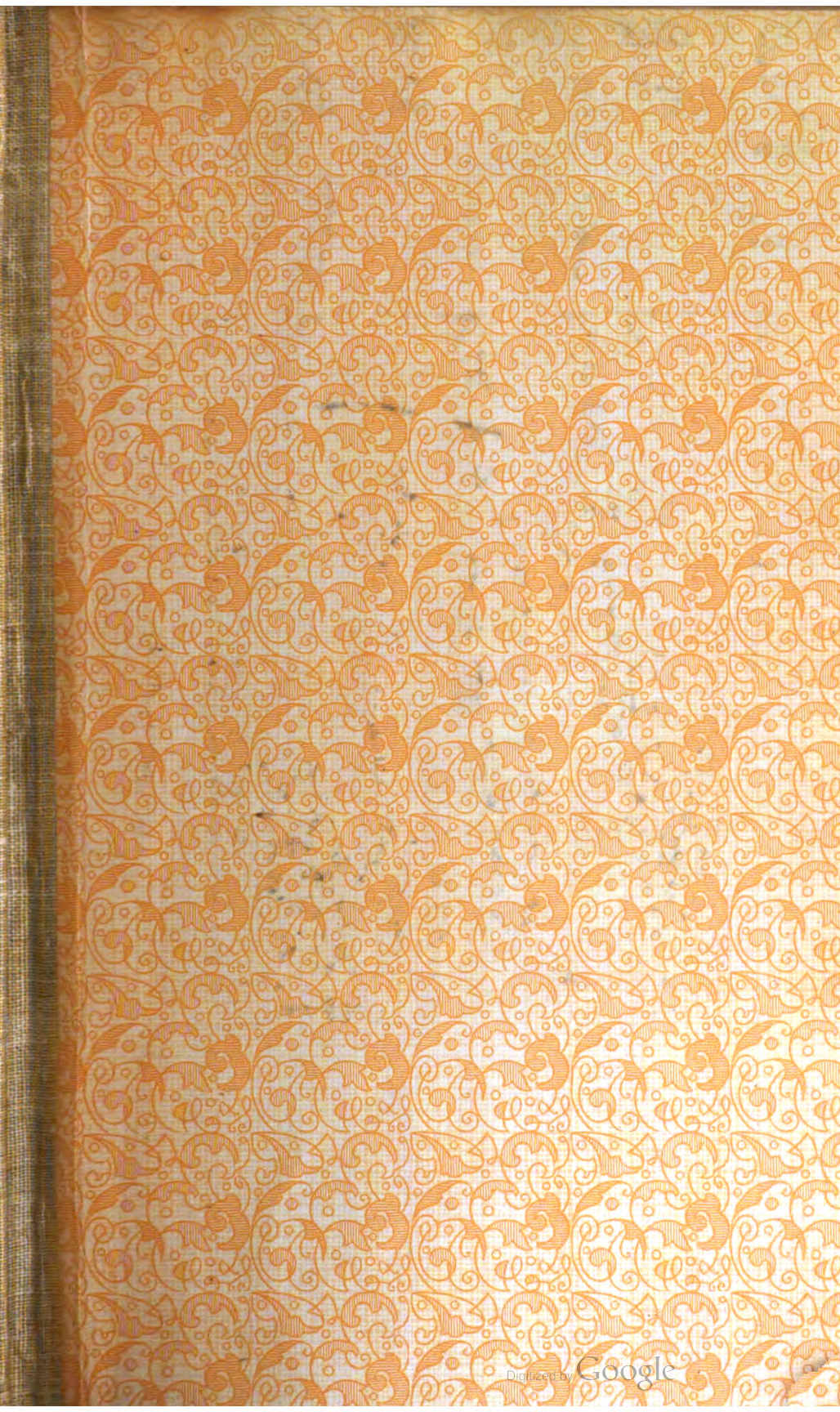
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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXXVI, 1.

WHOLE NO. 141.

I.—WORDS OF SPEAKING AND SAYING IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

FIRST PAPER.

In our study of semantic development no group of words can be of more pertinent interest to the philologist than those denoting articulate speech, as 'speak', 'say', 'word', 'language', and the like. If we compare the usual expressions for 'speak' and 'say' in the various Indo-European languages,¹ we find the greatest diversity; and this in spite of an extensive series of root connections among words which apply in some fashion to articulate speech. Thus the root *ueq̥* (no. 18), though occurring in nearly all the main branches of the Indo-European family, has furnished the common verb for 'speak, say' in only two, Indo-Iranian and Greek, and here not exclusively or in the full tense system. There are several other roots, notably *seq̥* (no. 27), *uer-* (no. 37), *bhā-* (no. 25), the application of which to articulate speech is sufficiently wide spread to make it probable that they had already developed this meaning in the parent speech, though not necessarily to the exclusion of other more original uses. In addition to this inherited variety, where the semantic development is ob-

¹ Bréal "Les verbes signifiant 'parler'", *Revue des études grecques* XIV (1901), 113 ff., has already told the story of a number of these. But, apart from differing with him on some points touching the history of the words he has chosen for discussion, the following aims at a more comprehensive and systematic study of the group, covering the usual words for 'speak' and 'say' in all the Indo-European languages.

secured by its antiquity, a very large number of words has developed the meaning 'speak, say' independently, some in prehistoric times, others displacing older expressions before our eyes in the historical period. There is, of course, nothing unusual in such a change of vocabulary, but it furnishes an opportunity to observe the various sources from which the notion of 'speaking' or 'saying' may arise.

The difference between English *speak* and *say* is so clearly felt that the two words are only rarely interchangeable. In *speak* (and *talk*) the emphasis is on the action, in *say* (and *tell*) on the content or result of the action. One "speaks slowly", "speaks a language", the child learns "to speak", or, more commonly "to talk". But one "says" something definite.¹ *Speak* is normally intransitive though it may take an object of the inner content as *word*, *language*, etc. "Say is regularly transitive, requiring an object to complete the sense, though in a few phrases such as "he says so" this may be reflected by an adverb. Indirect quotations are introduced by *say*, not by *speak*, and direct quotations also much more commonly by *say* than by *speak*.

Similar pairs of words, with substantially the same distinction as Eng. *speak* and *say*, are characteristic of most of the Indo-European languages, e. g. Lat. *loquor* and *dīco*, Fr. *parler* and *dire*, Ger. *sprechen* (*reden*) and *sagen*, etc.² Yet

¹ In terms of "aspect", *speak* is "durative" or "imperfective", while *say* is "terminative" or "perfective". In Slavic, where aspect is not a mere logical distinction, but a highly developed feature of the verbal mechanism, our *speak* and *say* are reflected by imperfectives and perfectives respectively, except where the correspondence is complicated by the peculiar Slavic adjustment of aspect to tense. Thus OBulg. *glagolati*, an imperfective, regularly translates Grk. λαλῶ 'speak' in all tenses; while *rešti*, *rekq*, a perfective, regularly translates the forms of λέγω 'say', except those of the present system, which are rendered by the present of *glagolati*, since the present of the perfective has future force and is used for ἐρῶ and the non-indicative forms of εἶπον. While, then, the imperfectives like OBulg. *glagolati*, Russ. *govorit'*, Boh. *mluviti*, etc., are essentially verbs of 'speaking' and will be so classed below, it is to be understood that in their present system they may answer to our *say* as well as to *speak*.

² See the tabular lists given at the end. The juxtaposition of the two words in Luke V. 4: ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν, εἶπε πρὸς τὸν Σίμωνα. "When he had left speaking, he said unto Simon", furnishes in the transla-



this situation is not universal. Thus Sanskrit forms from *vac-* and *brū-* with the corresponding Avestan forms (nos. 2, 18), and similarly λέγω and εἶπον in classical Greek, answer in use to both *speak* and *say*. And even for the majority of languages, where 'speak' and 'say' are distinguished, the idiomatic differentiation is never precisely identical, and may vary in different periods of the same language. Thus in the German of Luther's time *sprechen* might introduce an indirect quotation, which is still possible in some dialects, but no longer admissible in the literary language; and Luther's bible translation has it regularly with direct quotations (cf. no. 67, footnote), where it is still optional in the written language, but wholly displaced by *sagen* in ordinary speech. On the other hand Eng. *speak* has always been infrequent in such use (NED. IX, p. 333, 2. a), and normally requires a complement, as *thus, as follows, saying*, or the like (Eng. *he spoke and said* = Ger. *redete und sprach*).¹ The peculiarity of the differentiation in Slavic has already been mentioned (p. 2, footnote).

In most of the modern languages, whatever the earlier variety, there is *par excellence* one verb of 'speaking' and one of 'saying', as Fr. *parler* and *dire*. But in some there are also other verbs which, though not without their own idiomatic restrictions, are yet in such general use as to have scarcely less claim to be reckoned as verbs of 'speaking' and 'saying'.

tions a convenient orientation of the usage of a given language,—but one that often requires correction, owing to the frequent retention in biblical language of words which are no longer the current expressions, and to the fact that the difference in tense is occasionally a disturbing factor.

¹In general the use before a direct quotation is the least decisive criterion as to whether a given verb is one of 'saying' or of 'speaking'; and yet in languages of which only meager material is available this may happen to be the only use quotable. However, in the great majority of languages which distinguished 'say' and 'speak' it is the former which is here preferred. It may also happen that a special form is in vogue with direct quotations, especially in parenthetical use, one that is otherwise obsolete or nearly so, or even one that never has been a verb of 'saying' or 'speaking'. Cf. Lat. *inquam*, Grk. ἡμί Grk. φημί in Attic (no. 25), Eng. *quoth* (no. 67), Welsh *medd* (no. 78), and OIr. *ol* (Mod. Ir. *ar, arsa*), which is of adverbial origin (Havers, KZ. XLIV, 26 ff., with references).

And between these, what has been noted as the essential difference between *speaking* and *saying*, namely in their relation to the action or content respectively, may appear in a greater or less degree. Thus Eng. *talk* beside *speaking* and *tell* beside 'say' are in this respect, entirely aside from the familiar tone of *talk*, noticeably farther apart than are *speaking* and *saying*. In *talk* our feeling for the action is more acute than in *speaking*, and in *tell* the relation to the content is even closer than in *saying*. Neither *talk* nor *tell* may introduce a direct quotation, which is the use in which *speaking* and *saying* most nearly approach one another. Similarly Ger. *reden*, which has encroached upon *sprechen* far more than Eng. *talk* upon *speaking*, has left *sprechen* in an intermediate position between *sagen* and *reden*, and between Eng. *saying* and *speaking*, as may be roughly represented as follows:

Eng.	<i>tell</i>	<i>say</i>	<i>speaking</i>	<i>talk</i>
				
Ger.	<i>sagen</i>	<i>sprechen</i>	<i>reden</i>	

In a somewhat different way OE. *cwæðan* is intermediate between *secgan* and *sprecan*, and Lith. *taĩti* between *sakĩti* and *kalbĩti*. They are verbs of 'saying' rather than of 'speaking', but their prevailing use with direct quotations (cf. footnotes to nos. 5, 67) shows that their underlying feeling was one of closer relation to the *form* of the content than *secgan* and *sakĩti*. This would be explained if they had once been true verbs of 'speaking', and for Lith. *taĩti* at least this is also probable by reason of its source (cf. no. 8).

The meaning 'speak' oftenest arises by specialization from the notion of 'sound, noise' as in our group I, and conversely the great majority in this group are verbs of 'speaking' rather than of 'saying', as is natural where the semantic development is within the sphere of action. In the case of other sources, which have nothing to do with the production of sound, the application to speech being absorbed from the context, intransitive meanings like 'reason', 'think', 'consort with', etc. (cf. groups IV and V) naturally lead to 'speak', while notions like 'make clear', 'make known', 'put in order', 'bring forth', etc. (cf. groups II, III, and part of VII) gen-

erally lead to 'say', since here the semantic shift is due to similarity of result.

Yet, while the observation of such a relation between the distinction of 'speak' and 'say' and their respective sources is important, it obviously is not one to be pressed. We have noted that the distinction is of variable definiteness, and even non-existent in the case of several verbs, especially those of Indo-Iranian and Greek in the early period. It is not surprising that similar sources may occasionally yield both meanings, or that what is properly a verb of 'speaking', as defined above, may become one of 'saying', and conversely. Thus Eng. *talk* and *tell* are at opposite extremes in point of aspect (cf. above, p. 4), but are from the same root (no. 64). Observe the contrast of Grk. *φημί* with Lat. *fārī*, etc., and also with *φωρή* (no. 25). The Celtic verb of 'speaking' became the verb of 'saying' in Cornish and Breton (no. 11). So one need not scruple to assume a similar shift of meaning where there is no such direct evidence. Cf. also, above, p. 4.

It is a frequently observed phenomenon that a word which is first applied to speech only in a depreciatory sense, 'chatter', 'jabber', 'prate', etc., may lose this and become merely familiar in tone, as in Eng. *chat*, which is only a shortened form of *chatter*, but is now differentiated from it in feeling; and again that a word denoting familiar speech (whether or not this rests upon an earlier depreciatory sense) may lose this special coloring and become the ordinary prosaic word for 'speak'. Eng. *talk*, though the notion of informal, familiar speech is dominant, and even a depreciatory sense evident in certain phrases, is also used without any such feeling, and colloquially it is a growing rival of *speak*. The child "learns to talk", one may "talk French", and "he talked well" or "what did he talk on?" may refer to the most dignified and formal address. But the process referred to would be complete only if *talk* replaced *speak*, or at least became its full equivalent. In some of the German dialects *schwätzen* is said to be used in place of *reden*. A complete sequence from the 'chatter' of animals to the 'chatter' of human beings, to 'chat, talk familiarly', and finally to simple 'speak' is spread before us in the history of Grk. *λαλέω* (no. 10), which after reaching the final stage was overtaken and driven from

the standard language by another verb, which had started with 'consort with, chat', namely *ὁμιλέω* (no. 47). There are numerous other illustrations in the material given below, e. g. under nos. 3, 4, 6 (Lat. *garrio*), 8, 42, 44, of the interchange, in the same form or in cognate forms, of 'speak' with 'chatter' or 'chat'. And probably many others, perhaps most of those in group I, have passed through the meaning 'chat' or the like as the last intermediate stage in their development.

A factor of first importance in changes of vocabulary, as is well known in general and is equally evident in the group we are studying, is the fondness for new and picturesque expressions, and the tendency to replace the familiar and commonplace words by such, until they in their turn lose all special coloring and are ready to be displaced by others. We sometimes think of this as an especial attribute of slang, because here it runs riot, untrammelled by the conservative influence which operates in the literary language. And it is indeed not to be supposed that our ancestors in pre-literary periods were ever so uniformly opposed to using an ordinary word in its ordinary sense, or so resourceful in coining new expressions, as our modern youth.¹ But in the long centuries before the rise of literary languages and the consequent (relative) standardization of speech within larger areas, there was no such thing as slang or colloquial speech, by contrast to anything else, for all language was of this character.

The great variety in the words for 'speak' and 'say' in the Indo-European languages is in large part due to changes of vocabulary which took place in their prehistoric periods, or else in periods when a standard language was in a decline and had relaxed its pressure. Under the latter head would fall the changes which took place in the later periods of Greek, and of Latin before the standardization of the present Romance languages. In Latin, *fābulor* was the colloquial word

¹ The same exaggeration of a natural tendency shows itself in certain styles of writing. Not to mention the highly developed jargon of baseball reporters, some of our story writers, as was remarked by a correspondent in the New York Nation, Oct. 9, 1913, "dread the sight of the good old word 'said' as a hydrophobic patient dreads water". They prefer "scorned", "denied", "greeted", "chatted", "defended", "husked" (!), "dryly thanked", "faintly surrendered", "fondly remembered" (all these following direct quotations).

for 'speak' from the time of Plautus, but *loquor* was so strongly entrenched in the language of literature and of cultivated speech that it was not until the standard Latin had lost its hold on the speech of the Roman world that *loquor* was definitely ousted by *fābulor*, which was itself displaced in France and Italy. Cf. nos. 54, 55. There have been comparatively few such substitutions in the regular words for 'speak' and 'say' in the modern languages since they gained the position of "standard" languages with their increasingly dominant influence, never so strong as at present. But how great a diversity may exist within a narrow field, where a strong centralizing force is lacking, is shown by the situation in the Rhaetoroman dialects, where the favorite expressions for 'speak' represent, apart from mere phonetic variations, seven different words.¹

In spite of the great diversity in our group as a whole, there are some noteworthy instances of conservatism, as the agreement of all existing Germanic languages in the verb of 'saying', the persistence of Lat. *dīco* in all the Romance languages, the continued use of λέγω and εἶπε for some twenty-five hundred years, to which one should add a few hundred for εἶπε, or in reality a few thousand since its agreement with Skt. *avocat* shows that its use dates back to the parent speech.

As already intimated, the following survey aims to cover primarily the usual words for 'speak' and 'say' in the Indo-European languages, those which are in common use at some period with the same general scope as Eng. *speak* and *say*. In this it may claim to be fairly exhaustive. On the other hand, to collect from the various languages all the expressions which in certain connections denote speech, as Eng. *point out*, *observe*, *disclose*, *unfold*, *present*, *maintain*, *reason*, etc., or even those which have come to apply almost or quite exclusively to speech, without having the general scope of 'speak' or 'say', as Eng. *mention*, *declare*, *utter*, *discourse*, *relate*, *recite*, *explain*, *express*, *address*, *dispute*, *argue*, *debate*, *state*, etc., or again those which differ from *speak* mainly in their emotional value (depreciatory or merely familiar), as Eng. *chatter*, *chat*, *prattle*, Ger. *schwätzen*, *prahlen*, *plaudern*, etc.—

¹ Cf. Gartner, *Rhaetoromanische Sprache und Literatur*, p. 254.

to note all such would be an endless task, obviously beyond the power of a single scholar, and would furthermore result in an unmanageable bulk of material. Yet such words have covered part of the road which might easily lead to the complete evolution of a new verb of 'speaking' or 'saying'; and some of them, when furnishing striking parallels for certain stages in the development of the regular words, will be mentioned in the appropriate connection. To the charge of inconsistency in this respect I have no reply. Many examples of approximation to 'say, speak' have been deliberately passed over, but no doubt many which would have been well worth mention have been overlooked.¹

The particular group classification adopted is the one which has worked itself out as seemingly the most convenient for presentation of the material. But no semantic classification can do justice to all points of view. Each verb has its own semantic history, and even those which have similar sources and reach the same result have not necessarily traversed the same road. For one or another intermediate stage the analogies may be quite different. I trust that criticism will be more directed to the specific treatment of a word's semantic history than to the propriety of its inclusion in a given group.

I. FROM WORDS DENOTING NOISE.

Words denoting some sort of noise, many of them obviously of imitative origin, are the commonest source of verbs of 'speaking', some few of which have become verbs of 'saying'. Cf. above, p. 5.

1. Eng. *speak*, Ger. *sprechen*, etc.—The characteristic West Germanic verb of speaking, OE. *sprecan*, later *specan*² whence

¹ Verbs are cited, in general accordance with prevailing conventions, as follows: in the infinitive, for most languages; in the first person singular present, for Greek, Latin, Armenian, Albanian, Irish, Modern Bulgarian, Pamir dialects (also sometimes given for Old Bulgarian, Serbo-Croatian and Lithuanian); in a root form, for Sanskrit, Avestan, and Old Persian.

² It is immaterial on the semantic side whether *specan* actually comes from *sprecan* (so still *NED*) or represents a collateral but synonymous root (cf. Falk-Torp, Fick III⁴, and Norw.-Dän. Et. Wtb. s. v. *sprage*). The former view would not be questioned, in spite of some traces of forms without *r* on the continent, if there were any explanation of the

Eng. *speak*, OS. *sprekan*, OHG. *sprehhan*, Ger. *sprechen*, Dutch *spreken*, is cognate with words denoting the noise, and also the act, of bursting, cracking, and the like. Thus ON., Swed. *spraka*, Dan. *sprage*, all meaning 'crackle', Lith. *spragėti* 'crackle', Skt. *sphūrj-* 'crackle, rustle, rumble' and 'burst forth', Grk. *σφαργέω* 'crackle, sputter, hiss' and 'be full to bursting' (of udders); while Lat. *spargo* and numerous other probable cognates¹ are used only of the act.

An especially close parallel is furnished by Eng. *crack*. This also was an imitative word denoting primarily the noise, but also the act, of cracking. In present standard English both senses still appear in the noun, while the application of the verb to noise is almost obsolete, being partly taken up by the diminutive *crackle*. But in the dialects the verb has developed from this side a variety of meanings, among others simply 'talk, converse, speak', e. g. *Dannie could crack awa' to him in his ain mother tongue, or he could crack far glegger in a dead language than other folk could do in a living one* (Wright, English Dialect Dictionary, p. 764).

2. Boh. *mluviti*, Skt. *brū-*, etc.—OBulg. *mlŭva* and its derivative *mluviti* mean 'noise, tumult, make a noise', translating Grk. *θύρυβος* and *θορυβέω*, e. g. Mark V. 38, 39. The verb

exceptional loss of *r*. For this, one possibility which has not been considered is that it originated in occasional instances of dissimilatory loss when *sprekan* was preceded or followed by other words containing *r*. Such dissimilatory loss, though more familiar within the limits of a single word (Ital. *Federico* for *Frederico*, Grk. dial. *φάρτλια* for *φάρτλια*, etc.) may also occur between words of a phrase, e. g. *die betef-fenden* (*betreffenden*) *Professoren* (Meringer, *Aus dem Leben der Sprache* 95), *ἐν Μυρίνης στρατῆγός (στρατηγός), Σωστράτην (Σωστράτην) Σωστράτου*, and other like cases in Greek inscriptions, too numerous to be accidental (Nachmanson, *Beiträge zur Kenntniss der altgriech. Volkssprache*, 6 ff.). Lapses of this latter class, subject to the special context, are obviously less likely than those of the former class to affect permanently the form of a word; but that this may now and then result is not to be denied. Cf. G. Paris, *Mélanges linguistiques* I. 129, footnote, and Nachmanson, loc. cit. In suggesting the possibility that *sprekan* might have originated in this way, I am unable to point to any especially frequent phrases to support it or to find any confirmation in the earliest passages containing *sprekan* which are quoted.

¹ Cf. Falk-Torp, loc. cit., Walde Lat. Et. Wtb.' s. v. *spargo*, Per Persson *Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung* 868.

came to mean 'speak' in West Slavic, as Boh. *mluviti* and Pol. *mówić*, the usual verbs of speaking, and UWend. *molwīc*, now used only in compounds. The same root is seen in Skt. *brū-*, Avest. *mrū-* 'speak, say', which supply the present system of *vac-* (for Avestan, cf. especially Yasna 19. 10 where pres. *mrūye* is used in conjunction with perf. *vaoče* and fut. *vaxšyeite*).

3. Russ. *govorit'*, etc., OPers. *gaub*.—OBulg. *govorŭ* means 'noise, uproar', cognate with Lith. *gauju* 'howl', Skt. *jóguve* 'shout, proclaim', Grk. *βοή* 'cry, shout', *βοάω* 'shout, roar, call'. The derivative verb *govoriti* has become the usual verb of speaking in Russian (*govorit'*), Serbo-Croatian (*govoriti*), Slovenian (*govoriti*), Bulgarian (*govorja*: but see no. 57); also in Slovakian (*hovorit*), though in Bohemian *hovořiti* is 'chat, talk', more familiar than *mluviti*.

Russ. *gutor*, *gutorit'*, formed from a *t*-extension of the same root, are colloquial expressions for 'chat, talk', and the verb is frequently used for simple 'speak' in Little Russian (*hutoryty*) and Slovakian (*hutorit*).

What is probably also the same root in an extended form is seen in OPers. *gaub-*, which occurs only in the middle, in the sense of 'call oneself, declare oneself for' and is the source of Pahlavi *gōwēd* 'says', *gōwišn* 'word', and Mod. Pers. *guftan* 'say' (to which belongs *gap* 'word, joke', whence Pamir *gap* 'word, saying'). For the *b*-increment Meillet, Mem. Soc. Ling. XI, 183, compares OPruss. *gerbt* and Lith. *kalbėti* (see nos. 6, 7). One may also recall the considerable group of Greek words for sound in *-bos*, as *θόρυβος*, *κόναβος*, *δροβος*, etc. (Sturtevant, Class. Phil. V, 327 ff.).

4. OBulg. *glagolati*.—OBulg. *glagolŭ* 'word', whence *glagolati* 'speak' (Russ. *gologolit'* 'prate'), is a reduplicated formation (**golgolo-*) from the same root as OBulg. *glasŭ* 'voice' (**golso-*), Russ. *golos* 'voice', ONorse *kalla* 'call', OE. *ceallian*, Eng. *call*, Welsh *galw* 'call', etc.

5. OPruss. *billit*, Lith. *bylótī*, Skt. *bhās-*.—In the Old Prussian texts *billit* is the word regularly employed to translate *sagen* and *sprechen* (but not *reden*) of the German original, the latter occurring much more frequently, especially before direct quotations (cf. above, p. 3). In sixteenth and seventeenth century Lithuanian texts *bilti* and *byloti*, now

obsolete, are in common use in the same sense.¹ Cf. also Lett. *pi-bilst* 'speak to, address', *at-bilda* 'answer', etc. The root is that of Lith. *bàlsas* 'voice', ONorse *belja* 'roar, bellow', OE., OHG. *bellan*, Ger. *bellen* 'bark', Eng. *bell*, *bellow*. And from this same root (with *s* as in Lith. *bàlsas*, and change of *ls* to *š*) come Skt. *bhaṣ-* 'bark' and *bhāṣ-* 'speak, talk', *bhāṣā* 'speech, language'.

6. OPruss. *gerdaut*, *gerbt*, LWend. *groniš*, Polab. *gornēt*.—OPruss. *gerdaut*, which is used four times to translate *sagen*, apparently where this is especially formal or emphatic (e. g. *perarwi as gerdawi iūmans=warlich ich sage euch*; cf. also *po-gerdaut* 'predigen'), is most closely related to Lith. *gerdas* 'cry', *girdėti* 'hear' (cf. no. 21, footnote), and *gārsas* 'sound'. These contain *ger-d-*, while OPruss. *gerbt* 'speak, recite' (it translates *sprechen* with a direct object as *Gebetlein*, etc.) is from *ger-b-*, both being extensions of a simple root *ger-*, from which is formed OBulg. *grano* 'formula, verse', LWend. *grono* 'speech', and from this noun the usual verbs of 'speaking' in LWendish (*groniš*) and Polabian (*górnet*). The

¹Thus in the catechism of 1547 *kaipo Schwentas Pawilas bila=* OPruss. *kāigi Swints Pauli billē=* Ger. *wie Sanct Paulus sagt, ba bila raschtas* 'for the scripture saith' *pateri bilati* 'to say the pater noster', *bilodamo* 'saying', etc. (For *sakýti* in this text, cf. *kure euangelium saka* 'who proclaim the gospel', *jag teisibe mili sakau* 'that I call the truth dear', *asch sakau jog . . .* 'I say that . . .'. In Bretkun's and in Willent's translations, from the last of the sixteenth century, *bylōti* (or *bilti* in the present) is by far the most usual verb with direct quotations. It is often defined wrongly by 'reden', for which *kalbėti* (no. 7) is the regular word in these early texts, as later.

The verb *taṛti* (no. 8) is also common enough in the early texts, nearly always with direct quotations, but occasionally followed by *iog* introducing an indirect statement. After *bylōti* became obsolete, *taṛti* remained as the normal and almost universal expression with direct quotations, as it appears, for example, in the poems of Donalitiūs, and still in Kurschat's version of the New Testament. During all this time *sakýti* (no. 27) was in common use for 'say' followed by an indirect statement or in phrases like 'what is said', etc. But with direct quotations its use was exceptional and mostly where one can detect an emphatic force, especially in *dsz jūms sakaū* 'I say unto you', which is constant at all periods, and in imperative forms. Cf. below, no. 27, and no. 67, footnote. Now, however, *sakýti* has come into general use even with direct quotations, and *taṛti* is, if I am not mistaken, virtually obsolete in the spoken language.

same root, I. E. *gʷer-* (also *ger?*), appears in Lith. *girti* 'praise', Skt. *járate* 'crackle, roar, sound', *gṛṇāti* 'sing, call', OHG. *queran* 'sob', perhaps OIr. *briathar* 'word' (cf. Stokes, Fick II⁴. 183); and a collateral *ǵar-* of similar meaning in Lat. *garrio*, Grk. *γῆρος*, and OIr. *gáir* 'cry' to which correspond Welsh *gair*, Cornish *gêr*, Breton *gér*, all meaning 'word'. For further cognates, cf. Walde. Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *garrio* and Berneker, Slav. Et. Wtb. s. v. *gorno*. The Ossetian verb of speaking, *jūrīn* (whence *jīrd* 'word'), is also, perhaps, connected. Cf. Wsewolod Miller, Grd. d. iran. Phil. I. Anh., p. 59.

Here may be mentioned also the ultimately related (*grē-grō-*, *grā-*) OE. *crāwan* 'crow', Lith. *gróti* 'croak', Russ. *grajati* 'crow, croak', to which corresponds in Serbo-Croatian not only *grājati* 'croak', but also *grájati* 'speak'.

7. Lith. *kalbėti*.—Lith. *kalbù*, *kalbėti*, the regular verb of 'speaking', and *kalbà* 'speech, language' are from an extension of the root seen in Lith. *kalada* 'cry, noise', OPruss. *kelsāi* 'sie lauten', Grk. *κέλαδος* 'noise, din, shout', *καλέω*, Lat. *calo*, *clāmor*, etc.

8. Lith. *taṛti*.—Lith. *tariù*, *taṛti* 'say'¹ is connected with OPruss. *tārin* 'voice', Russ. *torotórit* 'chatter, prattle', Skt. *tāra-* 'piercing' used especially of sound, 'loud, shrill', but also of light 'shining, radiant', Grk. *τορός* 'piercing', used of the voice, speech, eye, etc., *τορέω*, usually 'pierce' in the literal sense, but once (Ar. Pax 381) *τετορήσω* 'cry out'. In this group the notion of sound is plainly secondary, arising in a special application of 'piercing', this being one of the meanings of the wide-spread root *ter-* (or roots; cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *termen* and *terō*).

9. East Iran. *hvan-*.—In that one of the new languages brought to light by the discoveries in Chinese Turkestan which is often called "Nordarisch,"² but which is an East Iranian language, 'speak, say' is regularly expressed by forms of *hvan*.³ In one of the Pamir dialects (Wachi) likewise

¹ Cf. footnotes to nos. 5 and 67.

² Leumann's "Unknown Language II", later "Nordarisch". Cf. especially Leumann, *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur*, and Reichelt, *Idg. Jahrbuch* I, 20 ff., 75 ff.

³ Cf. Leumann, *op. cit.*, 143; S. Konow, *Ber. Berl. Akad.* 1912, 1135.

the verb of 'saying' is *xanam*.¹ Cf. also Ossetan *xonin* 'call, name', Mod. Pers. *xvāndan* 'call, read', Sogdian *γwn-* 'announce', Baluchi *vānag* 'read, recite'. All these Iranian forms are cognate with Skt. *svan-* 'sound, resound', Lat. *sono*.

10. Hellenistic Grk. *λαλέω*.—Grk. *λαλέω*, of imitative origin like Ger. *lallen*, Eng. *lull*, *lullaby*, is used: 1) of the inarticulate sounds of animals, sometimes directly contrasted to human speech, as in Plutarch of dogs and monkeys *λαλοῦσι μὲν οὔτοι, φράζονται δὲ οὗ*,—2) oftener of human speech, but in the classical period always either in a depreciatory sense 'babble, chatter', sometimes directly contrasted with *λέγω*, as *λαλεῖν ἄριστος, ἀδυνατώτατος λέγειν* (Eupolis, quoted by Plutarch Alcib. 13), or merely familiar 'chat, talk', as frequently in Aristophanes. In Hellenistic Greek *λαλέω* loses its special coloring and becomes the normal verb of 'speaking'. It is used constantly in the New Testament, e. g. *ὡς δὲ ἐπαύσατο λαλῶν* 'when he had left speaking' Luke V. 4; *ἐλάλησε ὁ κωφός* 'the dumb spake' Math. IX. 33; *ἐτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος* 'while he yet spake' Mark V. 35. It remains the usual verb of speaking down through the mediaeval period, but in Modern Greek, except in certain dialects, it has given way to (δ) *μιλῶ* (no. 49).²

11. OIr. *labraim*, etc.—The Celtic verb of 'speaking' is: OIr. *labraim*, with deponent inflection (e. g. *ní labrathar* 'non loquitur' in the Priscian glosses), Mod. Ir. *labhraid*, Manx *loayrt*, Welsh *lleferu*, *llefaru*. But in Cornish and Breton the corresponding verbs (Corn. *leverel*, Bret. *lavaret*) mean 'say', rather than 'speak', which is expressed otherwise (see nos. 46, 69). There is no generally accepted etymology.³ But the root *lab-* is doubtless of imitative origin, and may be best compared with that of Russ. *lepetai* 'babble, stammer', Skt. *lap-* 'chatter, talk' (this is an old comparison, e. g. in Williams

¹ Cf. Shaw, Jour. As. Soc. Beng. XLV, 170 ff. (*xattei* 'said' frequent), Geiger, Grd. d. Iran. Phil. I. 2, 328, 330. This is only one of many striking points of agreement between the new language and the Pamir dialects.

² Cf. especially Dieterich, Rhein. Mus. LX, 229 ff.

³ Cf. Stokes, Fick II⁴, 239 (Low Ger. *flappen*), Z. f. kelt. Phil. III, 442 (Ger. *plappern*, Eng. *blab*), V. Henry, Lex. étym. du bret. mod. s. v. *lavar* (*λαβρός, λαβεύομαι*), Pedersen, Verg. Gram. der kelt. Sprachen (Lat. *labrum* or with Stokes).

Lexicon Cornu-Britannicum), Gypsy *lav* 'word', Mod. Pers. *labīdan* 'talk foolishly, boast', Afghan *lavdgl* 'say, declare', Pamir dial. *lewam* (Sarikoli), *lūwan* (Shigni) 'say, speak'. The variation in vowel and consonant, which in the case of such imitative words need not be taken too seriously, is similar to that seen in the words for 'lip', L. *labium*, *labrum*, OE. *lippa*, etc., (the Germanic forms from *leb-*), Pahlavi *lap*, Lith. *lūpa*; and it is not unlikely that the two groups are ultimately connected (compare the often assumed, though very doubtful, connection of OIr. *bél* 'lip' with Goth. *qīpan* 'say', and the frequent identity of 'tongue' and 'speech, language').

12. Lat. *loquor*.—According to one of the oldest, and still the most probable etymology, Lat. *loquor* 'speak' is connected with Grk. *λάσκω*, *ἐλακον*. This is used of inanimate things 'ring, crash', of animals 'shriek, howl', and later also of men 'shout, scream', whence its commonest use in the Attic poets, especially Euripides, 'utter, announce, tell'. Although never perhaps entirely colorless, it has gone a good part of the way which must be assumed for Lat. *loquor*.

13. Arm. *xōsem*.—The regular verb of 'speaking' in Armenian is *xōsem*, OArm. *xausem*. This points to IE. *qhauk-* (or *quhauk-*), which is best taken as an imitative root and compared with the similar, though not identical, Grk. *καυχάομαι* 'speak loud, boast', Lith. *kaũkti* 'howl' and *szaũkti* 'cry, call out, name'.¹

14. Grk. *mũthos*, *μυθέομαι*, French *mot*.—In Homer *μυθέομαι* is one of the several frequent expressions for 'speak, say' which are later replaced by *λέγω*, and *mũthos*, from which it is derived, means simply what is spoken, 'word, saying, story', the specialization to story in the sense of 'fiction, myth' being later. This is derived from an imitative *mu*, from which has developed in one class of words, through the contrast to dis-

¹ The comparison with *καυχάομαι* is due to Pedersen, KZ. XXXIX, 335, who suggests various means of phonetic identification, with or without the inclusion of Lith. *szaũkti*. But there is no occasion to force complete phonetic identification in imitative words of this kind. Other etymologies of Arm. *xōsem* are less probable, e. g. that of v. Petrubány mentioned by Pedersen, loc. cit., and that of Scheftelowitz, BzB. XXVIII, 282, who proposes connection with Goth. *hugjan* 'think', according to which the semantic development in Armenian would be similar to that of words in our group IV.

tinct articulate utterance, the notion of 'mute' (Lat. *mŭlus*, etc.), but in another the notion of 'growling' (Lat. *mŭgio*, Grk. *μυκάομαι*, etc.), or 'muttering' as in Lat. *muttio* 'mutter, mumble, speak low' and *muttum* 'a mutter, grunt'. The noun *muttum* seems to have been used only in negative phrases, where 'not a mutter' was, like our slang 'not a peep', simply an emphatic 'not a word' (cf. Cornutus ad Pers. *proverbialiter dicimus, muttum nullum emisericis, id est verbum*); and it was doubtless from such phrases that it emerged as a respectable word in Ital. *motto*, French *mot*, this last to be compared with the Homeric use of *μῦθος*. But there is nothing surprising in the direct transition from the notion of 'mutter, speak low' to that of simple 'speak', which seems to have begun in Latin in the case of the verb (cf. Paul. ex. Fest. *muttire loqui*. Ennius: '*Palam muttire plebeio piaculum est*'), and which we assume to have taken place in prehistoric Greek. Compare especially Lett. *runāt* 'speak' from 'whisper' (no. 66). Although *μυθέομαι* became obsolete in Attic-Ionic, not occurring in prose, *μυθίζω* remained a common expression for 'speak' in some of the Doric dialects. Cf. *μυθισδω* in Theocritus, Laconian *μονσιῖδω* in Ar. Lys. 94, 981, 1076, and Hesychius *μονσιῖδει· λαλεῖ, ὁμιλεῖ*.

15. Rhaet. *tšantšer*, etc.—In some of the Rhaeto-Roman dialects the usual expression for 'speak, talk' is *tšantšer*, *tšintšar*, etc. (Gartner, *Rhaetoromanische Sprache und Literatur*, 254, v. Planta, *Archiv für lat. Lex.* XV, 396). This belongs with Ital. *ciancare* 'prate', of imitative origin (Diez, Wtb., p. 97, Körting, Wtb., no 8926).

16. Rhaet. *bajer*, etc.—In some of the Rhaeto-Roman dialects 'speak, talk' is expressed by *bajer*, *bajaffer*, etc. (Gartner, loc. cit., and v. Planta, loc. cit.). This is from Ital. *baia* 'jest, banter' (Fr. *baie*, Sp. *vaya*), which is probably based upon an exclamatory particle.

17. Grk. *βάζω*.—The poetical words *βάζω* 'speak, say', perf. *βέβακται*, and *βάξις* 'saying, rumor', also *βάσκω· λεγειν, κακολογεῖν* (Hesychius), are from a root *βακ-*, for which imitative origin seems most probable.

18. Skt. *vac-*, Grk. *εἶπον*.—The typical Indo-Iranian verb of 'speaking, saying', the one in most general use and common to both Sanskrit and Avestan, is from the root *vac-* (IE.

ueq̃u), though the present system is supplied from another, Skt. *mrū-*, Avest. *mrū* (no. 2).¹ In Greek the aorist *ειπε*, which corresponds exactly to Skt. *avocat*, Avest. *vaočaŋ*, has been in common use from Homer to the present day. Cf. also Skt. *vacas*, Avest. *vačah-*, Grk. *ειπος*, all meaning 'saying, word'; Skt. *vāk*, Avest. *vāxš*, Lat. *vōx*, all meaning 'voice, sound' and also 'saying, word', Grk. *ὄψ* 'voice', Toch. *wek* 'voice'; Lat. *voco, vocāre* 'call' (whence *vocābulum* 'name', the source of Irish *focal* 'word'), OPruss. *wackis* 'cry' *wackitwei* 'call', Arm. *gočem* 'cry, roar',² OHG. *giwahan, giwahannen* 'mention'.³ It is only in Indo-Iranian and Greek

¹ In later Indic and Iranian *vac-* has been largely displaced. Indic: In Pali *vac-* is still frequent in the passive (*vuccati* = Skt. *ucyate*) and past tenses of the active, the present being supplied from *vad-* (no. 19). In Prakrit also similar passive forms occur (*vuccadi, vuccai*), but the normal verb of saying is *kath-* (no. 58), for which ten synonymns are recited by Hemacandra IV. 2 (cf. Pischel's edition, pp. 130 ff.) In the modern Indic languages *vac-* has ceased to play any role, its chief substitutes, common to the great majority of the languages and dialects, being *kah-* 'say' from *kath-* (no. 58) and *bol-* 'speak' (no. 70). Iranian: Forms of *vač-* occur in Turfan Pahlavi and in Sogdian, and are still in common use in the dialect of the Parsis in Yezd, Kirman, etc., and in other "Central and Caspian" dialects. Cf. ZDMG. XXXV, 403, XXXVI, 71, Grd. d. iran. Phil. I. 2, 387, 414, Bartholomae, Zum Altiran. Wtb. 217. In Persia proper, though the root survives in Mod. Pers. *navāxtan* 'flatter, sing', it was displaced as a verb of 'saying' even in the Old Persian period, namely by *θah-* (no. 30) and *gaub-*, whence Mod. Pers. *guftan* (no. 3), with which belongs Kurd. *gotin*. Baluchi *gvašag, gušag* 'say, speak' belongs with Avest. *vaš-* 'say', which can be connected with *vač-* only by assuming variation in the guttural series (cf. Bartholomae, Altiran. Wtb. s. v. and Idg. Stud. II, 22).

² Hübschmann's doubt as to the connection of Arm. *gočem* with this group (Arm. Gram. I. 436), on account of its meaning, is not justified (see below), and is not shared by others. Cf. Pedersen, KZ. XXXVI, 94, XXXIX, 396, and Meillet, Mem. Soc. Ling. XIII, 244.

³ Of the Irish words which have often been cited as cognate, e. g. by Stokes, Fick II⁴, 260, the forms *iarfaigim*, etc., are now recognized as belonging to *saigim*. Cf. Strachan, Rev. Celt. XIX, 177, Thurneysen, Handbuch der altir. Gram. 467, Pedersen, Vergl. Gram. der kelt. Sprachen II, 608. This leaves only *faig* 'dixit', which is retained by Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb., among the cognates of Lat. *voco*, and likewise by Falk-Torp, Fick II⁴, 381. But the form seems to occur only once, and must be regarded as doubtful evidence for the existence of the

that the root has furnished the regular verb of 'speaking, saying'. The more wide-spread noun, Skt. *vāk*, Lat. *vōx*, etc., means primarily 'voice', and the use of the other forms which occur outside of Indo-Iranian and Greek indicate for the parent speech a general application to the voice and to its product, speaking, calling, crying, etc. The more precise semantic source is hidden in the remote past, but it can hardly be doubted that it belongs somewhere under the general head of 'sound'.

19. Skt. *vad-*, Grk. ἀδάω.—In Sanskrit *vad-* is one of the common expressions for 'speak, say', but is also, especially in the older language, used more generally of sounds, e. g. in the Rig Veda of those made by birds, frogs, and inanimate objects. Grk. ἀδῆ is used of the sound of a trumpet, bowstring, etc., also of speech but with reference to the tone rather than the content; while the verb ἀδάω is nearly always applied to human speech, being a frequent expression for 'speak, say, call' in Homer and the later poets. Grk. αἶδω 'sing' is from the same root. Cf. also Lith. *vađinù* 'call, name', OBulg. *vađiti* 'accuse'.

Several nouns denoting 'word' or 'language', in addition to those connected with verbs already mentioned, offer further illustrations of the relation between 'sound' and 'speech'.

20. Goth. *razda*, etc.—Goth. *razda* 'speech, language', the regular translation of γλῶσσα and λαλιά, OE. *reord* 'voice, speech, language' (*ic spreche mongum reordum*), ON. *rođd* 'sound, voice', are from the root seen in Skt. *ras-* 'roar, cry, sound'.

21. Slav. *slovo*.—The typical Slavic expression for 'word', *slovo*¹ (whence *slovar* or *slovník* 'dictionary'), is identical in form with Skt. *śravas* 'sound, call' and 'fame, glory', Grk. κλέ(ς)ος 'report, rumor' and 'fame, glory'².

root *ueq** in Celtic, now that all other support is removed. Is it possibly abstracted from *iarfaigim*, after the connection of the latter with *saigim* was obscured and its meaning changed from 'seek after' to 'ask'?

¹ So in Old Bulgarian and most of the Slavic languages still; but Mod. Bulg. *rěčī*, Serbo-Croat. *rječ*, from the root of OBulg. *reštī*, *rekq* (no. 29).

² The meaning 'fame, glory', though wide-spread (also Slavic in the form *slava*) is secondary, as in Lat. *fāma*. Whether the notion of

22. Skt. *ṣabda-* 'sound, noise' is also used for 'word, speech', and has furnished the common expression for 'word' in some of the modern languages of Indic, as Mahratti *ṣabda*, Kashmiri *shebd*.

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'sound' is original or derived from 'what is heard' is a difficult question. In the verb-forms the meaning is 'hear' in Indo-Iranian and for the most part in the European languages (Skt. *śru-*, Grk. *κλύω*, etc.; for full material, cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb. s. v. *clueo*), and this is commonly given as the force of the root. Meillet, Mem. Soc. Ling. XV, 337, thinks that this belonged only to aorist forms in the parent speech, but does not state how he conceives its relation to the meaning 'be called, be known as' of the presents OBulg. *slovq*, Grk. *κλέομαι*, Lat. *clueo*. Interchange between the notions of 'sound' and its perception, 'hearing', is seen in Lith, *girdėti* 'hear' beside *gerdas* 'cry' *gaĩsas* 'sound', etc. (no. 6), where 'hear' is clearly secondary, and in Avest. *gūš-* 'hear', OPers. *gauša-* 'ear' beside Skt. *ghoṣa-* 'noise'.

(To be Continued.)

II.—CAESAR, CICERO AND FERRERO.

II.

But we have reached a point in our inquiry when we must somewhat exclusively follow the greater figures of that critical time. First let us take up a few matters of Cicero and his consular year. As to the chronology of the Catilinarian speeches, when *pro Murena* was delivered by Cicero, it was in November, *after* Catil. I and II. Catiline himself had thrown off the mask in the north. It is pointless to say that Catiline hoped for Murena's conviction of *ambitus*. The only person benefited would have been the eminent jurist Servius who drew up the indictment. Ferrero has not studied *Muren.* 47 with any attention, where Servius' far-reaching proposals for electoral reform are outlined.—What evidence has F. for saying (I 382) that Murena's defense was arranged for *before* the election of 63 B. C. If the election of Murena and Silanus was in July 63 (F. follows John), how are we to understand why Servius postponed his prosecution to November? Did F. even *glance* at *pro Murena*? There (§ 4) Cicero looks upon his consular year as a voyager nearing port. Still more luminous are these words (§ 78): "non usque eo L. Catilina rem publicam despexit atque contempsit, ut ea copia, quam secum eduxit, se hanc civitatem oppressurum arbitraretur.—Latius patet illius sceleris contagio quam quisquam putat; ad plures pertinet. *Intus, intus, inquam, est Equus Troianus,*" etc. No *dénouement* of incriminating documents nor Mulvian Bridge as yet. Lentulus and his fellow conspirators had not yet descended from their wooden horse.

"Cicero tried to ingratiate himself with the historical nobility" (F. I. 377)—(which we are continually told had dwindled and dwindled close to the point of extinction) of Rome.—Cicero strove for distinction before the Greco-roman world of his own generation. The following is often overlooked. Cicero, the foremost patronus of the financial class, esp. of the

publicani, was as much opposed as anyone to that movement of *Repudiation*. In November or thereabouts, 44 B. C., looking back upon the past and summing up things with the mature vision of nineteen years later he wrote (de off. 2, 84) "*nec enim ulla res vehementius rem publicam continet¹ quam fides (credit), quae esse nulla potest, nisi erit necessaria solutio rerum creditarum. Numquam vehementius actum est quam me consule, ne solveretur* (to bring about repudiation). Armis et castris temptata res est ab omni genere hominum et ordine: quibus ita restiti, ut hoc totum malum de republica tolleretur". Cicero in that swan song of his reflective writing was weighing and valuing things more clearly, may I say with more spiritual earnestness than ever before. And these words are of quite extraordinary historical value. That year 63 then, Cicero's consular year and that of Caesar (59) soon to follow, invite us to bring into discussion however briefly a great name, viz., that of Theodor Mommsen. Even to place the greatest of Roman antiquarians in juxtaposition with the rhetorical Italian feuilletonist might seem inexcusable. But it is not altogether inept to do so. Mommsen's delineations and the underlying estimates are deeply colored by his Hegelian philosophy with its dialectical unfolding of things and the occasional worldspirit which like the Apis on the Nile, is sometimes revealed to a favored generation. And indeed this side of quondam Hegelianism is about as tolerable as that Apis-cult of Egypt.—Caesar is the revelation of the worldspirit: *wir neigen uns vor ihm*, Mommsen actually wrote . . . But woe to those who barred the path of the worldspirit. Ferrero on the other hand with his avidity of selecting a shining mark, seeks to make of Caesar a human being of no towering proportions, but simply carried forward on the crest of waves which were infinitely stronger than he. Again F. pursues a sociological thesis. Of course unprejudiced historiography and any full or unbiased study of ancient tradition fare most woefully in this programme.

It is well known that Mommsen² after 1850 was compelled to seek academic work in Switzerland, being deprived of his Leipzig chair by the conservative reaction in Germany. In

¹ The term *αὐρέχει* of Polybius: "is a conservative force".

² Then but thirty-three years old.

or during this Swiss exile he seems to have conceived the only 'popular' book about Rome he ever wrote. His heart was still throbbing with bitter passion against everything conservative. He injected all of these feelings into his delineation of the disintegrating Roman republic. Does not—we ask it candidly—does not such injection of a personal experience vitiate genuine historiography? It certainly does.—Mommsen as an antiquarian and Mommsen as a judge of politics, Mommsen as dominated by political convictions or sympathies—these are virtually two distinct personalities. It is not at all necessary to argue about it. It is quite sufficient to transcribe a very concise anthology from his own pages, to realize his angry, his unbalanced exaggeration. "Marcus Cicero, notorisch ein politischer Achseltraeger".¹ Cato: "dieser junge kühle Gelehrte, dem die Schulmeisterweisheit von den Lippen troff" (155): dieser Wolkenwandler im Reich der abstrakten Moralphilosophie (the *one* man in public life whose judgment penetrated Caesar's political designs from the beginning)—: "Er war unfähig einen politischen Zweck auch nur zu begreifen . . . "Der Don Quixote der Aristokratie". Of the summary execution on December 5, 63 B. C.: "Elender hat sich wohl nie ein Gemeinwesen bankerott erklärt". Of Pompey: "der Weg zum Thron". "Nach den unerhörten (sic) Gewaltthaten gegen den Volkstribunen Metellus". Of Pompey: "wie nahe es ihm auch gelegt war" (by the worldspirit) "die weisse Binde um seine Stirn zu legen". "Dieser in allem, nur in seinen Ansprüchen nicht, ganz gewöhnliche Mensch". "Er gehörte zu den Menschen die wohl eines Verbrechens fähig sind, aber keiner Insubordination". "Zum zweiten Male hatte Pompeius abgedankt". "Der ganze Herrenstand", "Dass der politischen Astronomie zum Trotz die Weltgeschichte weiter gieng". Angry, abusive, violently partisan caricatures, but not—in these ebullitions—tenable historiography. Think of Curio, Antony, Vatinius or other servitors of the towering Julius in their *contiones*: Mommsen in his spirit of ferocity appears fairly as one of that company.—There is another matter: Mommsen's chapter headings and summarizing superscriptions remind a sober student of this period of that which in technical logic is called *petitio principii*: the assumpt-

tion as proved of that which is first to be proved. "Coalition der Praetendenten", "Pompeius and Caesar's Gesamttherrschaft." The aim, monarchy, is good. Hence all means are commendable. What at Caesar's usurpation? Hegelianism. Mommsen, then, over and over again operates with the political conceptions, certainly with the political sympathies and antipathies, of his recent life. To do so is not any less anti-historical than Ferrero's injection of Comteism (nay of Lombroso's psychiatric valuations of Crime as well as of Genius) into the presentation of those times. We may call the first writer violent and angry, and the later naïve: both are in the wrong.

But to resume our examination of concrete details. Ferrero is somewhat too positive as to the pact which Cicero's colleague Antonius is said to have made with the latter about provincial emoluments (Att. 1, 12; 13; 14). Ferrero evidently has not studied the commentary of Tyrrell, an omission which no one can afford who in our time undertakes to write the history of the moribund Roman Republic. "Teucris" certainly is not a pseudonym for Antonius himself. The silly legend about Clodia setting her cap for Cicero (Plut.) is swallowed whole by Ferrero as it is by Boissier—they will not pass over so piquant a morsel.—"Me vero nihil istorum ne iuvenem quidem movit unquam; ne nunc senem".¹

In the matter of Caesar's election as pontifex maximus the date in March (63 B. C.) acc. to Ovid Fasti 3, 419 refers not to Caesar but to Augustus; v. Peter's note. This is a good point to illustrate the reckless manner in which Dio often constructs a causal nexus by a violent *hysteron proteron* or other defiance of chronology. He has the people elect Caesar to that honor: Why? On account of Caesar's vote of Dec. 5, 63, whereas that pontifical election came long before. The scenting of hidden motives is a veritable passion with Dio. (cf. 37, 37.), and this again shows how hurriedly he used the materials furnished him by Livy.—It is not very easy at this stage of classical studies to throw a positively new light upon these matters. Ferrero however employs his private psychological and neurological diagnosis (the skulls unfortunately are not available) as his sources of new light. From these he derives novel conceptions of characters. So of Caesar:

¹ Fam. 9. 26. 2.

Lombroso's son-in-law has discovered the particular spring which moved this important watch. It is a "rhythmical oscillation between prudence and impetuous energy". Once discovered, this neurotic law is far better than the ball of yarn given to Theseus by Ariadne.—"La nervosa indole di Cesare era una strana oscillazione ritmica di temerità e di prudenza". (I 376, cf. 406, 439, 448, II 42-43, 189, 250, 356, 412, 462, 473, 498).

When Balbus visited Cicero in December, 60 B. C., with communications from Caesar, what warrant has anyone (p. 440) to say that Balbus talked with Cicero on his own account? A close study of Cicero's correspondence in chronological sequence demonstrates that Caesar wished to gain Cicero's support through flattery, a most effective inducement in that quarter: we also perceive that Caesar with consummate adroitness masked the *fait accompli* of the triumvirate.

There was nothing *sudden* in the policy of Caesar's consular year. The comparison with Pericles and the Attic democracy is unmeaning to a degree. The agrarian laws both 1. and 2. (April, May) were postulated by the consistent policy which Caesar had pursued ever since he had entered public life. He it was no doubt who had drawn the bill of Rullus in 64-63, and a *lex Iulia agraria* now was absolutely necessary for him.

There is confusion in Ferrero as to the governor of Cisalpine Gaul in 59. In 59 Metellus Celer (husband of Catullus' Lesbia) was not proconsul there at all. He died in his own house on the Palatine (Cic. p. Caelio 59). It was in 62 that he governed there (Fam. 5, 1, 2). It was therefore not the death of Clodia's husband which made Cisalp. Gaul available for the plebiscite introduced by Vatinius. Ferrero pleases himself with the fancy that Caesar primarily was the agent of "democracy": that which is "democrazia pura" with the Italian feuilletonist, is "Coalition der Praetendenten" in Mommsen's vision. Ferrero also affirms that the success of the Triumvirate was unforeseen. Hardly so; probably Caesar, Crassus and Pompey had a fair knowledge as to how many votes in the Senate they could control. Incidentally, before we leave Caesar's land-law, how can anyone refer to the older Public domain of Rome as a form of Communism?

There are some inaccuracies in the intrigue of Caesar and Vatinius to use the informer Vettius so as to gain or secure lasting enmity or distrust between Pompey and the aristocracy during Caesar's now impending proconsulate. The only primary source is Att. 2, 24. The transcription by Signor Ferrero is hurried and the details are somewhat jumbled in his relation. Vettius named Brutus *before* his own arrest, and omitted that name in his second list. That Caesar invited Cicero *anew*, early in 58, when he was about to set out for Gaul to become one of his legates there, for this statement of Ferrero's I know not the source.—I return in all respects to Ludwig Lange with increased admiration. Lange's simple and singularly exact, (though dispassionate,) and truthloving, impartial relation more than ever seems to me to tower above all the other accounts. Crabbed, venomous and grotesquely unfair is Drumann, with all the micrology of his detail, e. g. 5, p. 605: "Unverkennbar (sic) erwartete er nur den günstigen Zeitpunkt, Caesars Abgang nach Gallien, um Philippiken anzustimmen; aber Caesar erfasste ihn, der auf seine Kosten (sic) nochmals einen fünften December zu feiern gedachte, *in der Republik nur sich selbst¹ liebte, und, gleich unfähig zum Erhalten und zum Zerstoeren* [an impediment then at least to those who wished to destroy] *nur andern laestig wurde*, mit seiner eisernen Hand und warf ihn zu Boden: dann gieng er nach Gallien".

If anything in History is manifest, clear, impressive and beyond controversy, it is the endowment and the comparative nobility of the larger traits of character in Aurelia's only son. The factitious and fatuous efforts of Ferrero to reduce Caesar to the level of the common or the commonplace, remind me of a single tide of the sea, and the transitory pattern which it makes on the sands of time and of human story. It roars bravely and churns or mats the billions of grains with sovereign power, but its effects last not for even a watch of the night.

Ferrero's ambition, both for his general thesis and for the rewriting of Caesar's *Commentarii* has tempted him to snatch with avidity at monographs like those of Rauchenstein on Caesar's Helvetian campaign. Why not also simply deny

¹Cicero was one of the most consistently and resolutely grateful men in history.

the actuality of Marius' victories over Cimbri and Teutons? These seem to me to afford approximately the same material for negation or doubt. The fait accompli is the umpire of all this sort of pseudo-scholarship. But Rauchenstein-Ferrero have been answered somewhat beyond their deserts by T. Rice Holmes in *Class. Quarterly* 1909, 203 sqq. Why *κύνα δέειν δεδαρμένην*? Why indeed? "It is dangerous to mate scepticism with imagination: for the offspring thereof will be illegitimate fiction". . . . After the fall of Alesia (52 B. C.) when the impending consulate of Marcus Marcellus and many other things and mutations in Rome—among them the unmistakable however guarded drifting away of the other dynast from Caesar's interests and concerns—were rising with portentous seriousness before the political vision of Caesar, *this* I hold was the point of time¹ when the latter conceived the design of this publication. The majority of special students agree in this matter with Schneider rather than with George Long. Caesar knew well the aims of most of his political antagonists, to most of whom indeed he had become the *bête noire* of existence. They had endeavored to entangle him with Catiline, they had striven almost immediately after the beginning of 58 B. C. to undo his consular legislation . . . ; would so rich a field as his long *imperium* in Northwestern Europe have been neglected by them, provided he had come to Rome once more as a private person into the purview of the *quaestiones* whose panels had been so largely reconstituted by Pompey? And in any trial, be it for *maiestas* or for *repetundarum*, it would, I believe, have been Caesar's own *Lex Iulia Repetundarum* defining and curbing and limiting provincial government as never before, with the financial final accounts in triplicate—this very statute drawn by Caesar himself, I say, would probably have been the keen instrument by which men like Domitius, Cato, Bibulus, the Marcelli and others would have sought his destruction. In that last sultry period, before the breaking of the storm of civil war, details or any minor questions of precision in the long story of that *imperium* were negligible or evanescent to the deeper sentiments held by public men in that crisis.

The larger aspects, such as the justification of entire cam-

¹ *Annals of Caesar* p. 266 sqq.

paings, the enormous emoluments of these latter poured into the political game¹ at Rome—*these* I am convinced would have appeared in the indictment and in the trial. And it is this, I believe, which was in the soul of the nobler Iulius, when, accompanied by his young staff-officer Asinius Pollio he strode among the dead on the field of Pharsalos, and uttered these words with a sigh²: τοῦτο ἐβουλήθησαν, εἰς τοῦτό³ με ἀνάγκης ὑπηγάγοντο (better ὑπήγοντο), ἵνα Γάιος Καῖσαρ ὁ μεγίστους πολέμους κατορθώσας, εἰ προηκάμην τὰ στρατεύματα, κἂν κατεδικάσθην.—And this consistent partisan bitterness of the times is preserved for us in a passage, which, originally, may have been penned or elaborated in contemporary writers or pamphleteers like Tanusius Geminus, Actorius Naso, Ampius Balbus or Caecina.

"Nec deinde ulla belli occasione, ne iniusti quidam ac periculosi abstinuit, tam *foederatis* quam *infestis* ac *feris* gentibus *ultra lacessitis*, adeo ut senatus quondam legatos⁴ ad explorandum statum Galliarum mittendos decreverit etc. (Sueton 24).

Another point: the capital was *not* kept very well informed as to Caesar's operations; we may go further and say that the majority had no very great curiosity in the premises. Cicero's correspondence shows that. It is only when the *legatio* of Quintus and his own new support of Caesar's interests (cf. de prov. cons.) fills him with a special concern, that these campaigns figure at all. Ferrero treats all these things somewhat in the fashion in which a modern journalist might deal, say, with the bulletins arriving from the Boer wars and discussed with due continuity by the organs of public opinion in London or Paris. "Caesar received couriers from Rome daily": not at all: hence the large *bundles*⁵ of letters which of course covered quite a period of time. The creation of a "plutocratic class" among the Kelts, is an affirmation by the author. The belief that Gaul was "pacata", at the end of the

¹ As instruments of Ambitus.

² Plut. Caes. 46.

³ Cf. Die Historische Schriftstellerei des C. Asinius Pollio, by Kornemann, Teubner, 1896, p. 684. Where however in the further relation the two words *ῥωμαιστί* and *ἐλληνιστί* should be transposed in the text.

⁴ This from Tanusius, cf. Plut. Caes. 22.

⁵ Ad Q. Fratr. 2, 12, 4: Sed ille scripsit ad Balbum, fasciculum illum epistolarum, in quo fuerat et mea et Balbi, totum sibi aqua madidum redditum esse

Belgian campaign or late in 57 B. C. (B. G. 3. 7.) furnishes F. material for one of his numerous houses of cards, viz. that Caesar with great audacity executed "annexation" of Gaul, and that he had endless troubles subsequently with "public opinion" in Rome, because risings occurred continually . . . , or that he wished (II 48) to re-establish his credit which had suffered severely through the performances of Clodius.—The passage in Dio 39, 25 is misunderstood by Ferrero. We may go further and say that Dio made an utterly misleading inference. The matter really before us is the *Ten Legati* whose appointment symbolized the *fait accompli* of a new province calling for permanent organization and administrative settlement.¹ Dio: (as though the results were not really accepted by the senate too) καὶ ὁ δῆμος, τὰ τε κατεργασμένα αὐτῷ θαυμάζων, ὥστε καὶ ἐκ τῆς βουλῆς ἄνδρας ὡς καὶ ἐπὶ δεδουλωμένοις παντελῶς τοῖς Γαλάταις ἀποστεῖλαι. When one studies Dio's relation of the Gallic wars patiently and in detail, one reaches the conclusion, that he selects or passes over, contracts or expands, *ad libitum*, but that he has no other record than Caesar himself; that he freely pragmatizes or even dramatizes sometimes (e. g. 40, 6, Ambiorix), but that otherwise he merely gives us a ratiocinative and analytical rewriting of Caesar's account. Dio, Suetonius and Plutarch have the item of Caesar's cryptogram or cipher (perhaps derived from Oppius), which of course does not occur in Caesar's own memoirs (cf. Dio 40, 9. w. Sueton. 56.). While Dio reserves for himself the freedom of absolutely no restraint or self-limitation in digging or delving for motives, he is very negligent (to put it mildly) in presenting his Livian data in some fair chronological sequence. The final naval battle with the Veneti Dio (39, 42) relates with the lively fancy of a historical novel—Apart from the computation, and, we must add, apart from the imputation of motives and a certain coordination of data (often worthless through chronological confusion) it is indeed the height of *naïveté* to "control" Caesar's Commentarii by Dio, as Ferrero did and that too at second hand through a mono-

¹ Cf. Annals of C. 112, 12 Phil. 28. Fam. I, F. 10 (of 56 B. C.) a result of Luca, "nam et stipendium Caesari decretum est et decem legati". Such a result too was the *de Prov. cons.* of Cicero. i. e. that dealing with Gaul but not that dealing with Macedon and Syria.

graph of a recent Italian scholar. The employment of Appian 2, 17 to furnish data for the theme of *Cesare, il gran corruttore* (Fer. 2, 48 and 67) one may let pass, (i. e. that Caesar financed the election of his creatures and supporters,) except in one point. That chapter in Appian is one of utter confusion in data and detail. He and Plutarch evidently have transcribed much if not all from one and the same source (Plut. Caes. 21) : I am not inclined to name Pollio with Kornemann : Livy is vastly more likely because the trend of the presentation is anti-Caesarian. Appian transcribed with such haste as not to realize that he was dealing with Luca and related subjects, such haste indeed that he does not even name Luca, whereas Plutarch presents all this with much clearness and with slightly greater moderation : the point made in Plutarch's relation is that (many) candidates at R., as I said, got their electoral funds from Caesar, and when in office, requited him. How Ferrero can transcribe such things and still with a straight face insist that Caesar was a pretty loyal republican and did not strive for ultimate autocratic power, I fail to see. That "Roman Pericles" of Ferrero's is one of the many sophomoric things which dazzle the ignorant but cause the well informed to smile. Another pretty phrase which F. turned in his lathe is to call Caesar (II 165, 190) "questo poeta geniale della guerra e della politica", it would do credit to a high school miss speaking her piece in leafy June.

The sketch of public sentiment in Rome as it was immediately after the killing of Clodius¹ Jan. 52 (F. II 157) is typical. The things which Ferrero writes *are psychologically possible*, but he does there what a dramatist or a novelist may write, but he has no warrant to call such things historiography. Often does one think of Aristotle's *οἷα ἀν γένετο*, in the body of his dramaturgy.

The exasperation at Rome against Caesar for the long duration of the Northwestern wars is positively self constructed or autoschediastic on F.'s part. *If* there *had* been a press in Rome, and *if* we *had* the files of those journals—if—if—if.

It is tiresome to read of Ferrero's valuation of Caesar's Gallic Wars—even Besnier in the *Revue Historique* 1907 smiles at the rhetoric of F., as being somewhat *ad captandam Franco-*

¹We really have nothing valuable but Asconius

gallorum benevolentiam—: “la guerre de Gaule a régénéré le monde antique”! a trumpet blast that would bring down the walls of Jericho indeed.

The *fait accompli* sits in judgement here too, and the very impressive historical fact that during all the titanic struggle of the two dynasts there was not, as far as we know, any serious enterprise or effort to cause a rising of the Kelts, either regional or national.—What the aristocracy hoped, (and, we may assume, hoped with great liveliness in 52, 51, 50 B. C.) was, that Caesar would perish, or would at least suffer some very serious reverses there. We may cite Caelius’ report to Cicero (in May 51), Fam. 8, 1, 4. *Quod ad Caesarem, crebri et non belli de eo rumores, sed susurratores dumtaxat, veniunt: alius, equitem perdidisse, quod opinor certe factum est; alius, septimam legionem vapulasse, ipsum apud Bellovacos circumsideri interclusum ab reliquo exercitu; neque adhuc certi quidquam est, NEQUE HAEC INCERTA TAMEN VULGO IACTANTUR*: vague news which the Caesarophobe Domitius *whispers into the ears of his friends*. Such hard facts chime but ill with Ferrero’s modernizing constructions.—Caelius in autumn 51 was not at all an enemy of Caesar’s: if F. had taken pains to have read all of Caelius’ letters in Fam. 8, and made a few simple notes he would not have committed blunders like this one. (F. II 240). How does F. know that Cassius in 51 was suspected of Caesarism? (II 244). Figure after figure the new historian takes up and tries so very hard to give them a new countenance, or a new dress or at least some ribbon or piece of tinsel, like a young girl coming into the possession of her older sister’s dolls. So Curio—of all men—is now, at once to be really respected as an *independent* politician or statesman (II 260–61). If ever there was a clever man ready for the highest bidder, *he* was that man, even if we choose to disregard Vel-leius’ phrase of the ‘ingeniosissime nequam’. How does Ferrero know that Curio went beyond Caesar’s orders? He forgets about Balbus.

We are—*si dis placet*—actually to believe that Caesar, in the autumn of 50, B. C., hoped for peace. The burden of all our texts, records, documents is to go for nothing. But shall we set them aside and accept Ferrero’s unsupported affirmations? Or has he had psychiatric revelations of his own? Or did Caesar appear to him in his dreams?

Signor Ferrero then tells us, that Caesar, in December 50 was utterly *surprised* at the possibility of a storm, which since the homicide near Bovillae, in Jan. 52, and since the subsequent coalition of Pompey and the aristocracy, had come to be one of the most definitely sure things within the entire range of coming events.

The correspondence of Cicero, ever since he left his province (Summer 50 B. C.) to turn his face homeward once more, shows us both in every line as well as between the lines how *certain* the approach of crisis and catastrophe was felt to be by every one.—The great question of Cicero, question chronic, persistent and deeply troublous, was this and this alone: Where shall I stand? With whom of the two shall I range myself? Is a neutral position at all possible? On Dec 10 Cicero (having landed in Brundisium on Nov. 25) conceived *this* alternative of future contingencies: 1. *concordia*, i. e. the repairing or closing of the breach now patent and palpable to the world. 2. *Sin boni vincuntur*, i. e. the defeat of Pompey and the conservatives (Att. 7, 3, 2), whereas Caesar's defeat is *not* conceived as a probable contingency, is not brought into these reflexions at all.

The situation is definite: *de sua potentia dimicant homines*, (i. e. the two dynasts) *hoc tempore (dimico goes well with the idea of a duel)*, *periculo civitatis* (§ 4). Caesar appears to Cicero on Dec. 10 as "*homo audacissimus paratissimusque*", i. e. relatively, comparing his situation with that of Pompey. The prevailing note which echoes and reechoes in Cicero's soul is: Too late! The time is close at hand when a man must call himself either a Caesarian or a Pompeian. If I do come out against Caesar, his Spaniard, Balbus, will perhaps dun me (Att. 7, 3, 11). *Sero enim resistimus ei, quem per annos decem aluimus contra nos* (Att. 7, 5, 5). Is Caesar to be a second Cinna or Sulla? (Att. 7, 7, 7).—But the most luminous of these monitory or forecasting utterances is this one, written late in December (Att. 7, 9, 2). "*Aut, addita causa, si forte tribunus pl. senatum impediens aut populum incitans (Antony did both) notatus aut senatus consulto circumscriptus (Antony shortly afterwards had this very experience) aut sublatus aut expulsus sit, dicensve se expulsus ad illum confugerit?*" I marvel that some Higher Critic does not assert

that this *must* be an ex post facto interpolation by some enemy of Caesar? If I live long enough, I firmly expect such a contribution to advanced scholarship to be made. But, really, is it not a very curious and detailed computation of a contingency so soon to become a historical reality pregnant with a portentous series of consequences? The Arpinate in a way was the chorus in that tragedy. Reviewing, then, the last nine years the orator clearly discerns the path of *one* mighty will, of *one* consistent and undeviating policy, he himself deriving little consolation from such pondering and rumination.

At this point it may be well to turn back a little and follow Cicero's own path and incidentally note some of Ferrero's peculiar or exclusive affirmations in that part of his *Grandezza*.

Sometimes one is tempted—when reading the lively recital of Cicero's Cilician proconsulate, to believe that for once Signor F. had settled down to a sober and painstaking study—genuine *study*—of the indispensable and exclusive texts, all of them, and every part of them. But at once we come upon a blunder of hurry or ignorance so grotesque that we doubt it all. Tullius Tiro: who, even superficially acquainted with Cicero but knows of him, and of his services and intimate literary relations and confidences—beyond all Boswells of later times; whose biography of Cicero has furnished the most precious things in Plutarch's Cicero and to whose early planning and consistent industry we owe our collections of Cicero's correspondence? Listen, dear reader, to the profound information of Signor Ferrero, which I quote in the original that no one may impute any unfairness to my own pen: “i segretari, tra i quali uno liberto che portava il suo stesso nome M. Tullio, e uno giovane schiavo Tirone. Poor Tiro! is such the reward of thy devotion that thou shouldest be rent in twain and reduced to a mere half of thy being after so many centuries!—To speak with moderation: When F. wrote his *Grandezza* he evidently read ad Atticum and ad Fam. for the first time, and then only piecemeal, and with superficial haste. Or is it not so? His reading evidently merely *ad hoc* and limping badly in the rear of his nimble pencilling. No wonder then, too that he refers to Ariobarzanes at that time ruling over Cappadocia (II 271) as *il vecchio re di Cappadocia*. Not acquainted with the text of the Cilician corre-

spondence in detail he confounded the youth (placed under Cicero's *tutela* by special action of the senate) with the latter's father. Att. 5, 18, 4 (iam exhibeo *pupillum*, neque defendo) cf. also Tyrrell's editing of the text of Fam. 15, 2, 5: *et tamen adolescentem esse* and § 6.—The reference in Ferrero's footnote, p. 278 (the defence of Cicero against the criticism "del Tyrrell e del Purser") shows clearly that Ferrero must be virtually ignorant of T. and P., for he classes them with Drumann (!!) as unfair judges of Cicero's proconsulate! Indeed a *little* knowledge 'del Tyrrell e del Purser' is a dangerous thing. The world knows well that nowhere in modern classicism is there any fairer or better-balanced estimate of Cicero as well as of all the main persons occurring in his correspondence, than in Dr. Tyrrell's monumental work.—Terentia if we may trust the *only* authority we have, had *nothing* to do with the arrangement of poor Tullia's third and last matrimonial venture (F. II 280). In II 281 we read: "un certo Cresto, un giornalista di professione." In Cic. Fam. 2, 8, 1 Cicero quotes *ordinary news* from Rome with which he did not wish to be bothered, such as the pairing of gladiators, adjournments of trials, and "Chresti compilatio" which Tyrrell calls a 'robbery by Chrestus' an ordinary burglary. Why indeed if it meant "*compilation*"¹—how could a 'compilation' by a nobody be a piece of news for a Cicero? Compilation of what? And even if *compilatio* here should be taken in the modern (literary) sense, what warrant has the author of the *Grandezza* to call the poor devil Chrestus "a professional journalist"? Cheap and onesided to hit off a Cicero by such current commonplace as "uomo della penna" or "il vecchio scrittore". For if Ferrero had studied *all* the works and all the sequence of Cicero's life, he would know that to the Arpinate, when he felt himself master of himself, and in a *free* government (really free), literature was only a *second choice*, and his practice before the praetor urbanus was excelled probably *if* excelled by only *one* contemporary at the Roman bar, Servius Sulpicius, about whom Mr. F. must consult Pomponius in the introduction to the Digest of Roman Law.

Let us pause here to write down a few words of proper appreciation of Cicero's *de Republica* which F. glibly presents

¹The Thesaurus probably caught napping here.

as the exposition of the political sentiments of *le alte classi*. The work as we know from a line of Caelius (Fam. 8, 1, 4) was published about the time in May 51 when Cicero in leisurely stages travelled towards Brundisium to embark for his proconsulate. "Tui politici libri omnibus vident"—which means this: your books (on Political Science,) your treatise on the State is considered a strong production by everyone (i. e. who reads them).—How does Ferrero interpret the words of Caelius?: "questa ammirazione mondiale" (II 266), an absurd exaggeration. What made the work notable when Atticus put it out? It was absolutely the first book in finished Latin on such a theme, but we have not the slightest data in the extant fragments of the work for assuming that Cicero designed or projected any practical influence in affecting or directing political thought in his time. He *sums up* (as he had *summed up* in the preceding general work *de Oratore*): he draws a line under his life's total sum. He gives expression not at all to class-convictions *per se*: he is no mere pen or penciller of social prejudices or notions. To one, who has striven for several decades to gain a real familiarity with this unique and manysided man, a man so much half-understood and still more quarter-understood or held in fancied familiarity on account of a little spelling out of a few minor things, a man known by a few glimpses or juvenile incursions—to such a one I say who sifts all his works and the entire sequence of his career, there is a *very high degree of consistency* in Cicero's political theory and his concrete political judgements. This then is what I have elsewhere called a philosophical, an ethical conservatism. When he was composing this treatise he knew absolutely nothing of the possible contingency of a proconsulate for himself. Still by this book (as well as by Xenophon's *Cyropaedia*) was he willing to have his administration of Cilicia judged. One of the fundamental points (suggested also in the ultra-elaborate allegory in which the introduction is couched) was this, that he considered the double initiative in the Roman system of legislation an evil, and the Tribune in this connection a factor in public life which made genuine *unity* of the commonwealth simply impossible.¹—Aristocratic initiative and control however he conceives by no means in the narrow

¹ Ludwig Lange holds the same view.

partisan sense of the Optimates of the day: e. g. "which always must be maintained in this state, viz. *that the most numerous class shall not count the most* (ne plurimum valeant plurimi II 39)—by which he means a firm control of the plebeian masses.

But concrete Roman history (II 54) much better than Plato's speculation, teaches us actual statesmanship and the best political lessons. Consciousness of *le alte classi*? Why, Cicero utterly condemns the social present as the *fait accompli* of a wretched decadence [and the *alte classi* certainly were the chief performers in this process]: *to his contemporaries that Rome which he knows and loves, is not even known any more, they have virtually ceased to read their Ennius*. . . .

But Rome even now decadent and decaying as it is, is still founded on the moral vigour and the stern fibre of the olden time. *That alone is the explanation of Roman greatness—qualities which remind the author of a fine painting which has become blurred through age.* "Our time (V 2) has neglected to renew the colours, but has not even conserved the painting itself, its form and as it were its drawing. *For what remains of ancient morality through which he (Ennius) said that the Roman state stood? A morality which we see so buried in oblivion that it is not even known*". For what shall I say of the men? Our time is a period of decadence. "*Mores enim ipsi interierunt virorum penuria*".—It is all an Elegy of the *Nevermore*.—Ferrero reveals not even a trace of genuine insight into the structure or essence of this treatise.—His incursions or raids into the domain of Roman literature are in the main woeful performances, superficial, sophomoric and glittering with the gold leaf of literary commonplace. After Bernhardt, Teuffel, Mommsen, Schanz, Ribbeck, Leo, Madvig, Robinson Ellis, Nettleship, Munro, Sir John Sandys, Tyrrell—to read his paragraphs is simply like biting on a small stone, whether he deals with Lucretius or Catullus or Cicero or Varro or any one else in this domain, or when he glibly writes of "*la vecchia epica monumentale di Ennio e Pacuvio*": so Pacuvius wrote epic too.

"Denn wo Begriffe fehlen, stellt schnell das Wort sich ein". The way in which Ferrero works up Att. 9, 18, the report by Cicero of his conference with Caesar at his Formianum, in

March 49 may be called semi-novelistic or semi-journalistic or what you like, but it is not warranted by the text, is not derivable from the spirit or the words of that communication.

What were Cicero's motives in May-June (49) for joining Pompey in Epirus? Listen to the novel sociological explanation (II 379): "*per un supremo rinvigorismento della sua devozione di borghese timido verso questo gran signor*". Indeed? Cicero who said "*Cedant arma togae, concedat laurea laudi*", a *borghese timido* towards any living being in his own generation?

Borghese timido may sound pretty in a Parisian *salon*, but it is stark nonsense. We have here a wealth of data. Cicero since 63 rated himself not lower than any man in public life; not lower than Pompey. His exile added enormously to what we may call his political self-esteem, for he considered himself a martyr for the cause of order, law, property, decency, morals. As he rated the Luculli Hortensii, etc. lower, he certainly rated himself higher. He was in a word much prouder than the average aristocrat, for he owed everything to himself. The S. C. which designated him *Pater Patriae* after the Nones of December 63 was no common or mean thing. No part of his own self-communion exhibits a harder or more beaten path than the favorite mood in which he compares himself with the aristocracy whom at almost all points he had so palpably outshone from the beginning. And even that distinction, gained with legions and eagles in the ever widening periphery of the empire, he did not hesitate to challenge.

And so, early in 62, soon after the expiration of his consular year, when the impending return of Pompey from the East was looming ever larger in the public eye, he wrote (pro Sulla 26): *sibi haberent honores, sibi imperia, sibi triumphos, sibi alia praeclarae laudis insignia*" etc. While even then Theophanes of Mytilene had begun to make Pompey's achievements the theme of his pen, we know with what feverish persistence¹ Cicero made or strove to have made lasting literary record of his consular achievements. We take note of the fact that Cicero composed his *περὶ ἰμπερίας* in what was *then* the language of world-fame, Greek, *before* he wrote his Latin memoir: that he wrote the Latin Epic himself, but failed in his efforts

¹ Cf. Plut. Cic. 22.

to stir Archias or old Posidonius in Rhodes to propagate his renown in finished Greek. *Timido borghese?* It was in 62 too that Cicero sent to Pompey in the East a memoir on the same subject, the all-engrossing subject of how he had curbed and at last destroyed a domestic revolution. In form this was a "letter". But what a letter. The scroll was bulkier than many libri. "Nam significat epistulam non mediocrem *ad instar voluminis* scriptam, quam Pompeio in Asiam *De Rebus suis in consulatu gestis* miserat Cicero, *aliquanto* ut videbatur, *insolenter scriptam* (presumptuous, rather) ut Pompei stomachum non mediocriter commoveret: quod *quadam superbiore iactantia omnibus se gloriosis ducibus anteponeret*. (Schol. Bob. 270-71 Or.)

Pompey's rejoinder seems to have been slight or slighting. We possess Cicero's second epistle, brief, but very proud indeed. If, in striking the balance between us *my* services are the greater—so much the better for my self-respect! "Nulla enim re tam laetari soleo quam meorum officiorum conscientia, quibus si quando non mutue respondetur, apud me plus officii residere facile patior" (Fam. 5, 7, 2).

A great orator in public life has a certain affinity with a great actor, but he is something more, for he must have some elements of real greatness both in character and ideals. In the clash of titanic forces when the Caeliuses, Sallusts, Curios, Dolabellas were swayed by material considerations mainly, and were like donkeys turning towards the bigger bundles of hay, Cicero even then kept true to his finer convictions, he was indeed *sui generis*, he was what the Germans call "*ein innerlicher Mensch*", swayed largely by finer and nobler sentiments—*προσπέπονθα τῷ καλῷ* he once wrote to his friend¹—'too much so for my material advantage'. To be called *ungrateful* was something he could not endure even to conceive in his mind.

His *political* judgement in the spring of 49 condemned Pompey. He was however, as I have said elsewhere, not only one of the most *grateful* men of history, but also firm in his gratitude and prepared for very positive sacrifices and even calamities in such resolutions. It was this which made him cross the Adriatic to Durazzo. His soul readily and power-

¹ Att. 2, 19, 1.

fully echoed with lines, which became a force within him, because his general character gave them lodgement and decisive influence, and these things happened not in the quiet musings of a library but in a mighty tempest, when the consideration of to be or not to be ever dwelled before the souls of men. It was then that certain lines of Homer burned themselves into his soul (Att. 9, 5. 3): "Ego igitur, siquidem apud Homerum, cui et mater et dea dixisset

αὐτίκα γάρ τοι ἔπειτα μεθ' Ἑκτορα πότμος ἑταῖρος,

matri ipse (scil. Achilles) respondet

αὐτίκα τεθναίην, ἐπεὶ οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμελλον ἑταίρῳ

κτεινομένῳ ἐπαμῶναι . . .

It will be my ruin, but I must go. A soul such as Cicero's was is not filled with any class-consciousness but it is the possession of, it marks a very specific, a unique personality. And so too, when all this was over he spoke (or published) in the autumn of 46 (pro Marcello 14), a perfect confirmation of the sentiments and the pencillings of the spring of 49: *Hominem sum secutus privato officio, non publico, tantumque apud me grati animi fidelis memoria* valuit, ut nulla non modo cupiditate, sed ne spe quidem, prudens et sciens tamquam ad interitum ruerem voluntarium.—'Timido borghese'!

As to Cicero's difference with Terentia and his motives for a divorce we *have* data, which F. could have found in the letters of Cicero, or at least in Drumann. Or if he will take Orelli's *Onomasticon* s. v. "*Philotimus*, libertus, ut videtur, Terentiae potius quam Ciceronis" and verify all the references there given he will probably solve the problem. Like other writers who spread a knowledge (which cannot be critical in many details) over a very large surface, Saintsbury for instance, Ferrero hastily classifies or designates the philosophical books of Cicero's last years as swayed largely by the type of the Platonic dialogue.—"Riassumere la filosofia Greca in un seguito di dialoghi simili a quelli di Platone"—: as every classical scholar knows—not at all, in their *form*, nor in any other way, either. The positive dramatic art of Plato Cicero knew well was beyond him. It was Aristotle's form of dialogue, which Cicero in the main followed, and all this although he derived from Plato's State (*deus ille noster Plato*

Att. 4, 16, 3) certain material incentives: though, what freedom of original construction if we compare the *Somnium Scipionis* with the vision of Er the Armenian!—

Cicero does not develop any system of his own. Some *one* speaker or lecturer we would say presents the doctrine of *one* school on the main topic of the treatise. These relations are really didactic presentations of systems extant and consummated, while the Academy of Carneades furnishes the *aqua fortis* of keen analysis and freer valuation of Stoa and Garden. For these two really were the great systems of the day. Cicero was a practical eclectic, not the devotee of any one school, although he owed his dialectic largely to Philo and Antiochos, and his deeper ethical conceptions to the Stoa in the main. It is clear that any genuine repristination of the Platonic art even as a literary form, at this stage of ancient civilization had become quite impossible, even if a Latin Plato had arisen. It may be well to cite here what Cicero wrote to Atticus in June 45 (Att. 13, 19, 4): *Quae autem his temporibus scripsi, 'Αριστοτέλειον morem habent, in quo sermo ita inducitur ceterorum, ut penes ipsum sit principatus etc.)* in short a didactic rather than a dramatic presentation. Special students of Aristotle¹ use this very passage to reconstruct some clearer notion of that thinker's Dialogues.

But to return to Caesar. The flank movement of Pompey's cavalry at Pharsalos was *not* directed mainly at Caesar's cavalry—a negligible force on that day—but at his right wing and indeed at his entire position (Caes. B. C. 3, 93). The date, Aug. 9 of the Roman calendar, was about June 6, 48 by the solar year, not *end* of June.—The boyish age of the last Ptolemy (p. 423) seems to have escaped Ferrero.—As for Pompey, he was by no means a typical aristocrat at all, the ambition of his life, from Sulla's return onward was to stand *apart* from, to be revered as one standing *above* the parties. No less than Caesar, Pompey was *sui generis* through and through.

Diochares is called by Ferrero “uno dei piu celeri *schiavi* di Cesare”, but Att. 11, 6, 7: “quaere ex Diochare, Caesaris *liberto*”.—When the news of Pompey's death reached Rome, whence did F. derive this? “Scoppiò in tutti i ceti un furore

¹ As e. g. Heitz. Die verlorenen Schriften des Aristoteles.

di entusiasmo per lui". The question is not as to what was *psychologically possible*, but *what we know about it*. How does F. tell of the manner in which Cleopatra captured Caesar? By reciting the entire gamut of psychological or physiological *possibilities* (2, 430). He never mentions Lucan who was so much nearer Livy than Dio.—As for Servius Sulpicius, one must not class him as a Caesarian at all.—Is there anywhere, even in Cicero's writings, a nobler elegy on the passing of the Republic than that exquisite letter of consolation sent by the jurist in Achaia to the bereaved Cicero? (Fam. 4, 5). "Cogita quemadmodum adhuc fortuna nobiscum egerit: ea nobis erepta esse, quae hominibus non minus quam liberi cara esse debent, patriam, honestatem, dignitatem, honores omnes" (ib. § 2). Sulpicius simply accepted the iron logic of results, but his affection for the old order was not a whit less deep and sincere, than that of Cicero.—When F. says of the schoolboy king of Egypt: "Tolomeo era morto *durante la guerra*", one receives the impression that the exact date of his death was unknown: but he perished in the Nile with his golden corselet on, on Mch. 27 (Fasti Praenestini).

The influence of the Alexandrian life and incidental pleasures on Caesar are mere psychological speculations (2, 444), we really know nothing about them. The campaign of Thapsus is done in a great hurry and it is not likely that F. has devoted any serious study to that admirable report, the *Bellum Africanum*. Ferrero's knowledge of even the barest outline is so poor that he actually has Cato *flee to Utica after the battle*, whereas the Stoic was in command there during the entire campaign. These things (and *many* others for the enumeration of which there is no space) show, with what hurried and superficial procedure Ferrero, in the main, compiled his first two volumes. His great ambition (viz. to be as un-Mommsenian or anti-Mommsenian as possible) tempts him constantly into constructions which are untenable, fanciful, or absurd.—With Mommsen Caesar is the "Monarch" as soon as he crossed the Rubicon, while F. (2, 455) informs us: "sebbene avesse incominciato la guerra non per ambizione del supremo potere" etc. add pp. 456, 458.—Of Caesar's 'discourse' in the Senate (after returning from the Thapsus campaign via Sardinia) we are not so sure. We have only the written speech

of Dio (43, 15-18), the consistent imitator of Thucydides. It is quite risky to treat this speech, (this Dionian ratiocinative presentation of that situation) as history, as F. does. We lack support of Dio.—Why were the '*elogi di Catone*'—'*stupidi*'? (475).

As to Cleopatra in Rome and as to her departure from the park of Caesar a few matters should be made clear.—Here again we see, that F. has merely *browsed* in Cicero's correspondence (F. 2, 476), but has not taken pains to make an exhaustive study of the same. We know, then, that Cleopatra was still in the capital during the Ides and even some time later. F. got *his* version from Suet. Caes. 52 in part. But Cicero wrote at Sinuessa, on April 15, 44 B. C., a full month after the Ides (Att. 14, 8, 1): "*Reginae fuga* (i. e. hurried departure from Rome) *mihi non molesta est*".—On May 11 he plainly intimates his hope that Cleopatra may have had a miscarriage (Att. 14, 20, 2): "*Tertullae nollem abortum* (wife of Cassius), *tam enim Cassii sunt quam Bruti serendi. De regina velim atque etiam de Caesare illo.* Cf. Tyrrell's note.—About Caesar's Anticato F. says: "*per confutare l'ideologia repubblicana che pareva* (where?) *rifiorire*". . . . The traces of Caesar's monograph in Plutarch's Cato min. (11, 36, 52, 54) and elsewhere (Plin. Ep. 3, 12) and the activities of Hirtius are not unknown to us (Att. 12, 40, 1). "*Qualis futura sit Caesaris vituperatio contra laudationem meam* perspexi ex eo libro, quem Hirtius ad me misit, in quo *vitia Catonis colligit*". The pretty phrase of F. above is pure fancy. But we have no space to puncture all the iridescent soap-bubbles of Signor Ferrero.

The *Bellum Hispaniense* with its precious report of Caesar's address at Corduba seems to be unknown to the Italian writer.—"This address is presented with a vigour and with forceful antitheses of the rhetorical art, which were simply beyond the poor literary powers of this writer. The angry pride of Caesar breathes from every sentence with the living pulse-beat of truth and psychological concinnity".¹

The project of changing the course of the Tiber is mentioned by Cicero *before* Caesar's return from the Munda campaign. (Att. 13, 33, 4)—There was no indignation at Rome

¹ Annals of Caes. 288.

at the prospect *per se* of a Parthian campaign. Ferrero's inferences from Att. 13, 31, 3 are hasty.—In drawing on Suet. 77 about Caesar's last period, F. overlooks the important words; "ut T. Ampius (one of the bitterest anti-Caesarian writers of the times) scribit". Caesar's sober dinner as Cicero's guest down at the Puteolanum (Dec. 45) with their discussions of literary topics (Att. 13, 52) is designated by F. as "orgia"!—While thus utterly perverting the traceable and definite things, F., like a psychiatric expert, presents the invisible factors in Caesar's soul.—How does F. know, (App. 2, 107) that Caesar's Spanish guards were *slaves*? (2499).

Among the more ambitious paradoxes of Ferrero is his new estimate of Brutus. We know *Caesar's* estimate of that peculiar character: his "quicquid hic volt, valde volt", his manner of argumentation so impressed that eminent judge of character, Caesar (Att. 14, 1, 2). Brutus later divorced a Claudia and married the daughter of the man whom of *all* men of his generation Caesar seems to have abominated most. Also Brutus glorified the Stoic in every way and devoted himself very largely to what we would call the source-study of the Old Republic. We had been considering him really a character of extraordinary persistence. No longer! We now learn from the new historian that Brutus was *debole*, a weak character (p. 507). And, once having made his diagnosis he abides by it.—Antony and Lepidus, in the session of March 17, in the temple of Tellus did *not* have a majority. Was there any amnesty at Athens "from time to time"? Cicero certainly means that connected with the democratic restoration by Thrasybulus. Who knows of any other?

Another entirely novel thing: (III, p. 37) Antony's funeral oration consisted merely of a few sentences (App. 2, 145 sqq.). We may perhaps set aside the biographical discourse in Dio (44, 36-49) as a Thucydidean composition. F. seems to follow Suetonius 84: "*Laudationis loco* consul Antonius per praeconem pronuntiavit senatus consulta, quibus omnia simul ei divina atque humana decreverat, item ius iurandum quibus *perpauca a se verba addidit*". Still Cicero calls it a *contio*, and we see that it was spread broadcast all over Italy within a few weeks (Att. 14, 11, 1). Therefor Ferrero's pronouncement: "il discorso incendiario di Antonio è una

leggenda" (III, p. 37) is not quite certain. Atticus rated that discourse as a *decisive* political act in destroying the public security of the regicides. But what did Atticus know about it? And what becomes of Lange's other references, Plut. Anton. 14, Brut. 20; Att. 14, 14, 3, and particularly Cic. 2 Phil. 2, 91: tua *illa* pulchra *laudatio* (famous within a very short time) tua *miseratio*, tua *cohortatio*: there must have been a very substantial *plus* beyond what Suetonius relates. But what did Cicero know about it?

If nothing durable was founded by Caesar, as Ferrero affirms, why then the immediate succession and the struggles of the pretenders? Hirtius (III 69) "became a Caesarian once more". He had never been anything else. His very books to supplement Caesar were written after the Ides and before January 1, 43 B. C.

The Ituraean archers of Antony are called purchased slaves by Ferrero (3, 80). What is his authority? There is no sober reason for censuring Cicero for his desire to go to Greece in the summer of 44 B. C. Absurd to call the man *timido* who delivered the First Philippic and the others in that swan's song of the Roman Republic.

What Antony feared in the summer and autumn of 44 was *not* the Conservatives, but Caesar's heir.—The time of Dola-bella's departure for the East is known.—Roman history, not Aristotle, was the real basis of Cicero's political theory (F. 3, 133).

The real point of time when Octavian, in 43 B. C. seems to have determined to throw Cicero over was probably soon after he heard of Cicero's epigram, in May. The letter of Decimus Brutus telling of it is dated at Eporedia (Ivrea) at the foot of the Alps, May 25 (Fam. 11, 20, 1), "narrat mihi apud Caesarem se fuisse multumque sermonem de te habitum esse; ipsum Caesarem (Octavian) nihil sane de te questum nisi dictum (one of Cicero's bon-mots) quod diceret te dixisse: "laudandum adolescentem, ornandum, tollendum". . . . as Suetonius (Aug. 12) relates it: "ad praetextum mutatae voluntatis".—As to the last summer of Cicero's life, few things are as illuminating as the letters of Pollio from Southern Spain written to the man who still then was his literary ideal. And yet, with that characteristic bluntness of his

(Fam. 10, 31-33) he avowed to Cicero his friendship for Antony and for Plancus. He went so far in the first of those letters, which otherwise was cordial, as to censure Antony for having abandoned the siege of Mutina. We see that Caesar's real friends desired no truce or composition with the regicides.—The strong anti-Ciceronian strain in Appian from the Ides of March to Cicero's death seems to be due however to the *Historiae* of the very same Asinius Pollio, written after Actium 31 B. C. The data are fairly familiar and are placed in correlation by Kornemann.¹ Soon after the establishment of the Second Triumvirate Pollio, under the pressure of circumstances, abandoned what friendly feelings for Cicero he may have secretly cultivated up to a point of time not long before. So far indeed was he carried away by the interests of the new dynasts and by his adjustment to their interests, that in a speech pro Lamia (not very long after Cicero's foul death) he even referred to Cicero's character with contempt (Sen. Suas. 6, 14). The severest charge however is contained in these words: (ib. § 15) "Huic certe actioni pro Lamia (one of the proscribed of 43 B. C.) qui interfuerunt *negant eum haec dixisse—nec enim mentiri sub triumvirorum conscientia sustinebat—sed postea composuisse*". But he did not dare to put it into his *historiae*, some twelve years later. Ferrero's "La vera importanza storica di Cicerone" (F. 3, 255) are fervid paragraphs meant to be impressive, but largely negligible by serious students. Too often has Ferrero betrayed ignorance or at best hurried acquaintance with the very extensive writings of the Arpinate; p. 254 sounds like a little sediment from Zielinski, but it is quite immaterial whether it is or not. The shallow absurdity of the former journalist however will out: "la importanza storica di Cicerone non solo eguaglia quella di Cesare, ma è di poco inferiore a quella di Gesù, di Paolo, di Agostino". How can any sober student of human history take such declamation seriously!

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¹ Die historische Schriftstellerei des Asinius Pollio 1896.

III.—THE HINDU BEAST FABLE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT STUDIES.

It is now fifty-five years since the publication of Theodor Benfey's two-volume work on the *Pañcatantra*.¹ This great pioneer work, besides giving a scholarly translation of the only Sanskrit text of the *Pañcatantra* then published, set for itself two difficult and important tasks.² In the first place, it endeavored for the first time to give a history of the famous collection of Indian fables commonly called the *Pañcatantra*, in all of its numerous ramifications and offshoots, both inside and outside of India. Secondly, it attempted—likewise for the first time—to trace the history of the individual story and fable themes found in the different versions of the '*Pañcatantra*'.

At that time these studies were in their infancy. The materials at Benfey's command were so meager, compared with what we possess today, that the degree of success which he attained can only command our most profound admiration, amounting almost to reverence. Benfey was one of the giants.

But far more important than the specific results which he attained was the interest he aroused in these subjects among a large group of enthusiastic younger scholars. He gave an impetus to the study not only of the '*Pañcatantra*' literature, but also of comparative folklore in general; an impetus which is still felt to this day, and which gives Benfey a fair right to be called the founder of this branch of research. Though some of his views are no longer tenable in the light of our present knowledge, we must remember that at least a very considerable part of that knowledge has come directly or indirectly out of the labors of his own school. And practically

¹ *Pañcatantra*: Fünf Bücher indischer Fabeln, Märchen und Erzählungen. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt, mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen. (2 vols.) Erster Theil: Einleitung. Zweiter Theil: Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen. Leipzig, Brockhaus, 1859.

² Cf. op. cit., I. p. 1.

all of it may be said to have resulted from labors which owed their primary impulse directly or indirectly to the inspiration of his studies.

Since Benfey's day an enormous amount of work has been done in these lines. The study of comparative folklore—that is, the comparison of different versions or outgrowths of the same story themes—has assumed encyclopedic proportions. It would now be quite impossible to treat scientifically in a single work—unless it were indeed an encyclopedia—all the relationships of the story-themes found in the different Pāṇcatantra versions, as Benfey tried to do. But even in the narrower field of these Pāṇcatantra versions themselves and their inter-relationship, so much has been done that we now stand on a totally different footing from that of Benfey's time. Many versions of the Pāṇcatantra, both Indian and extra-Indian, which Benfey only knew in manuscript or did not know at all, have been edited and published. Some versions of prime importance have been discovered since that time. These include two which are probably the oldest and best representatives of the original Pāṇcatantra now known; namely, the Old Syriac version of *Kalila and Dimna*, and the Sanskrit *Tantrākhyāyika*.¹

These and many other important discoveries have thrown a flood of new light on the subject, and have made imperatively necessary a revision of the work of Benfey, so far as it deals with the relationship of the different versions; or rather, they have made necessary a new work on this subject. Such a new work now lies before us in Hertel's Pāṇcatantra.² This book will certainly be for many years to come one which every student of fable-literature—Indian, Semitic, or European—will have to keep on his work-table. Furthermore, all who are interested in comparative literature will find in it the only up-to-date account of the wanderings of the Hindu beast-fable, which is one of the most romantic chapters of general comparative literature.

'Das Pāṇcatantra' is a complete history of the Pāṇcatantra

¹ See below, pp. 52 ff. and 66 f.

² Das Pāṇcatantra: seine Geschichte und seine Verbreitung. Von Johannes Hertel. Gekrönte Preisschrift. Verlag von B. G. Teubner in Leipzig und Berlin, 1914.

and all its outgrowths, based on all the sources now known.¹ This includes, of course, a competent and valuable survey of the extra-Indian versions, which are almost all descendants of the Arabic *Kalila and Dimna*, a translation of a lost Pahlavi translation of a lost Sanskrit version, which was in existence in the sixth century A. D. Of this more anon.

But by far the greater part of the bulky volume is taken up with the history of the *Pañcatantra* in the land of its origin. It is in this field that the author is especially at home. Indeed, no one living can claim such an intimate acquaintance with the Sanskrit versions. In the course of the last twenty years Hertel has devoted himself to this subject with tireless energy. He has critically edited and published most of the important Sanskrit texts. He has himself discovered, edited and translated the most important of all—the *Tantrākhyāyika*. He has devoted numerous articles and monographs² to very painstaking and laborious researches dealing with the interrelation of these versions, examining carefully and minutely all the manuscripts he could lay his hands on (about one hundred in all); and he has gradually evolved a very definite theory as to the genealogy of the versions, of the correctness of which he is himself, at least, absolutely convinced.

In the present book, of course, it could not be expected that Hertel would repeat all of the intricate, detailed, and highly technical arguments on which he bases his theories as to the relation of the different versions. For the most part, he does little more than state his conclusions on points which he has discussed at length elsewhere. He treats *in extenso* only those Indian versions which he now deals with for the first time. Unfortunately for non-specialist users of the book, this means that he devotes long sections to many late, secondary, and largely non-Sanskritic versions (*Gujerati*, *Marāthī*, *Braj*

¹ Hertel wisely does not undertake to cover the other field treated by Benfey in his 'Einleitung'—the wanderings of the individual story themes. He restricts himself to versions of the *Pañcatantra*, or works based wholly or in large part upon such versions. It would have been madness to try to do more at present.

² A list of Hertel's publications on this subject up to 1909 is given in Sylvain Lévi's review of Hertel's *Tantrākhyāyika*, *Journal Asiatique*, 1909, p. 531 f. The list contains 31 books and monographs, published between 1895 and 1909.

Bhākhā, Tamil, etc.), which are of very scant general interest; while the old Sanskrit versions are passed over in a few words—with references, to be sure, to Hertel's previous treatments of them.

This method was, I suppose, unavoidable; the work is bulky enough as it is. It is nevertheless regrettable. For the confident style of the author, combined with this marked lack of argumentation on crucial points, gives the impression, to those who are not intimately acquainted with the subject, that the general problems of the relationship of the versions are settled for good and all. Without meaning to reflect on the value of Hertel's studies, I must cling to the opinion that some of them are very far from settled.

I have referred to a certain apparent over-confidence which is noticeable in the style of all Hertel's writings. He seems to use words in a sense different from that which they ordinarily have. 'Ganz sicher' with him appears to mean 'probable': 'ganz unzweifelhaft', 'not unlikely'. For 'undenkbar' understand 'unlikely'; for 'ganz ausgeschlossen' understand 'scarcely probable'. Such expressions swarm in Hertel's pages; and he does not always furnish so convenient a translation of them as he does on page LIV of his introduction to the edition of the Southern Pañcatantra. Here, in the text, he says: 'Wenn wir nun auch erst Zeugnisse etwa aus dem Jahre 800 für die Çaradā-Schrift haben, so werden wir *sicherlich* annehmen dürfen, dass sie älter ist . . .'. What he means by the word *sicherlich* (italicized by me) is explained in his footnote to the above sentence: "So urteilt auch Bühler, Detailed Report S. 31: 'I feel, therefore, *not certain* that the Çaradā alphabet is *not* one of the ancient literary alphabets, dating perhaps from the times of the Guptas or earlier'". The equation is as clear as could be desired; Hertel's *sicherlich* = Bühler's *not certain that . . . not*. This passage is worth quoting as an indication of the value of Hertel's superlatives. I regret to say that it appears to be quite typical.

Disagreeable as it is to me to find any fault with one for whose splendid achievements for our studies I have such a profound admiration, I should have been recreant to my duty had I omitted to warn non-specialists of this unfortunate, and of course wholly unconscious, tendency to extreme state-

ments. It is only fair to add, however, that Hertel has proved himself a great enough scholar to withdraw from certain untenable positions which he had formerly taken with his usual positiveness, when it became clear that they were, indeed, untenable positions. It should also be emphasized that he himself has taken the greatest pains to furnish his critics with all possible means of testing his theories. I have a good deal of sympathy with Hertel's impatience toward certain of his critics, who have expressed general doubts without any attempt to defend them, or really to argue against Hertel. Conclusions based on twenty years of minute textual study, by a man who is admitted to be an extremely learned and acute scholar, cannot be cavalierly waved aside by anyone's 'impressions'. Hertel has a perfect right to demand that before publicly dissenting from his views, a scholar must take the trouble of following him as carefully as possible through his *Pilgrim's Progress* of the *Pañcatantra* versions.

Up to a certain point, I think it is true—and if true, it is surely significant—that those of Hertel's critics who seem to have gone most minutely into the comparison of the *Pañcatantra* versions, have also been the ones who have come nearest to agreeing with Hertel.

I have myself been at considerable pains to read, and have striven to digest, the somewhat formidable amount of Hertel literature which has been published within the last fifteen years. I have furthermore made an intensive and comparative study, on my own account, of some considerable sections of the *Pañcatantra* in all the important early versions, taking advantage of the valuable facilities for work of this sort which Hertel's various publications furnish. Specifically, I have tabulated the variant readings for all the verses occurring in the first book of the *Pañcatantra* (roughly speaking, one-third of the whole text), in all the older Sanskrit and Semitic versions; and I have treated in the same way the prose parts of a number of stories. Some interesting results have come out in the course of this work; I hope to present them at a future time. For the present I desire simply to mention these facts by way of showing that I have neither blindly accepted anything, nor rejected it on the basis of preconceived opinions or vague impressions.

What I propose to do in the remainder of this article is this. I shall state, in as brief a form as possible, for the convenience of non-Sanskritists, what seems to me to be the present best opinion among scholars as to the following questions. First, the date and character of the original Pañcatantra—the work from which all the versions must be supposed to have been derived. Secondly, the character of the older and more important of the individual versions, with especial reference to their relation to each other and to the original work, and their comparative closeness to that original work. Thirdly, and rather incidentally, I shall refer in connection with each version mentioned to its best available editions and translations. In a continuation of this article, to be published later, I shall undertake a more detailed and technical critique of certain important points of Hertel's 'genealogical table' of Pañcatantra versions.

It may in general be understood that in default of a statement to the contrary I am stating views which are not inconsistent with Hertel's position. With that position I am, on the whole, in accord. Some of his important theses I think he has proved pretty conclusively. Few of them seem to me capable of absolute disproof, in the present state of our knowledge. The only general fault I would find with Hertel is that to which I have already referred—his cocksureness, to use a bit of venerable English slang. Substituting *may* for *must* throughout his most recent book, I could reduce it to such a state that, with a few exceptions, I should almost be willing to subscribe to every section.

1. *The Original Work, or 'Urpañcatantra'.*

This is now lost to us; our knowledge of it is based solely on its descendants. It was probably composed about the third or fourth century A. D., in the Sanskrit language,¹ by an adherent of some orthodox Brahmanican cult (Hertel thinks, a Viṣṇuite; at any rate, he was not a Buddhist or a Jaina) whose name we do not know. The book consisted of an introduction and five sections, each section called a *tantra*. The meaning of this word is disputed; Hertel argues that it means 'trick'

¹ So Hertel, to my mind quite decisively. I see nothing in Sylvain Lévi's objections, JA. 1909, p. 534.



(‘Klugheitsfall’). There are certainly some arguments of weight on that side, and I personally incline to it rather than to the opinion of Winternitz,² who thinks it means simply ‘section of a scientific work’, ‘section’ in general. At any rate, the main purpose of the book was to teach worldly wisdom—especially political wisdom, of a highly unmoral and Machiavellian variety. It did this by both precept and example. The precepts were put into the form of verses containing wise saws and maxims. The examples, illustrating the lessons inculcated by the verses, were furnished by the fables themselves, which were in prose.

Hertel is doubtless right in emphasizing the general tone of the original work as tricky and unmoral, if not positively immoral. None of the stories of the original reveal such marked religious purposes as appear in many Buddhistic and Jainistic stories. Nevertheless, I am inclined to think that he pushes this point quite too far. He is inclined to insist very strictly that every story of the original shall contain a ‘tricky’ lesson. If it does not contain any such to his mind, out it goes: verdict, ‘*unecht*’. He attributes to the author more care and consistency than I should wish to attribute to any Hindu, in contending that having started out with a general purpose in mind, he must necessarily have stuck closely to that purpose throughout the work, looking neither to the right nor to the left. I can hardly doubt that the author would not have hesitated to put in now and then a rattling good story that he knew of, even if it did not happen to teach a clear Machiavellian lesson.

The author may have composed some of his stories; but certainly he took many, if not most, of the themes, from older sources. On the other hand he probably deserves full credit for the form and style in which they are clothed, and which, it may be presumed, became largely responsible for the unexampled popularity of the work.

We cannot tell certainly what name the author gave to his work. It was either *Pañcatantra*, ‘The Textbook consisting of Five Tantras’, or *Tantrākhyāyika*, ‘The Book of Stories consisting of Tantras’. (On the disputed meaning of *tantra*, see above.) These two names are found among the oldest

² See WZKM. 25. 49 ff. Cf. also Thomas, JRAS. 1910. 1347 f.

versions. Most of them use the name *Pañcatantra*; but of course majority voting does not decide such a matter.

Every version of the *Pañcatantra* (we shall continue to call the work by the name traditionally given to it, not implying anything as to its original name) which is now known to us has suffered more or less serious revisions—both deliberate and accidental, and in small matters as well as in great. This lies in the nature and character of Hindu literary tradition in general. Literary authorship has always been a matter of small consequence to the Hindus, and plagiarism is a concept which would have no meaning to them. They have always felt as free to deal with the works of others as with their own. Consequently, all versions of the *Pañcatantra* certainly differ from the original in the addition of certain stories, or in the omission of others, or in both respects. Most of them—in my opinion, all of them—also can be shown to differ from the original rather extensively in matters of detail.

The stories inserted or omitted in the various older versions can be seen at a glance from Hertel's table, page 12 ff.

As to the differences in detail, their name is legion. They may concern mere verbiage—the expression of the same idea in different language. But they may, and often do, concern more or less radical alterations in the story-themes or incidents of the narrative. In a good many cases it is difficult or impossible to determine with certainty what the original reading was, on account of the wide divergence of the versions. In other cases this task is less difficult. But in all cases it is, in the nature of things, a subjective matter, and therefore a more or less dangerous (though very entertaining) pastime. Hertel has, of course, done a great deal of this sort of reconstruction-work—always with great ingenuity, frequently with marked success. Here again, however, one needs to beware of over-enthusiastic confidence in the certainty of such results.

There is a marked difference as to accuracy of transmission between the stanzas and the prose parts of the original. The very fact that the verses were composed in meter made radical changes in them more difficult so long as they remained in the language of the original, and more easily detected. Also, all redactors seem to have attached especial importance to the verses, and taken more than usual pains to preserve them

(frequently adding other similar verses of their own). This is accounted for by the proverbial character of the verses; they sum up the philosophy of the whole work. As a matter of fact, we can to a very large extent reconstruct the verses of the original Pañcatantra. Thus, in Book I, I have counted eighty-two verses which are found in the three oldest prose recensions (the Tantrākhyāyika, the Southern Pañcatantra, and the Pahlavi), and which may therefore with comparative certainty be attributed to the original. Probably those verses which appear in the Tantrākhyāyika and in either the Pahlavi or the Southern Pañcatantra, but not in the other, may—at least for the most part—also be considered to belong to the original. I have found seventy-two such verses in Book I, making a hundred and fifty-four in all. Now the Tantrākhyāyika only contains 185 verses altogether in Book I, and the Southern Pañcatantra only 142,¹ so that it is clear that the older versions have preserved the verses of the original fairly well—at least, much better than the prose.

So much for the original Pañcatantra. We shall now say a few words about each of the older and more important versions.

2. *The Tantrākhyāyika.*²

The chain of events which led to the discovery of this new version of the Pañcatantra is told by Hertel in the introduc-

¹In Hertel's edition 156 are counted, but 14 of these are only found in inferior manuscripts and certainly do not belong to the original Southern Pañcatantra. Of the 142 genuine verses of Book I of SP., 122 are also found in the Tantrākhyāyika. Of about 120 verses in Book I of the Pahlavi (the exact number is not certain because, of course, the translations are all in prose) all but about 10 occur in the Tantrākhyāyika.

²Edition: Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra . . . herausgegeben von Johannes Hertel . . . Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1910. (Abhandl. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. zu Göttingen, phil.-hist. Kl., N. F., XII. 2.) It is announced that this edition will be reprinted in Prof. C. R. Lanman's Harvard Oriental Series. Translation: Tantrākhyāyika. Die älteste Fassung des Pañcatantra. Aus dem Sanskrit übersetzt mit Einleitung und Anmerkungen von Johannes Hertel. (2 Bände:) Erster Teil. Einleitung. Zweiter Teil. Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen. 1909. Leipzig und Berlin. Druck und Verlag von B. G. Teubner.

tion to his translation of it, page 64 and following. He at once recognized the importance of his find; and in fact, his natural and proper joy in the discovery led him at first, and for some time, to somewhat overestimate it. Even in the preface to his 'Einleitung' to the translation, page 1, he still speaks of it as 'der alte Urtext des Pañcatantra', although in the body of the same work he qualifies this statement very markedly. I have found no such statement in his new book, 'Das Pañcatantra'.

As a matter of fact, the Tantrākhyāyika is far and away the closest to the original of all the Indian versions of the Pañcatantra now known to us. Of this fact I believe there is no question. All the other Indian versions can be clearly proved to have been deliberately and radically reconstructed. By this I do not now mean that they contain additions or omissions, however extensive. The reconstruction applies to the entire prose parts of the original work; at most the verses were left untouched by it. These other versions are really quite new works. They tell the same stories, but in a wholly new way. In some of them an abstract has been made of the text. In others the story is spun out in an easy-going, long-winded manner by a later narrator, making no attempt at all to keep to the language of the original. In still others the original prose has been recast in narrative verse.

In the Tantrākhyāyika none of these things seems to have been done, at least on an extensive scale. A great many errors have crept into its text in the course of transmission. Hertel has pointed out many of them; there are certainly some besides. There are also a number of deliberate and conscious additions, both of whole new stories and of shorter passages or verses. I think it can be shown that there are also gaps in the text—some of them, perhaps, deliberate omissions. But *on the whole* the Tantrākhyāyika seems to contain an attempt to reproduce a text whose main body cannot be very far removed from the original Pañcatantra. If I understand Hertel correctly, this is all that he now claims for it. No amount of purely textual blunders in the few known manuscripts of the text (and such blunders are, unfortunately, numerous) can alter this fact. Nor can the addition or omission of a few stories seriously detract from its importance.

I think the strongest proof of this position is the comparatively close correspondence between the wording of the *Tantrākhyāyika* and that which we can postulate for the very ancient Pahlavi translation (which is now lost) judging by its descendants. Considering all the circumstances, I think with Hertel that this correspondence may fairly be considered remarkably close. It is certainly far closer than that between the Pahlavi and any other known Indian version.

The *Tantrākhyāyika* manuscripts fall into two divisions, representing somewhat different traditions. Hertel thinks that one of these, which he calls β , is later than the other, α , and contains interpolations and changes introduced from another *Pañcatantra* version. I am not entirely convinced of this; but since the two subrecensions are practically identical for the most part, the point has not very much importance except for the specialist. The closeness of the two subrecensions is indicated by the fact that Hertel edits them both as one text, and feels free to follow now the one, now the other, when they differ in details, without disturbing the unity and consistency of the whole.

Hertel's German translation, which is so far the only rendering of the *Tantrākhyāyika* into another language than Sanskrit, should, therefore, by all means be studied by non-Sanskritists who wish to get as good an idea as possible of what the original *Pañcatantra* was like. It is a very careful and painstaking work. Hertel considered, rightly without doubt, that for comparative purposes—particularly for comparison with the offshoots of the Pahlavi translation—it was necessary to make his German as close and literal a rendering of the Sanskrit as possible. This required a good many parenthetic or foot-note explanations, and made the whole not such smooth reading as might be desired, and as the admirable style of the original deserves. These are, however, unavoidable defects, of which the author is quite conscious. And after all, they are not nearly as serious as one might expect. On the whole, Hertel has succeeded in making a translation that is not only close and accurate, but readable—which is no easy task in dealing with a work of the Hindu 'Kunst-literatur', even with so comparatively simple a one as the *Tantrākhyāyika*.

3. *The Bṛhatkathā Versions.*

Guṇāḍhya's great Prakrit poem called the Bṛhatkathā or 'Great Story', composed in the Pāṇḍī dialect, did not contain any version of the Pañcatantra.¹ But a Kashmirian version of it, made sometime before the eleventh century A. D., contained an abbreviated recast of the Pañcatantra, apparently in separate sections (each *tantra* of the original by itself, and separated from the others by extraneous matter).² This Kashmirian Bṛhatkathā was translated into Sanskrit verse by two different men, within a few years of each other: by Kṣemendra in the first half of the eleventh century, and by Somadeva in the latter half thereof. We need concern ourselves here only with the sections of their works containing the Pañcatantra. As to these sections, Kṣemendra,³ according to Hertel, treated his original with great freedom, and interpolated from a text of the Tantrākhyāyika a considerable amount of material which his original did not contain. These facts appear to be pretty well proven. They make Kṣemendra's work of little critical value. As it happens, it is of little literary value also.

Much more important from every point of view is Somadeva's version, found in his work commonly known as the Kathāsaritsāgara; its true name probably was Bṛhatkathāsaritsāgara, or 'Ocean of the Streams of the Bṛhatkathā (Great Story)'.⁴

¹ On this subject compare Lacôte, *Essai sur Guṇāḍhya et le Bṛhatkathā*, Paris, 1908; especially, p. 131 f., and p. 229.

² So it is still found in Somadeva, in five sections separated from each other by considerable passages of other materials. See below, note 4.

³ Edition of Kṣemendra's entire work: *The Bṛhatkathāmañjarī of Kṣemendra*. Edited by Mahāmahopādyaḥ Paṇḍit Śivadatta . . . and Kāshināth Pāṇdurang Parab . . . Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press. Bombay, 1901. (*Kāvya-mālā* 69.) The Pañc. is found on pp. 561 ff. of this edition, which Hertel says is very poor.

A better edition of the Pañcatantra section alone, with a German translation, is the following: *Der Auszug aus dem Pañcatantra in Kṣhemendras Bṛhatkathāmañjarī*. Einleitung, Text, Uebersetzung und Anmerkungen von Leo von Mañkowski, Dr. iur. et phil. Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1892. Even this edition Hertel finds not very critical.

⁴ Compare Speyer, *Studies about the Kathāsaritsāgara*, Amsterdam, 1908. There are two editions of this work as a whole: (1) *Kathā Sarit Sāgara*. Die Märchensammlung des Somadeva. Herausgegeben

Somadeva's version is of course verbally very remote from the original, having passed through two translations, and being furthermore put into a versified form. Even the verses of the original, which in all the other older versions are so well preserved, are almost obliterated in Somadeva (as in Kṣemendra). But the essence of the stories is preserved, and in a very ancient form. In particular there are few omissions of stories belonging to the original, and—in my opinion—no interpolations of stories. I think there is no good reason to doubt that every story contained in Somadeva belonged to the original *Pañcatantra*.¹

Somadeva tells the stories of the *Pañcatantra* freely, in his own words, and in his own graceful and attractive style. In the thread of the narratives he follows his original closely. Where he departs from it he tends in general to abbreviate, leaving out details which seemed to him unessential. This abbreviation in part goes back to his original, the Kashmirian *Bṛhatkathā*. But he seems not to have contaminated his text

von Hermann Brockhaus. Leipzig, F. A. Brockhaus; Part I, Books 1–5, 1839; Part II, Books 6–8, 1862; Part III, Books 9–18, 1866. (The last two parts = *Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, II. 5 and IV. 5. The *Pañcatantra* on p. 111 ff. of Part III, AKM. IV. 5.) (2) The *Kathāsaritsāgara* of Somadevabhattacharya. Edited by Paṇḍit Dur-gāprasād and Kāśīnāth Pāṇḍurang Parab . . . Nirṇaya-Sāgara Press, Bombay, 1889. (*Pañcatantra* on p. 355 ff.) 2d Edition, 1903. (*Pañcatantra* on p. 309 ff.) Neither of these editions is in any sense a critical one; on the whole the second is rather better than the first (cf. Speyer, *op. cit.*, p. 61 ff.). Precisely speaking, the *Pañcatantra* is contained in the following sections of the *Kathāsaritsāgara*: Book 1 of the *Pañcatantra*, in Somadeva, Chapter 60. 11–254; Book 2, in 61. 58–139; Book 3, in 62. 5–167; Book 4, in 63. 97–153; Book 5, in 64. 3–12. (These numbers are taken from the edition of Brockhaus; those in Dur-gāprasād and Parab's edition are slightly different.)

Somadeva's work has been translated into English: The *Kathā Sarit Sāgara* or Ocean of the Streams of Story, translated . . . by C. H. Tawney, M. A. (2 vols.), Calcutta (Bibliotheca Indica), 1880 and 1884. The *Pañcatantra* is found on pp. 27–43, 48–52, 64–75, 84–87. and 90–91 of Vol. 2 of this excellent translation.

¹ Winternitz, *Deutsche Literaturzeitung*, 1910, p. 2761, calls attention to this fact. Hertel indeed believes that Somadeva's original contained a few stories which did not belong to the *Urpañcatantra*; but I think with Winternitz that his grounds are insufficient. I hope to show this in a later publication.

with other versions of the tales, nor to have drawn to any extent on his own invention. Consequently, the appearance of a story or of a motive in Somadeva is *prima facie* (though of course not decisive) evidence that it belonged to the original *Pañcatantra*. On the other hand, the failure of a story or of a motive to appear in Somadeva does not necessarily prove that it was not in the original. It can be shown that (perhaps by accident) he omitted one or two original stories; and in the general abbreviation of the work he, or his immediate original, left out many small details.

4. *The Southern Pañcatantra and related versions* (*the Nepalese text, the Hitopadeśa*).

These three versions go back to an abstract (called by Hertel 'n-w') of a *Pañcatantra* text, made at a time which cannot be determined further than that it was apparently later than the time of Kālidāsa—that is, later than the fifth century A. D. This seems to be shown by the fact that it contained a quotation from Kālidāsa's *Kumārasambhava*.

There seems to be good reason to suppose that in the Southern *Pañcatantra*¹ we have virtually the exact text of

¹ A very imperfect edition by Michael Haberlandt was published in the *Sitzungsberichte der kais. Akad. der Wiss. zu Wien, ph.-hist. Kl.*, Bd. 107, p. 397 ff. It is now entirely superseded by the following edition: *Das Südliche Pañcatantra. Sanskrittext der Rezension β mit den Lesarten der besten Hss. der Rezension α* herausgegeben von Johannes Hertel. Leipzig, Teubner, 1906. (Abh. d. ph.-hist. Kl. d. kgl. sächs. Ges. d. Wiss., Bd. XXIV, No. V.) No translation of the Southern *Pañcatantra* has yet appeared. The best sub-recension of the SP. is the one which Hertel calls α. Because he found the materials insufficient for a complete text of this recension alone, he chose to print complete the text of the β recension, giving in his critical notes the variants of α. This resulted in making his text as printed considerably less original than it might have been. For instance, the printed text contains a large number of verses inserted in β alone, which certainly did not belong to the archetype. In many readings of detail, too, Hertel has deliberately inserted inferior readings of the β mss., although his α mss. furnished the correct readings. It seems to me very unfortunate that Hertel did not do with the SP. what he afterwards did with the *Tantrākhyāyika*, give a text which would attempt to reproduce the SP. archetype, rather than any one single sub-recension. The cases are exactly analogous; the various sub-recensions of SP. are really no more independent versions than those of the *Tantrākhyāyika* and there

this abstract, barring the usual numerous manuscript blunders. This text is, like that of Somadeva, a deliberate recast—in the main, as we have said, an abstract. But, again like Somadeva, it contains a few—though *very* few—insertions. The only one of its stories which is certainly interpolated is I. 12, the Shepherdess and her Lover. In general it follows the main drift of the original narrative quite closely. Moreover, unlike Somadeva, it preserves very well, in general, the verses of the original (cf. above, p. 52, n. 1). Not many verses were inserted in its archetype; nor were very many omitted. The prose text has, nevertheless, suffered by its abbreviation. In many places essential details of the story are almost or quite crowded out, in the striving for brevity.

The Nepalese Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeṣa go back jointly to a recast of the abstract which forms the basis of the Southern Pañcatantra. To this recast Hertel gives the name of 'n-w²', thus distinguishing it from the original abstract, which he calls 'n-w¹'.¹

This recast, n-w², was in general very close to n-w and hence to the Southern Pañcatantra. But it was peculiar in this respect—that it transposed the first two books of the Pañcatantra, making Book II Book I, and vice versa. Otherwise

is no reason for dignifying them to any greater extent. What we wanted of Hertel was a text of the SP. archetype—not a text containing all the obviously secondary blunders of an inferior recension of SP., when the true readings were at hand. As it is, we have to work painfully and laboriously through his critical apparatus to correct his printed text and arrive at the real SP. text.

¹In his 'Stammbaum' of the Pañc. versions (Pañcatantra, p. 426) Hertel postulates the existence of an 'n-w¹', an intermediate stage between the abstract n-w and the Southern Pañcatantra (SP.). This I think is unprovable. On p. 432 of op. cit. he refers, for proof of the existence of this 'n-w¹', to his edition of SP., Introduction, pp. XXXVI-XLIII and XLVI-LI. Nothing in those pages seems to me to prove the point. They contain what Hertel thinks to have been corruptions in the archetype of SP., but nearly all of these supposed corruptions are found also in the Nepalese Pañc. (Hertel's n), so that they must in any case belong to the original abstract n-w. The exceptions concern passages which are not preserved in the Nep. Pañc., so that certainly they do not prove that the true and original text of SP. (as distinguished from the inferior recension β, printed by Hertel) contained any corruptions which were not also found in 'n-w¹', the archetype of the Nep. Pañc. and the Hit.

it seems hardly to have differed from the archetype of the Southern Pañcatantra any more than the individual manuscripts and sub-recensions of the Southern Pañcatantra differ from that archetype and from each other. In matters of detail it of course had a good many slight differences. In some cases these variants are better—that is, more original—than those preserved in the standard manuscripts of the Southern Pañcatantra; in other cases they are inferior.

The Nepalese Pañcatantra is known at present only in a single ancient manuscript which preserves *only* the verses of the original. Its redactor, for some reason which is not clear to us, simply went through the text and took out all the verses, omitting the prose. (The order of the verses keeps strictly to that of the original.) Cases are known in which the same thing was done with other Hindu works composed in mingled prose and verse; the famous Phayre manuscript contains only the verses of the Jātakas, and a manuscript of the Hitopadeṣa containing verses almost exclusively, is known (Hertel, Pañcatantra, p. 38).

At least, such was the evident intention of the author of this text (called by Hertel *ν*).¹ As a matter of fact, the single manuscript we have does not contain all the verses which we may fairly suppose (from the evidence of the Southern Pañcatantra and the Hitopadeṣa) were in his original, *n-w* ². The reason for this probably is that the redactor failed to recognize as verse some of the verses of his original. Hindu manuscripts never make any indication of differences of this sort, except that occasionally—but by no means always—they write numerals at the end of verses. There is never any break in the line of writing. For the converse reason, evidently, this Nepalese manuscript took into its text one prose passage, mistaking it for a verse. The closeness with which this prose sentence agrees with the corresponding one of the Southern Pañcatantra is an additional indication of the close connection of the archetypes of these two texts, and incidentally proves that the Nepalese Pañcatantra is based on a full text containing both prose and verses.

¹ Edited: Introduction and Books I-III incl., in the *Anmerkungen* to Hertel's edition of the Southern Pañcatantra, p. 117 ff.: Books IV-V, in Hertel's edition of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, Introduction, p. XXVII.

The *Hitopadeṣa*¹ is the first instance we have met—if we except *Kṣemendra*, which contains a few interpolations apparently from a *Tantrākhyaṇika* text—of a composite version, that is one which consciously and deliberately undertook to fuse several texts, or parts of them, into one.

The author of the *Hitopadeṣa* gives his own name as *Nārāyaṇa*. His life must fall between about the years 800 and 1373 A. D., the latter being the date of the oldest manuscript. We cannot determine it more accurately. The *Hitopadeṣa* is known principally in Bengal, and is the only *Pañcatantra* version known there to any extent. For this and certain other reasons Hertel holds to the plausible opinion that the author was a native of Bengal.

The author tells us that his work was based upon 'the *Pañcatantra* and another work'. We do not know what the other work was, but apparently it was a collection of fables, from which *Nārāyaṇa* drew those of his stories which are not taken from the *Pañcatantra*. From internal evidence we can tell that the version of the *Pañcatantra* which he used was a recension of 'n-w²', the recast of the abstract which we have in the Southern *Pañcatantra*. This same recast, we have seen, was the text from which the Nepalese redactor excerpted the verses for his recension 'v'. This is sufficiently proved by the mere fact that Books I and II of the original are transposed in v and in the *Hitopadeṣa*, and in them alone of the

¹Edited and translated repeatedly, but a really good critical edition is yet to be made. The two best editions are the following. (1) *Hitopadesas id est institutio salutaris* . . . Augustus Gulielmus a Schlegel et Christianus Lassen. Pars I. Textum Sanscritum tenens. (The promised translation never appeared.) Bonnae . . . MDCCCXXIX. Pars II. commentarium criticum tenens. Bonnae . . . MDCCCXXXI. (2) *Hitopadeśa* by *Nārāyaṇa*. Edited by Peter Peterson . . . Bombay: Government Central Book Depot. 1887. (Bombay Sanskrit Series No. XXXIII.)

The two best translations are the German ones of Fritze (*Hitopadeṣa* . . . aus dem Sanskrit neu übersetzt von Ludwig Fritze. Leipzig, Verlag von Otto Wigand, 1888), and Hertel (*Hitopadesa. Die freundliche Belehrung* . . . von Johannes Hertel. Leipzig, Druck und Verlag von Philipp Reclam jun. No date, but 1895). A free but charming rendering in English is contained in the following: *The Book of Good Counsels from the Sanskrit of the 'Hitopadeśa'*. By Sir Edwin Arnold . . . London: W. H. Allen and Co. . . 1896.

versions known to us. Furthermore the verses of the Hitopadeṣa have a large number of readings peculiar to it and to *ν*.

In the prose text of those stories which the Hitopadeṣa took from the Pañcatantra it agrees in general quite closely with the Southern Pañcatantra—another proof of the relationship as stated, and an evidence of Nārāyaṇa's faithfulness as a redactor. But as to the order of the individual stories, the author of the Hitopadeṣa allowed himself great freedom. He was, indeed, as we have seen, not responsible for the transposition of Books I and II of the Pañcatantra. But he did introduce much more sweeping changes. He omitted Book IV altogether, and split Book III into two books, into which he put the stories of Pañcatantra Book V and many of those of Book I (a disproportionately long book in the original). He has, then, only four books in all; and these four are much more nearly equal in length than the books of the Pañcatantra. The desire to equalize the length of the books was perhaps his motive in introducing these changes. Besides, as we have indicated, the Hitopadeṣa contains quite a number of stories which do not occur in the Pañcatantra, and were presumably taken from the 'other work' to which the author refers. The work also contains a large number of inserted verses. Many of these are quoted from Kāmandaki's Nitisāra, a kind of textbook of policy.

5. *The Jainistic versions (the so-called textus simplicior, and Pūrṇabhadra's recension, sometimes called the textus ornatior).*

All the versions mentioned in the last two chapters—Bṛhatkathā versions, the Southern Pañcatantra and its relatives—contain abstracts of the Pañcatantra in some form or other.

The versions we are now to deal with contain, on the contrary, expanded texts.

The so-called textus simplicior (the rather inappropriate name, which goes back to Kosegarten, is kept for want of a better one) was compiled certainly before 1199 A. D., when it was used by Pūrṇabhadra for his new version, and probably not earlier than the tenth century.¹ On the whole there seem

¹ Hertel, Pañcatantra, p. 71 f., and references there quoted.

to be fair reasons for believing with Hertel¹ that the author was a Jaina. The seemingly most original manuscripts of the text call it the textbook of conduct called *Pañcādikhyānaka*—consisting of five tales—with the alternative name of *Pañchatantra*.

This version has long been, and is today, the best-known *Pañchatantra* text of northwest and central India. It has enjoyed such an immense popularity that it has entirely supplanted the older versions in those parts of India. This popularity is incidentally responsible for the fact that the text is *poorly* preserved to us. It has been since early times so extensively copied that it has suffered greatly at the hands of the copyists. Many changes, both accidental and deliberate, in the details of the text have been introduced in its manuscripts, with the result that while we have a large number of manuscripts of it they vary so among each other that it is almost impossible to be sure of the original text. No one—not even the indefatigable Hertel—has as yet dared to attempt a really critical edition.²

¹ See his elaborate discussion, 'Ueber die Jaina-Rezensionen des *Pañchatantra*', *Ber. Verh. KSGW.* ph.-hist. Kl. 1902, 23 ff., especially 62 ff. He summarizes his arguments in *Pañchatantra*, p. 72 f. Some of them seem to me weak and perhaps all of them may be described as more or less subjective and indecisive. Cf. my remarks, *A.P.* 33, 273 ff. Nevertheless I feel with Hertel that the general flavor of the work suggests Jainism. 'Subjective' this opinion is, if you like: for I do not think it can be clearly proved. I certainly do not think, as Hertel does, that there is any reason for calling the author specifically a *Çvetāmbara Jain*.

² If we except Kosegarten, whose text was indeed such an attempt, but who failed in it so lamentably that both his text and the various translations made from it are quite worthless from a critical standpoint. His edition (with a Latin title, '*Pantschatantrum*...') appeared at Bonn in 1848. It really contains a hedge-podge of the real textus simplicior, *Pūrṇabhadra*, and other Sanskrit versions. Blundering reprints thereof are the texts printed in India under the 'editorship' (?) of Jivānanda Vidyāsāgara (Calcutta, 6th ed., 1899) and K. P. Parab (Bombay, 1896; 2d ed. by M. G. Shastri Bakre 1906).

An intelligent edition, which is however of little critical value since it is based on a single imperfect manuscript, is that published in the *Bombay Sanskrit Series* under the title *Pañchatantra*. BSS. I (Bombay 1866) contains *Pañc.* Books IV and V, edited by G. Bühler; BSS. III (1868), *Pañc.* Books II and III, also by Bühler; BSS. IV (1869), *Pañc.* (Introduction and) Book I, by F. Kielhorn. In default of a critical text this is the best available edition. On it is based the German

This lack of any certainty as to the form of the original *textus simplicior* (it is unique among the Sanskrit versions in this respect) makes it more than usually difficult to determine its relation to other versions. Even Hertel seems to lose his usual confidence when he attempts to discuss this question. For my part, I think we shall have to wait for a careful critical edition, based on a study of all available manuscripts, before we can hope to settle the matter—if, indeed, we can settle it even then.

This much appears to be clear, that the author of the *textus simplicior* dealt very freely with his original, and in particular that he was not at all concerned with keeping it within small limits. On the contrary, he spins it out, both by his leisurely and easy-going style (which makes it very good reading, and probably accounts for its extraordinary popularity), and by adding a considerable number of new stories. These new stories are mostly found in Book V, which is indeed a wholly new creation; it contains the stories of Book V of the old *Pañcatantra*, but most of its stories are quite new. Even the frame story is different. Moreover, a number of stories which were found in Book III of the old *Pañcatantra* are here transferred to Book IV; and some new stories are added here and there throughout the work. The purpose of these additions and changes in the order of the stories seems to have been mainly a desire to equalize the space occupied by the different books. We have seen that the author of the *Hito-padeśa* seems to have been actuated by a similar desire. In the original *Pañcatantra* Books IV and V, especially the latter, were very short. In the *textus simplicior* all the books are more nearly of the same length.

The *textus simplicior* preserves in large part the verses of the original *Pañcatantra*, though—apparently—with more verbal variations than are found in the other older versions. It

translation of Fritze (*Pantschatantra*. . . Leipzig, Otto Schulze, 1884), as well as the Dutch rendering of van der Waals (Leiden 1895-7, 3 vols.). On Kosegarten's miserable text are based the German version of Benfey (above, p. 44, n. 1), the French of Édouard Lancereau (*Pantschatantra*. . . Paris, 1871), the Italian of Italo Pizzi (*Le novelle indiane di Visnusarma [Panciatantra]* Torino, 1896), and the Danish of Rasmussen (*De ældste indiske æventyr og fabler*. . . København, 1893).

also inserts a very considerable number of new verses. In the prose parts it treats its original or originals with the greatest freedom. In fact, it seems to have made no attempt whatever to reproduce the *language* of the text or texts which it used. It tells the stories very freely in its own way. At least, this appears to be the case, in the light of our present imperfect knowledge. When we have a good critical edition of the text, perhaps it will cause us to modify some of these statements.

At present we do not even know what materials the author of the *textus simplicior* used. Hertel thinks that he based his version in the first instance on an unabridged northwestern recension of the *Pañcatantra*, closely similar to that which was used for the abstract found in the Southern *Pañcatantra*, the Nepalese version, and the *Hitopadeṣa*; but that he also used in spots a manuscript of the *Tantrākhyāyika*, and probably still other recensions now lost to us. Since the *Tantrākhyāyika* is the only one of these postulated materials now preserved, or at least known to us, it is evident that the question is very difficult and problematic. Without intending to intimate that I have any theory superior to Hertel's, I may say that in a somewhat careful study of Book I I have found remarkably few traces of any specially close relation between the *textus simplicior* and the Southern *Pañcatantra* or its related versions.

We are on much surer ground when we come to the second Jainistic recension, which is the last of the Sanskrit *Pañcatantra* versions which we shall treat in this article. It is the work of the Jain monk *Pūrṇabhadra*, and was completed in the year 1199 A. D.¹

Pūrṇabhadra's work is based mainly on the *textus simplicior*

¹ Edition: *The Panchatantra . . . in the Recension . . . of . . . Pūrṇabhadra*. Critically edited . . . by Dr. Johannes Hertel . . . Cambridge, Massachusetts . . . 1908. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XI.)—*The Panchatantra-Text of Pūrṇabhadra*. Critical Introduction and List of Variants by Dr. Johannes Hertel . . . Cambridge . . . 1912. (Harvard Oriental Series, Vol. XII.)—The following is a German rendering of what is practically the text of *Pūrṇabhadra*, though containing some interpolations taken from inferior manuscripts, and not corresponding in all details to the text of Hertel's edition (cf. Hertel, *Pañcatantra*, p. 99, and HOS. XII. 44 ff.): *Das Pañcatantram (Textus ornator)* . . . Zum ersten Male übersetzt von Richard Schmidt. Leipzig, Lotusverlag. (No date: appeared in 1901.)

and the Tantrākhyāyika. Whether or not he also used some other recensions—perhaps some now lost to us—as Hertel thinks probable, may be considered questionable; it is certainly quite possible that he did. He interpolates a few stories and quite a good many verses found in neither of his two main sources. And occasionally, even in stories which he has copied from them, he allows himself considerable liberties with the verbiage of the text. His changes are mostly in the line of expansions and additions; hence the name ‘textus ornatior’, which since Kosegarten’s time has commonly been given to this version. But in the main he follows fairly closely, both in great things and in small, one or the other of his two principal sources. Generally speaking, his text looks like a mosaic of the Tantrākhyāyika and the textus simplicior.

In the general order of the work he follows the Tantrākhyāyika, except that his entire fifth book is taken over bodily from the textus simplicior (which, as we saw, has a fifth book that is a new creation of its own), and excepting also a part of the third book, where he likewise follows the textus simplicior. In details he does not adhere consistently to either text for long at a time, but weaves the two into each other, with occasional passages not found in either.

In this short article it is impossible to carry further the history of the Pañcatantra in India. A large number of later versions are known, written either in Sanskrit or in the medieval and modern vernaculars. They are all discussed at length in Hertel’s new book. It is particularly interesting to note how many of them Hertel finds to contain fusions of various older recensions, or parts thereof. Sometimes individual books of different recensions are put together into a single new recension; sometimes, as in the case of Pūrṇabhadra, a mosaic text is made of two complete recensions. All of these late recasts are of minor interest for the general student.

6. *The Pahlavi translation and its offshoots.*

A Persian physician named Burzōe or Burzuyeh, living under the patronage of King Chosrau Anōsharwān (531–579 A. D.), made a translation into Pahlavi of a number of Indian stories, the chief of which was a version of the Pañcatantra.

He seems to have called his whole work by the name of 'Karāṭaka and Damanaka' (to use the Sanskrit forms of the names), after the two jackals who play such an important part in the story of the first book of the *Pañcatantra*.

Burzōe's work is unhappily lost; but through secondary versions of it which are preserved we can form a good idea of what it contained—especially of the *Pañcatantra* section.

From these secondary versions we can tell that the Indian text used by Burzōe was not very far removed from the original *Pañcatantra*, and from the *Tantrākhyāyika*. In fact, the correspondence between the Pahlavi and the *Tantrākhyāyika*, which is very much closer than that between the Pahlavi and any other Indian version, is one of the best proofs of the antiquity and comparative originality of both.

This correspondence would undoubtedly be much closer than it is, were it not for the fact that the Pahlavi is after all only a translation, and a rather imperfect one. It is most unfortunate that we do not possess the Indian original on which it was based. The translator seems to have intended to be faithful. But his knowledge of Sanskrit, and of Indian institutions, was evidently faulty in the extreme. In many cases he obviously misunderstood even quite simple phrases. And difficult passages he almost regularly misunderstood, or—very often—omitted altogether, evidently because he could not make head or tail out of them. The verses of the original suffered especially. They are, in fact, much more difficult than the prose, on the whole. And they are much more poorly preserved in the Pahlavi than in any Sanskrit version except those of the *Brhatkathā*, which go back immediately to a Prakrit original, and show scarcely any signs of the Sanskrit verses.

Barring these natural defects, the Pahlavi translation was close and accurate; and in spite of them, it is of the greatest value for us, and helps us enormously to get closer to the original *Pañcatantra*.

As has been said, we know Burzōe's version only through its descendants. Two versions of it were made at a comparatively early time: one in Old Syriac,¹ discovered through

¹ First edited by G. Bickell (*Kalilag und Damnag . . . Text und deutsche Uebersetzung. Mit einer Einleitung von Theodor Benfey. Leipzig 1876*). This edition and translation are now superseded by the

a romantic chain of fortunate circumstances in the early seventies of the last century, and the other in Arabic. The Old Syriac exists only in one single manuscript, and it has left no known descendants—translations or recasts. It was made from Burzōe's Pahlavi by a certain Būd about 570 A. D., perhaps in Burzōe's own lifetime. On the whole it seems to have been a closer and better version of the Pahlavi than the Arabic, although the unique manuscript is unfortunately very corrupt, as well as fragmentary.

The Arabic¹ translation of the Pahlavi was made by Abdallah Ibn al Muqaffa' about 750 A. D., and bears the title 'Kalila and Dimna' (*Kalilah wa Dimnah*). From it are descended the many medieval European and Asiatic versions which have carried the stories of the Pañcatantra into almost every part of the world.

A complete sketch of these direct or indirect descendants of the Arabic is found in the eleventh chapter of Hertel's Pañcatantra. Space permits me to mention only a few of the more important by way of indication of the extraordinary history of the work.

following: *Kalila und Dimna*. Syrisch und Deutsch. Von Friedrich Schulthess. Berlin, Reimer, 1911. I. Syrischer Text. II. Uebersetzung. The translation has valuable critical and comparative notes, with additions by Hertel, and it is throughout provided with marginal references to the corresponding sections of the Tantrākhyāyika, which constitute a valuable aid for quick comparisons.

¹First edition by Sylvestre de Sacy, *Calila et Dimna ou Fables de Bidpai*. Paris 1816. This is a composite text of several sub-recensions, and gives a poor picture of the original Arabic. On it are based the following translations: English, by Knatchbull, Oxford (*not* London!) 1819; reprinted Cairo 1905. (A very loose rendering, which deliberately alters the text where it does not come up to the pious Englishman's standards of propriety.) German, by Holmboe and Hansen (Christiania 1832), and by Wolff (Stuttgart 1837; 2nd ed. 1839). French, by Pihan (Algiers 1886). Also Danish and Russian versions.

The Arabic text has been repeatedly printed in the Orient; the various texts are all uncritical and differ among one another, being based mostly on single manuscripts, or else—still worse—on de Sacy's edition. The manuscripts are numerous and differ widely from each other. The best existing text is that of L. Cheikho (Beyrouth 1905), which is based on a single very old manuscript. An English translation of this text is planned by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., of the University of Pennsylvania.

'Kalila and Dimna' was translated into Old Spanish by an unknown author about 1251.¹ The Arabic version from which this rendering was taken was extremely close to that which formed the basis of the older Hebrew version, by Rabbi Joel, composed early in the 12th century.² Joel's Hebrew was done into Latin by John of Capua, a Jew convert to Christianity, between 1263 and 1278; this Latin text was twice printed about the year 1480, and also exists in a number of manuscripts.³ It bore the double title *Liber Kelilae et Dimnae—Directorium vitae humanae*. From it was made the very famous '*Buch der Beispiele der alten Weisen*', by Anthonius von Pforr, a German priest of Rottenburg on the Neckar. Pforr's work was first published, without indication of place or date, about the year 1480. It soon attained an enormous popularity, was printed over and over again, was translated into various other European languages, and remained for a number of centuries the chief source of knowledge of the Pañcatantra in Europe. This was partly due to the excellence of the literary style of its author.

John of Capua's Latin text was also translated into Spanish in 1493 (*Exemplario contra los engaños y peligros del mundo*), by Paul Hurus, a German by birth. An Italian named Doni translated the Latin text into Italian (printed at Venice in 1552); he divided it into two parts, one called *La Moral Filosofia*, the other *Trattati diversi di Sendebat Indiano filosofo morale*. The first part alone was reprinted a number of times, and is of interest to us as being the original of Sir Thomas North's '*The Morall Philosophie of Doni*', the first English version of any Pañcatantra text. This was published in London in 1570, reprinted in 1601, and recently reprinted again under the editorship of Joseph Jacobs (London, 1888).

¹ Edited by Clifford G. Allen (*L'ancienne version espagnole de Kalila et Dimna*), Macon, 1906.

² Edited with French translation by J. Derenbourg, Paris, 1881. (Bibl. de l'éc. des hautes ét. 49.) The same work contains also an edition of Jacobben Eleazar's later Hebrew translation (13th cent.).

³ The two early printed texts were reprinted, the one by J. Derenbourg at Paris in 1887 (Bibl. de l'éc. des hautes ét. 72), the other by L. Hervieux, Paris, 1899.

The other principal direct translations of the Arabic are the Greek *Στεφανίτης καὶ Ἰχνηλάτης* of Symeon Seth, late in the eleventh century (translated into Latin several times, into German, and into a number of Slavic languages); the younger Syriac (10th or 11th century), translated into English by Keith-Falconer (Cambridge 1885); the Persian of Naṣrallah (12th century), which was translated into various Turkish dialects, and further served as the basis for the better-known Persian recast called the *Anwāri Suhaili*, of Husain Ibn 'Alī al-Wā'iz. This latter has itself wandered directly or indirectly into most European languages. The *Kalila and Dimna* has even traveled as far as the Malay peninsula; in the Malay language it appears under the title *Hikāyat Kalila dan Dimna*.

In a continuation of this article, which will appear in an early number of this journal, I shall express more precisely my attitude towards the details of Hertel's 'genealogical table' of the versions of the *Pañcatantra*, printed on p. 426 of his '*Pañcatantra*'. Although it will be seen from the preceding account that I accept most of his important conclusions therein expressed, I have misgivings about a number of details, to some of which Hertel seems to me to attribute an exaggerated importance.

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IV.—A WITTICISM OF ASINIUS POLLIO.

The earliest mention of Asinius Pollio is found in the twelfth poem of Catullus, where in contrast to the tasteless practical joking of his brother, Asinius Marrucinus, he is called *leporum disertus puer ac facetiarum*. But the pleasant humor of the youth became with years a mordant wit which spared no one. In the literary memoirs of the elder Seneca he appears as a critic of the ineptitudes and extravagances of the declaimers. A phrase of declamatory sensationalism by Q. Haterius, we are told,¹ yielded *magnam materiam Pollionis Asinii iocis*, and again,² apropos of a pseudo-pathetic utterance of one Triarius, *hoc belle deridebat Asinius Pollio*. Asinius was a notorious carper in matters of literary style, and it was with him doubtless a matter of temperament, but partly also of principle—as of one holding with fervor a well defined point of view from which he judged all that was divergent. Seneca speaks of his criticism as rigorous, harsh, and angry—*strictum et asperum et nimis iratum iudicium*.³ That it was used wholesomely enough on the celebrities of the rhetorical schools we may believe, but it did not spare the greatest of his contemporaries. His criticisms upon Caesar and Sallust we may pass over, but I would pause a moment to consider his censure of Cicero. It is reported by Quintilian, who referring to Brutus and Calvus as critics of Cicero names also the Asinii, father and son, *qui vitia orationis eius etiam inimice pluribus locis insequuntur*.⁴ The point of view from which their criticism took its rise was that of a subtle purity of idiomatic and urbane usage, which they pursued with the fervor of a religious cult. They aimed to create for Latin a standard of purity comparable to Atticism in Greek; they were the custodians of its standards—*verborum pensitatores subtilissimi*, as Gellius says; they were the initiates into sacred mysteries

¹ Controv. IV Praef. 11.

² Op. cit. II 3, 19.

³ Op. cit. IV Praef. 3.

⁴ Inst. Or. XII I, 22. Cf. Gellius XVII I, 1.

not vouchsafed to others.¹ For them *Latinitas* (or *Latine loqui*) was the supreme formulation of their creed and comprehended all the refinements of faultless idiom based upon usage and theory. The pains which Calvus bestowed upon the attainment of this ideal are well known from Cicero's characterization;² Messala in the words of the elder Seneca was *Latini sermonis* (i. e. *Latinitatis*) *observator diligentissimus*;³ and of Pollio himself Quintilian says: *summa diligentia, adeo ut quibusdam etiam nimia videatur*.⁴

It lies in the nature of things that rhetorical abundance and amplitude of style should be not only antipathic to the worshippers of a purity so strict and austere, but also that such a style should expose itself more often to the reproach of carelessness or positive error. It is easy also to see how a superior elegance should be felt to reside in language of restrained propriety as compared with figure, metaphor, and rhetorical exuberance generally. If Asinius found fault with the diction of Cicero it is not strange that Livy furnished a mark for one of his shafts. The conditions of antipathy were present on other than stylistic grounds. As an historian Livy was in some degree at all events a rival of Asinius, and in the political partizanships which survived the civil wars, it is probable that they were arrayed on opposite sides.

While I have now made it plain that I propose to speak of the Patavinity of Livy, let me hasten to disclaim any purpose of renewing the search for that mysterious quality. Balzac, the epistolographer and satirist of the early 17th century, created a type of learned futility who, amongst other achievements of like character, professed to have found the secret of Livy's Patavinity, and Bernhardt speaks of the subject as one that has been pursued "bis zur Lächerlichkeit". That inquiry I shall not pursue, but even at the risk of involving myself in the reproach of futility which attaches to the whole subject, I shall venture to advance some explanations which seem to me to cast light on the form and spirit of Pollio's dictum.

¹ Quint. XII 10, 14. ² Brutus 283. ³ Seneca Controv. II 4, 8.

⁴ X 1, 113. On the whole subject see the very interesting study of Professor C. N. Smiley "'Ελληνισμός and Latinitas", Bulletin of the University of Wisconsin, No. 143 (1906).

Quintilian, who is our source of information, and the only one, advocating a definition of *Latinitas* not too restricted, refers to the censure which Lucilius had passed upon one Vettius for using words of Tuscan, Sabine, and Praenestine dialect, and adds, *quemadmodum Pollio reprehendit in Livio Patavinitatem*.¹ Again in illustration of the observation that the style of some writers or speakers was so carefully studied as to lose native color (*multos invenies quos curiose potius loqui dixeris quam Latine*), he tells the story of the market woman of Athens who detected the foreign birth of Theophrastus because his speech was *nimis Attice*, and as a Roman illustration of the same sort of thing he adds, *et in Tito Livio putat inesse Pollio Asinius quandam Patavinitatem*.² The whole context, as well as the use of *quandam*, shows that Quintilian considered the criticism oversubtle, and was himself ignorant of the quality which Pollio professed to find. He gives no clue to the place or connection in which the judgment was uttered, and one can only speculate whether it was based upon the private reading of Livy's history, upon impressions derived from a public recitation of some part of it, or upon rhetorical declamations of the kind which furnished recreation for even the most distinguished literary men of the time. The story of Theophrastus would also suggest that the quality criticised in Livy might have been one of pronunciation rather than of style. It is worth while to keep the various possibilities in mind, remembering that a judgment upon the style of Livy's history is only one of several alternatives.

Livy, though not certainly a public teacher of rhetoric, was yet, like Asinius himself and most other literary men of the time, concerned with the theory and practice of rhetoric, and must have been a frequenter of the halls of declamation and recitation. His son-in-law, L. Magius, was a declaimer who had his following,³ and some of the critical utterances of Livy which Seneca reports indicate a lively participation in the contemporary life of letters which centered in these schools. In some such connection an occasion may easily have been afforded to Asinius for his mysterious thrust. One's imagination may be helped by an illustration, even though it have

¹ I 5, 56.² VIII 1, 3.³ Seneca, Controv. X Praef. 2.

no direct bearing on our question. On one occasion at the house of Messala, Sextilius Ena, a Spanish poet, began a recitation on the death of Cicero with the verse, *defendus Cicero est Latiaeque silentia Linguae*. Pollio Asinius, Seneca continues, *non aequo animo tulit et ait: 'Messala, tu quid tibi liberum sit in domo tua videris; ego istum auditurus non sum cui mutus videor', atque ita consurrexit.*¹

But now to the Patavinity itself, which I shall endeavor to explain by another illustration drawn likewise from the entertaining pages of Seneca's literary gossip. Porcius Latro was accounted one of the cleverest declaimers of the time. His oratory was florid, diffuse, and sententious. For us he is most intelligibly characterized by Seneca's assertion that Ovid was his ardent admirer, and transferred many of his *sententiae* to his own verse. A Spaniard by birth he had never overcome a certain vigorous roughness characteristic of Spanish speech—*illum fortem et agrestem et Hispanae consuetudinis morem non poterat dediscere.*² He was in short the very type of stylist and speaker whom we should expect to find wholly antipathetic to elegant purists like Asinius and Messala. On one occasion, as Seneca records,³ Messala heard him declaim, and replying (we may assume) to inquiries as to his impression he said with laconic brevity, *sua lingua disertus*—"eloquent, yes; but in his own tongue", that is, not in Latin; or as Seneca explains, *ingenium illi concessit, sermonem obiecit*. The shaft was keen and must have cut deep. Latro to whose ears it came did not acquiesce (*non tulit hanc contumeliam*), but took vengeance by such weapons as he commanded, viz. declamatory replies to certain of his critic's speeches.

The character of the witticism with which Messala pointed his judgment is familiar. It gives generously with one hand while it takes away mischievously or maliciously with the other. Probably some example of a similar kind will occur to every reader. Only recently I found a popular novelist praised for "her sublime, suburban style"; but English literature affords some more classical examples. In Henry the Fourth, part one, the scene may be recalled where the Welshman, Owen Glendower, with complacent satisfaction in his English

¹ Seneca, Suas. VI 27.

² Controv. I, Praef. 16.

³ Controv. II 4, 9.

eloquence, proclaims bombastically the portents observed at his nativity. Hotspur impatient at length breaks in:

I think there is no man speaks better Welsh.
I'll to dinner.

Chaucer too in his description of the Prioress may be suspected of a gentle malice:

And Frensh she spak ful faire and fetisly,
After the scole of Stratford atte Bowe,
For Frensh of Paris was to her unknowe.

But reverting to Latin once more, another example very similar to Messala's reply is found in Seneca's satire on the death of Claudius. He describes the difficulty that was found in discovering an advocate to speak for the prince before Aeacus. At length one P. Petronius, an old companion presented himself—*Claudiana lingua disertus*, "eloquent in the Claudian tongue", that is, a stammerer.

It was I suspect with satirical intention similar to these examples that Asinius praised the eloquence of Livy as *Patavinitas*, "purest Paduan". The highest compliment that men of literary creed like Asinius or Messala could pay to any speaker or writer would have been to recognize that perfect mastery of native idiom which they called *Latinitas*. In place of this, with malicious wit and provoking assonance, Pollio's judgment was simply *Patavinitas*, as if to say *lingua Patavina disertus*—in brevity surpassing, but in spirit and intention exactly paralleling Messala's *sua lingua disertus*. As for the time or occasion of its utterance we know no more than before, but our interpretation may justify a surmise: it savors of publicity, and its edge would have lost much of its keenness in any other form than immediate oral comment. It suggests scenery and a situation, of which, like the point of an epigram, it is the conclusion.

The judgment of Asinius was contained in the one word *Patavinitas*. For his time and coterie it required no explanation. It was passed on as the bare verdict of the literary censor of the Augustan age to the time of Quintilian.¹ By

¹The use of the present tense (*reprehendit, putat*) would indicate that Quintilian drew from a literary source and not from oral tradition or report. One would think naturally of some collection of clever sayings (*urbane dicta*) or biographical reminiscences.

him it was taken up merely as an illustration of extravagant sensibility, and so far as we can see without recognition of its satirical point. As for what may have lain behind it of real or imagined divergence from the subtle standards of Roman *urbanitas* it is idle for us to speculate. Quintilian did not know, and Pollio himself might have found it no easier to make specific defence of his judgment than Cicero does to define the elusive quality of urban speech. *Qui est, inquit Brutus, iste tandem urbanitatis color? Nescio, inquam: tantum esse quendam scio.*¹ The reproach of provincialism is of course common enough at all times. The chapter of the Brutus just cited deals with it at some length. Elsewhere in the same work Cicero refers to two brothers *oppidano quodam genere dicendi*, who nevertheless attained to some distinction. Of the same character is Seneca's designation of a certain Catus Crispus as *municipalis orator* or *declamator*. We cannot therefore pass beyond the obvious fact that Asinius called the style or speech of Livy provincial. But, in place of a prosaic or matter of fact statement of this impression, the judgment was conveyed, in accordance with the character of the critic, in a single word of pungent wit.

G. L. HENDRICKSON.

¹ Brutus 171.

V.—NIGIDIUS GRAMMATICUS; CASUS INTER- ROGANDI.

A. Sulpicius Apollinaris ap. Gell. 20. 6. 7-8:

Dubium porro non est quin eodem haec omnia casu dicantur: <'nos-
tri nosmet paenitet', > 'nostri oblitus est', 'nostri misertus est', quo
dicitur 'mei <me> paenitet', 'mei misertus est', 'mei oblitus est'.
'Mei' autem casus *interrogandi* est quem 'genetivum' grammatici
vocant, et ab eo declinatur quod est 'ego' Sic namque Plautus
declinavit in Pseudolo (5-6):

duorum labori ego hominum parsissem lubens:
mei te rogandi et [tui] tis respondendi mihi.

'mei' . . hoc in loco . . ab eo quod est 'ego' . . . 'patrem mei' pro
'patrem meum', quo Graeci modo τὸν πατέρα μου dicunt, inusitate qui-
dem, sed recte profecto loqui ratione dicas, qua Plautus dixit 'labori
mei' pro 'labori meo'. For OLat. *me* = *mei* see AJP. 35. 253.

Note: It will be supposed in the sequel that Sulpicius followed Ni-
gidius or a source of Nigidius.

A'. Nonius (501. 13) sub lemmate *genetivus* pro dativo cites the
same lines, but 7 as follows:

me interrogandi et tui respondendi mihi.

Notes: Correct *me* to *mi* or *mei*; and let us suppose that Nonius had
before him the text of Nigidius or of a predecessor of Nigidius.

B. The *i/ei* rule in Nigidius (cf. for Lucilius AJP. 33. 313) is found
in Gell. 13. 26. 4:

'huius amici' . . 'huius magni' . . 'hii magnii' 'hii amicii' casu
multitudinis recto.

B'. (ii not *ei*), ap. Gell. 19. 14. 8:

Graecos non tantae inscitiae arcesso, qui *ov* [= *ū*] ex *o* et *v* scripse-
runt, <quantae> qui *ei* ex *e* et *i*; illud enim inopia fecerunt, hoc nulla
re subacti.

C. Distinction of genitive and dative in the first declension. Ni-
gidius ap. Gell. 13. 26. 4: huius *terrai* . . huic *terrae*.

C'. Ibid.:

'*mi*' qui scribit in casu *interrogandi*, velut cum dicemus '*mi* studi-
osus', per *i* unum scribat, non per *e*; at cum *mei*, tum per *e* et *i* scri-
bendum est quia dandi casus est.

D. Conflict of genitive and locative in *i*, ibid. 13. 26. 1:

deinde voculatio qui poterit servari, si non sciemus in nominibus,
ut Valeri, utrum *interrogandi* sint an *vocandi*? Nam *interrogandi* se-

cunda syllaba superiore tonost quam prima, deinde novissima dicitur [= Valéri]; at in casu *vocandi* summo tonost prima, deinde gradatim descendunt [= Váleri].

E. On the Future-Perfect, *ibid.*, 17. 7. 8:

si dividas separeque duo verba haec '*subruptum*' et '*erit*', ut sic audias *subruptum* <*erit*> tamquam *certamen erit* aut *sacrificium erit* tum videbitur . . in post futurum loqui, si vero copulate permixteque dictum intellegas . . . tum hoc verbo non minus praeteritum tempus ostenditur quam futurum.

E'. *Ibid.*, § 4. Gellius comments as follows:

sed anguste perquam et obscure disserit, ut signa rerum ponere videas ad subsidia magis memoriae suae quam ad legentium disciplinam.

F. Etymology by Symbolic Gesture, *ibid.*, X. 4. 4:

'*vos*' cum dicimus, motu quodam oris conveniente cum ipsius verbi demonstratione utimur et labeas sensim primores emovemus ac spiritum atque animam porro versus et ad eos quibuscum sermocinamur, intendimus.

G. *Ibid.*, 17. 13. 11: quod quia longioris dissertationis poterit cui otium est reperire hoo in P. Nigidii commentariis.

Note: Here Nigidius may have been drawn on, though not verbally cited.

H. Recent articles on *i/ei* in Lucilius:

Skutsch in *Glotta* 1. 309; Sommer in *Hermes* 44, 70 sq.; Kent in *AJP.* 32, 272-293; 34, 315-321; Fay, *ibid.*, 33, 311-316; 34, 497-499.

What was the source of the name *casus interrogandi* as used by Sulpicius Apollinaris, perhaps after a Nigidian source, in extract A; and in extracts C' and D by Nigidius himself?

I will confess to having first supposed that in D Nigidius was distinguishing between a vocative as used in far-off calling (*casus vocandi*) and as used in dialogue, the case of near-by dialogue (*casus interrogandi*). If *Váleri* was a calling case, the accent implies the retention, or renewal, in Latin, of the original recessive accentuation of vocatives. But if the *casus interrogandi* began thus as a designation of the interlocutory vocative, some blunder comparable with Nonius' confusion, in his 9th book, of gen. pl. *deum* with acc. sg. *deum*, must be assumed. And why should one grammarian hesitate to assume that another blundered?

But in A and in C' the example given for the *casus interrogandi* was, as Nigidius spelled it, *mi* (i. e. monosyllabic *mei*), equal to Skr. *me* (gen. and dat.), an equation these extracts should go far to raise beyond doubt. The earliest literary example adduced (in A and A') is Plautine *mei te ro-*

gandi, in which *mei* is regarded as a substitute for *meo* (sc. *labori*). But Nonius read *me interrogandi*, which may have been, as *me<i>*, the genuine original. If Plautus actually wrote *mei te rogandi* still *mei interrogandi*, whether a scholar's or actor's correction, is as likely to have been made prior to Nigidius as prior to Nonius. As a difficult passage the line was likely to have been excerpted for comment in the grammatical lists before Varro or his contemporary Nigidius. In such a list, the brief explanation may have run something like the following: '*mei*' ut hic usurpatur, in casu [short for in eodem casu ac] '*interrogandi*' est, non in casu *dandi*. Now let us suppose our grammarian to have made a list of *mei* groups including the examples A and C', all rubricated sub lemmate *mei interrogandi*: the final genesis of a category called the *casus interrogandi* would be comparable with that nomenclature of the Hindu grammarians, whereby the arbitrary examples *tatpuruṣa-* and *bāhuvrīhi-* were chosen to designate large groups of compounds in which their own place was quite obscure. In our case *mei* would naturally carry with it *nostri vestri tui sui* which were not felt as genitives at large, but played a quite restricted rôle.

Beyond this restricted group, the term *casus interrogandi* is applied only to gen. *Valérī*, to distinguish it from voc. *Valéri*, whereas in its (as I suppose) original use, the term *casus interrogandi* was applied to the form *mei* (*mī*) to distinguish the genitive use from the *cāsus dandi*. In both cases, the term distinguished a genitive from some competing function of a form in *-ī* (*-ei*), and in the word *mī* the genitive competed not only with the dative but with a locative. Thus in *mi amice* the three conceptions were (1) φίλε μου, (2) ἐμοὶ φίλε, (3) *mi* (like *care*) *amice*. If we replace *mi amice* by *mi Valeri* the latter looked to be either a vocative or a genitive, so that we may realize how easy was the extension of the description *casus interrogandi* from *mi* to *Valeri*. It was probably due to instances like *mi Valeri*, *mi fili* (*fili mi*, cf. Plautus *Men.*, 182, anime mei, Menaechme) that *mi* was felt to be a masculine only—as compared with ὦ γύναι μοι (cf. A).¹

So far as Nigidius' rules for the distribution of *-ī* in the

¹ There were no circumstances under which vocative *tī* and *sī* (pace Lindsay, Lat. Lang. 423) could be freely used.

paradigms go, he has set up a better system of mnemonics (cf. E') than Lucilius (cf. AJP. 33. 313), for he allocates *i* to the genitive and *ei* (or *e*, in *terrae*) to the dative singular, but *ii* to the plural. His differentiation of gen. *mi* from dative *mei* does not, with Skutsch, prove that, in the only half-preserved rule of Lucilius, dat. *furei* was made to differ by its *e* from the genitive of the proper name, *Furi*. The obvious truth is, as both Skutsch and I failed to see, that Lucilius started out with the two indeterminate examples *mendaci* and *furi*; and if we had his example completely we should probably find that, as he used *furei* to illustrate the correct dative orthography, so for the ablative he would have used *mendaci*. Sommer's interesting example of "sympathetic" orthography in Greek, viz. *ἀμὸς*, as falsely derived from *λείπω*, is thoroughly in keeping with my suggestion (AJP. 33. 313) that abl. *luci* (I should have used *mendaci*) "lacked" the *i* because the ablative was a case of "lack" (separation). But so far as our Latin rules go, the term "mnemonics" seems to suit the language of the rule better than a reference to "sympathetic" orthography, though these terms are of course not mutually exclusive; mnemonics may be sympathetic.

Mention may further be made that the form *temperi* 'bei Zeiten, betimes' would have been spelled by Lucilius with *-i*, though we now know it to be a dative (zur <rechten> zeit), but in point of use a temporal locative, as *χαμ-αί* is a localis from a dative. Both examples confirm Bartholomae's view that IE. *-ai* was a dative-locative ending.

The Nigidius citations not bearing on the *i/ii/ei* question, nor on the term *casus interrogandi*, have been included to show how this grammarian made, by way of mnemonics, some untenable and even fictitious distinctions. As regards his explanation of *vos* as an oral gesture (F), whether fictitious or no, it has a curious plausibility. But it is quoted here only to record evidence of interest in the history of Etymology (cited by Müller, in his *de Veterum studiis etymologicis* I, 55², with Greek antecedents).

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REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache von Dr. RAPHAEL KÜHNER, Band I, Elementar-, Formen- und Wortlehre, Neubearbeitet von Dr. Fr. HOLZWEISSIG, pp. XVI-1127, Band II, Satzlehre, von Dr. CARL STEGMANN, T. 1 pp. XII-828, T. 2 VIII-738, Hahnsche Buchhandlung, Hannover, 1912-1914. I. 24 M. brosch., 26 geb., II¹, 18 M. brosch., 20 M. geb., II², 16.50 M. brosch., 18.50 geb.

A new edition of this important work is most welcome. The publishers in their announcement refer to it as "die 2. vollständig neu bearbeitete und erweiterte Auflage". That it lives up to one part of the title, "erweiterte", may be seen from the fact that Vol. I has been enlarged from 767 pages to 1143, Vol. II, 1 from 639 to 840 and II, 2 from 551 to 746, a total of 2729 pages, an increase of 772 pages, 376 on Forms, 396 on Syntax.

When a work has assumed such encyclopedic proportions as those indicated above, a detailed review would manifestly lead far afield. Mindful, therefore, of the limitations of time and space, and owing to the fact that the reviewer had already forwarded to the Editor an extensive list of corrections and additions to the first part¹ of Vol. II of which due acknowl-

¹ A few additional notes may here be added: p. 88 *Pluralis Modestiae*: the "Editorial We" is also found in Lucil. 15. 51, 386, 1024, Lucr. 4. 383, 643, 742, 1037, Varro L. L. 8. 26; 9. 38; 67 etc., Auct. Her. 1. 18. P. 256 "*macti* nur Plin. N. H. 2. 54" (cited in I, p. 547 as "Plin. 2. c. 9"! However, the Editor adds: "*macte* mit der Var. *macti*"). The form should be *macte*; cf. Schmalz Antib. s. v, and Wünsch, Rhein. Mus. 69 (1914) p. 127 f. P. 316 *Intentus* "seit Livius c. dat." (as in the 1st. ed.), but cf. Sall. Iug. 76. 2: 89. 3: 94. 5. It is also found in Verg. A. 7. 380. P. 338 *Incumbere*, with *ad*, also Cic. Cat. 4. 4, Pomp. 19, ad Q. Fr. 1. 1. 11, ad Att. 1. 19. 4: 2. 16. 3; with *in*, also: Fam. 10. 1. 2; 5. 2; 14. 2; Att. 3. 15. 3; 23. 5: 5. 13. 3: XV. 25; Q. Fr. 3. 8. 6; cf. further Lease, A. J. P., XXVIII, p. 50. P. 630 *et ipse*: also found in Lucr. 6. 7, Tib. 1. 9. 39; 10. 23, Prop. 3. 24. 11: 4. 9. 4, Ovid Met. 6. 3, Her. 21. 227, A. A. 2. 213, Rem. Am. 615. P. 686 add: *maius videri* Ovid Met. 7. 639 (cf. Pont. 1. 5. 17 major scribere). P. 692 *Cano* c. Acc. et inf. but one passage cited; cf. also Liv. 1. 7. 10: 2. 42. 10: 5. 15. 4: 7. 6. 3: 30. 28. 2; 5: 39. 46. 4. P. 811. 3 *Forsan*: to the passages cited in A. J. P. XXVIII. p. 45 add: Sil. 6. 507: 15. 375; 393: 16. 517, Val. Fl. 3. 518, Stat. Th. 1. 428; 472: 10. 702, Silv. 1. 36. 2: 2. 3. 63; 6. 101: 3. 4. 10: 5. 2. 153; 3. 69; 185. Note the frequency with which this form was used by Sen. Trag., Stat., and Mart., each using it ten times. P. 826 *nec non et*: cf. also Lease, A. J. P. XXX, p. 302 f. and add: Stat. Ach. 2. 249; Auson.

edgement had been made (cf. II², p. IV and 632 f.), he has taken the second part, II, 2, as his special province and has restricted himself to a few selected portions in this wide domain.

It may be prefaced in a general way that Kühner's Latin Grammar was a good book and that the editors have made it better. By bringing its great wealth of information¹ into accord with the results of recent investigations (since 1878) the editors have rendered the cause of classical scholarship a valuable service. The revised edition with its 1586 pages devoted to Syntax unquestionably contains the most exhaustive discussion that we now have of the *raison d'être* of the principal usages of Latin Syntax, of their manifold ramifications, their incipient stages² and later development down to the time of Tacitus. The editor has further increased our obligations by the extensive additions he has made to the lists of citations, thus placing at our disposal a more complete record, particularly in the classical realm, than is to be found in any other work. When an editor has given us so much and so much that is good, criticisms seem decidedly ungracious. But the fact remains and cannot be disregarded that the demands of modern scholarship are such that the task of covering with thoroughness and completeness so extensive a field³ is far too

103, c. 4 (P.), Prud. Ps. 559, S. 1. 50: Per. 1. 10: 5. 485: 10. 1024: 14. 5. Note also that on p. 796, "*ne* konfirm." is also found in Cic. Att. 7. 4. 3 *ne* ego; 14. 14. 5 *ne* nos; 15. 11. 3 *ne* multa; Fam. 7. 30. 1 *ne* tu, and on p. 256 read Hor. S. 1. 2. 31; p. 319, c read C. 3. 8. 19; p. 679, ftn. 1 read Lease Archiv XI, and p. 792, line 9 read Liv. 2. 33. 8. It may also be added that the "Gen. Comparationis", cited in II. 1, p. 469, for Vitr. 1. 5. 4 is extremely doubtful; see Morgan, Addresses and Essays, p. 200.

¹The numbering of the main sections in the old edition has in general been preserved in the new, except that one, § 248 Prosarythmus und Klauselgesetz, has been added.

²Those, however, of the Moods and Tenses and the Cases, preceded by an extended discussion of the fundamental principles underlying the origin of each and followed by a detailed account of their frequency of usage, have been treated with greater fullness by Bennett in his two volumes on the Syntax of Early Latin (1912-1914).

³The larger the field, the greater the liability to errors, both of omission and commission. The editor himself, by the addition of over five pages of corrections to II, 1. (cf. II, 2, pp. 632 f.) bears witness to this fact. Further evidence is presented, p. 80 *supra*. The latest texts were in general used, but Lachmann's Lucilius (1876) was used in II, 1, instead of Marx's (1904). So also on pp. 113 and 462 the references should be to Vahlen's Sc. 355, and Sc. 308. On p. 209, 2a account was not taken of the reading of Meusel, B. C. 3. 55. 1, and of the readings of the latest texts of Livy in II, 1, p. 2, Ann., II, 2 pp. 20, 121, 147, 151, 154. l. 12, 287, l. 8, 507, 513, 562. Some omissions are also to be found in the references to the latest treatment of certain subjects, as e. g. II, 1, p. 11, F. G. Moore, Trans. Am. Phil. Assn. 1903, p. 9; p. 307, F. Solmsen, Zur Gesch. des Dativs, Z. V. Spr., XLIV, pp. 61-223, Fay,

great for one man to undertake. For him the enology of Phaethon. It need hardly be said, the term, 'vollständig' can no more be applied to the lists of citations in the second edition than those in the first.¹ One defect, and one easily rectifiable fact that a distinction was not always made between those that are complete and those that are not, with the entirely erroneous impression is often made. One frequently finds prefixed to a list "wie" or "zu" words appended as "u. oft", "u. sonst", "u. s. w.". Signally complete statistics given (e. g. II, I, p. 57, 257, 277, 343, 356, etc.), or a footnote reference where a complete list can be found, the impression is made that where such expressions are not given are complete. Bennett's two volumes on Early Latin (a third is promised) show how in

Class. Quart. V (1911), p. 85 f., Glotta, II, pp. 169-181; Dativo Latino, 1904; p. 496, ftn. 3: Wölflin, Archiv XII, Rhein. Mus. 67 (1912), pp. 195-208; p. 664 H. V. Canter, Constructions in Livy, 1906; p. 720, A. R. Anderson, Th. Infim., Class. Rev. IX (1904), p. 60; II 2, p. 29 *I nunc*, XIX, p. 39 f.; p. 35. 3 Archiv XV, p. 165; p. 372, ftn. p. 245, Archiv V, p. 149 and *id.* ftn. 3: Archiv V, p. 567, 1900, p. 469; p. 391, Archiv XIII, p. 204; p. 451, Stee Phil. Assn., 1902, p. 72; p. 468, b Schmalz, Glotta, V (1914) *Numer*, Lease, A. J. P. XX, p. 62; p. 624 Ann. I, I, ftn. § 23, Postgate, Class. Rev. 20, p. 461, Brodribb, *ib.* p. 104, H. Bornecque, Les Clausules métr. Lat. 1907, S. VI (1907), p. 420 f. See further, p. 85 *infra*.

Note also the following typographical errors: II, 2, p. 21, 41, 13; p. 79, l. 15 Trasumennum; p. 89 ftn. 1 Die 207, Liv. 21. 35. 2 concursabant; p. 209 Liv. 34. 17. 8 63=7; p. 358, end, erumpamus; p. 374, Liv. 22. 39. 1 445 Ann. 1, Schmalz Synt.⁴; p. 441 Cic. Fam. 13. 71 444 Ann. 3, l. 2 tametsi; (p. 545 Liv. 22. 1. 8=7); p. 5 537; p. 641, Tenney Frank; p. 645, Lease, neque: the; p. 220 f.; p. 710 ob, c. acc., 530 ff., and in II, 1, p. 93, Ann. p. 712, l. 4, Ann. 23. Another feature that might have attracted attention is the variations of the poetical from the prose more's Lexica to Vergil and to Catullus (neither of which could have been consulted with profit. One also misses of works used (II, 2, p. 638 f.) mention of Lodge's Lexi (A-H). Note also, p. 720 quæso ut, II, p. 217d, and p. 764h.

² The editor himself has taken occasion to point out (V) the impropriety in the use of this word in referring to the After quoting Landgraf's reference to it as one in which usage was "vollständig verzeichnet", and remarking that of Lebreton and others have shown how incomplete it adds that he himself has taken pains to make them more ("vielfache Ergänzungen und reicheres Material zu) character of the supplementary lists (II, 2, p. 632 f.) is evidence that the editor has made an effort to supply its this respect.

the citations in this field. Even in the classical realm¹ ("durchaus im Vordergrund") the collections which the reviewer had on hand show that in the two parts of Vol. II there is a similar lack of completeness, particularly for the usage of Cicero (rhetorical and epistolary works), of Ovid, and of Livy. Of course, completeness of citation for every usage is from the nature of the case neither possible nor desirable. But there can be no doubt that the value of the book would have been greatly increased, if in every instance lists that were merely illustrative had been clearly indicated. A few syntactical details have been selected for comment—*"difficilius est exitum quam principium invenire"*.

P. 14, 7 -*que* "an einsilbige Wörtchen": should be "an einsilbige Partikeln", as *idque*, *meque*, *teque*, *reque*, etc. are of not infrequent occurrence. Passages from Cicero showing how *aque* was avoided (as Fam. 2. 16. 1 a meque), *abque* (as Tusc. 5. 94 ab iisque), *adque* (as Fin. 3. 72 ad easque), *obque* (as Att. 6. 2. 9 ob eamque) etc. might well have been noted.

P. 15 *Atque* "selten vor Konsonanten", as in the first edition: the consonant, the author, his period, should all be taken into consideration; e. g. in Sallust *atque* is used before consonants more often (184 times) than *ac* (131), and in every writer *atque* before gutturals is more common than *ac*: for details see Lease, Stud. in Honor of Gildersleeve, p. 416 f. and Class. Phil. III (1908), p. 304.

P. 35. 3 *Que . . . que*: with substantives also found in Lucil. 37, 1033, 1229, 1290, Hor. A. P. 199, 214 (Correct also Schmalz Synt.⁴, p. 498).

P. 38 *Nec* vor Vokalen: 7 cited for Vergil; add A. 2. 491; 11. 382; 801; 12. 207, before *h*: G. 3. 216, A. 2. 584; 12. 630. In Vergil, *nec* before vowel = 14, before cons. = 435.

P. 98 *Tamen*, with concessive particle omitted: Ovid's usage is so striking it ought to have been noted: he uses it almost 7 times (478) as often as Verg. (38), Hor. (25), and Tib. (6) combined. Ovid also uses *Et tamen* 16 times, Vergil once (A. 3. 478).

P. 113 *Namque*: before a consonant is also found in Naev.

¹Though the author disclaims any intention of writing an Historical Grammar, the fact remains that in many instances he has treated subjects in this manner. Elimination of such matter (we have Schmalz), curtailment of that devoted to the Syntax of Early Latin (we have Bennett), and concentration upon the Syntax of the Classical period, (always remaining as the chief center of our studies) together with a full and complete treatment of the usage of the writers of this period, both in prose and in poetry, would have satisfied a long felt want. Such a book is still a great desideratum. As we are soon to have three volumes on the Syntax of Early Latin, let us hope that these are but the precursor of three volumes on the Syntax of Classical Latin, to be followed (the dawn of the syntactical millennium) by three volumes on the Later Development of Latin Syntax.

Trg. 41 n. ludere (Enn. tr. 370=Sc. 355 (V²)), Caecil. 278. "An zweiter Stelle": 5 are cited in Verg. followed by "u. ö"! There are only two more (A. 10. 401, 815). For A. 3, 379 read 8. 497.

P. 148 *Proinde*: with an imperative: also Livy 2. 12. 10: 3. 45. 7: 21. 18. 12. Note its use in Cic. Att. 2. 9. 2 *proinde* isti licet faciant; with a fut. ind. in 3. 13. 1, Plin. min. 9. 29. 2; with a fut. inf. Val. Max. 4. 1. 10, Iust. 31. 7. 6; with a pres. ind. Plin. Min. 6. 12. 5: 7. 1. 2; 17. 14; 27. 15. Note also p. adnitendum est, 2. 9. 2 and p. quid cessatis? 6. 20. 10. (but one passage was cited in Plin. Min.). "Curt." is mentioned, but no passages cited: with pres. ind. 4. 15. 8: 9. 3. 5: 10. 9. 3: 6. 3. 11 omittenda sunt, and 3. 5. 13; 5. 9. 8 pres. subj. With the imperat. subj.: none cited in Livy: cf. 1. 9. 4; 16. 7; 39. 3: 6. 39. 11: 21. 22. 6; 30. 11: 25. 38. 21: 26. 22. 7: 28. 32. 12.

Pp. 256-267 and 372 f.: the treatment of the particles *quin*, *quominus*, *dum*, *donec*, and *quoad* is far from being complete.¹

P. 294 *Ut qui* "c. coni. mit Ausnahme von Tac. G. 22. 1": but there is a nest of indicatives in Ovid Ibis 371 f. The ind. is also found in Val. Max. 2. 7. 9: 5. 4. 1, and Apul. De Plat. 2. 22. (but in Apol. 70. the subj.) Note that Schmalz Synt.⁴ p. 535 refers to *utpote qui* with the indic. in Apul. Ascl. 2. This example, however, is extremely doubtful, as the verb is found in Or. *Obl.*, and especially in view of the fact that in Ascl. 6, 8, 75 and 37 the subj. is used with this combination.

P. 302, 4 *priusquam ut*: also found in Plaut. Most. 867, Ter. Hec. 262, Cic. Lig. 34, Att. 8, 11 D, 5, Fam. 13. 1. 6, Livy 26. 26. 7: 35. 11. 5: 40. 47. 5.

P. 385 *non quin*: also found in Cic. Fam. 13. 16. 3: 16. 24. 1, Q. Fr. 1. 1. 15, Att. 8. 11 D, 7: 10. 7. 1: 12. 47. 2, De Or. 2. 295, Or. 227, Livy 2. 15. 2: 32. 32. 6 (Cf. *quin non*: Plaut. Merc. 322, Most. 599. Cic. Att. 5. 11. 6: 8. 11 D. 3, Cels. 109. 17 (D)).

P. 443 *Licet* with impf. subj.: to the passages cited in A. J. P. XXI (1901), p. 454 add: Varro L. L. 7. 2; Stat. Silv. 5. 123, Plac. Stat. Th. 1. 143: 4. 515: 6. 461: 10. 385; 420: 11. 473; with plpf. subj.: Th. 2. 453: 3. 118. *Licebit* (concess.): Ovid not cited; cf. Met. 2. 58: 13. 862; Trist. 5. 14. 3 all with *tamen* added, and Am. 2. 11. 53, Her. 20. 71, Met. 8. 755; 14. 355, Pont. 3. 4. 33 all without *tamen*. In Lucan, also found in 8. 629. *Licet* with a participle, also: Sen. Contr. 1. 5. 5, Apul. Flor. 35. 15 (H.), and with abl. abs.: Ovid Fast. 4. 779, Mart. 1. 7. 1.

P. 597 The use of *-que* at the end of a clausula: cf. Lease, A. J. P. XXX (1909), p. 307.

¹E. g. *dum* with pres. ind.: 7 are cited for Cicero's Letters, but there are 27 (8 also omitted in Rhet.); *donec*: 8 cited for Livy, but there are 109; *quoad*, 1 cited for Livy, but there are 25, etc.

P. 624 Anm. 1, "Heroische Klauseln von Cicero im allgemeinen gemieden": as no mention is made of the usage of other writers and of Cicero except in the Speeches, no attention given to the longer (4-6 ft.) clausula and to the use of the last half of the pentameter, the following details¹ are supplied. For the sake of clearness and brevity the tabular form of presentation has been adopted, and as a unit of measure the Teubner page has been used.

Authors.	2 ft.	3 ft.	4 ft.	5 ft.	6 ft.	Pentameter.	Total.	Pages.	Relative Frequency.
Cicero, Rhet.	10	6	3	3	2	1	25	569	1 in 22.4 pages.
Speeches.	77	30	—	—	—	—	107	1608	1 in 15 pages.
Phil.	19	1	1	1	0	1	23	1001	1 in 43.5 pages.
Ad Att.	31	8	6	6	0	1	52	560	1 in 10.8 pages.
Ad Fam.	17	0	0	0	0	5	22	557	1 in 25.3 pages.
Caesar.	58	20	16	7	2	7	110	340	1 in 3.1 pages.
Nepos.	19	9	2	2	3	3	38	113	1 in 3 pages.
Sallust.	46	13	5	0	1	5	70	121	1 in 1.7 pages.
Livy, Bk. I.	18	13	6	3	1	3	44	67	1 in 1.5 pages.
Bk. XXI.	19	12	3	3	0	2	39	59	1 in 1.5 pages.
Bk. XXII.	17	12	3	0	3	5	40	64	1 in 1.6 pages.
Bk. XL.	13	4	1	2	0	2	22	55	1 in 2.5 pages.
Bk. XLV.	5	2	1	1	0	0	9	50	1 in 5.5 pages.
Seneca Rhet.	24	15	7	4	2	6	58	525	1 in 9.1 pages.
Total.	373	145	54	32	14	41	659	5689	1 in 8.6 pages.

NOTES.

1. In Cicero's complete works the heroic clausula was used 221 times (Rhet. 24, Sp. 107, Phil. 22, Lett. 68) in 4295 pages; rate, 1 in 18.7 pp. He avoids this clausula with greater regularity in his philos. works, and uses it with greater freedom in writing to his friend Atticus than to his other correspondents. In his youthful production, *De Inv.*, he used these forms more freely, 1 in 15 pp., than in the *De Or.*, 1 in 22.3 pp. The rhetorician Seneca felt no such reluctance to the use of these cadences.

2. Livy's usage stands forth conspicuously in his fondness for these clausulae. In his latest book, however, the contrast between his attitude and that of Cicero is not so marked: Bk. I., in 1.5 pp., Bk. XLV., 1 in 5.5 pp.

3. Sallust's extensive usage (*Cat.*, *Iug.*) of this clausula is only another point of resemblance between his style and that

¹ For the usage of Cicero in his Speeches cf. Zielinski, *Phil. Supl.* IX, p. 751. His tables do not show Cicero's use of 4-6 hexameter feet, or of the pentameter cadence.

of Livy. See further Lease, *Livy*², §§ 47-49. Cf. also note 5 *infra*.

4. The attitude of Nepos and that of Caesar¹ to the use of these clausulae is practically the same.

5. The pentameter clausula was most frequently used by Livy and Sallust, least frequently by Cicero and Sen. rhet.

6. A complete hexameter verse was used as a clausula twice by Cicero and twice by Caesar (cf. *ftn.*); by Nepos 3 times (14. 4. 2: 23. 7. 1; 10. 3), Sall. once (Cat. 40. 3), by Livy 4 (1. 28. 4: 22. 14. 6; 24. 12; 33. 4; also 21. 49. 3 spondaic), by Sen. rhet. twice (Contr. 5 exc. (p. 279 K.), 9 exc. 2 (p. 451 K.)). It may be added also that Livy in 22. 50. 10 has at the beginning of a sentence an hexameter verse and a half; in the middle, an hexameter in 21. 9. 3; 35. 12; 49. 11; so Sall. C. 19. 5; J. 5. 1, and Cic. Acad. 2. 122. More remarkable is the use of a complete Elegiac distich (*complexi . . . acies*) in Cic., De Or. 3. 20.

In conclusion it is to be remarked that there can be no doubt that in the new edition "*plura nitent*" and that it is worthy of a prominent place in the working library of every student of the Latin language and of its syntactical problems.

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¹In Cicero, 6 ft.=2 (Inv. 1. 109, P. O. 133); 5 ft.=10 (Inv. 1. 56, De Or. 2. 314, Top. 73, Att. 1. 18. 8; 26. 2: 3. 15. 5: 7. 12. 4: 9. 13. 4: 12. 40. 6, Acad. 2. 80); 4 ft.=9 (De Or. 2. 18; 109; Att. 1. 1. 1; 8. 12 B. 1; 9. 18. 1: 10. 18. 2: 11. 10. 1: 17a, 1, Off. 3. 69). In Caesar, 6 ft.=2 (B. C. 1. 46. 1: 58. 2 (B. G. 5. 57. 3 Meusel)); 5 ft.=7 (1. 40. 6: 2. 5. 5; 31. 3; 5. 57. 3: 7. 78. 2, B. C. 1. 28. 2: 3. 79. 6). It may be added that from the point of view of the clausula there was little difference between the usage of the B. G. and the B. C. The clausula of 5 ft. was also found in Nepos twice (7. 6. 5; 8. 3), 9 times in Livy (1. 15. 2; 22. 6; 55. 1: 21. 18. 5; 40. 10; 49. 9: 40. 5. 8; 32. 7: 45. 16. 2 and 1. 35. 5 spondaic), and 4 in Sen. rhet. (Contr. Pr. 2; 1. 1. 13: 10. 2. 12; 5. 14).

Antigonos Gonatas. WILLIAM WOODTHORPE TARN. Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1913.

It was a happy chance that Mr. Tarn's account of the ancient Balkan States was published when these kingdoms were the centre of interest in the modern world. Our modern historians do not permit us to say that history repeats itself, but there are some remarkable coincidences in the two eras although they are separated by more than twenty centuries. The "balance of power" was fought for again and again on the battlefields of Europe and Asia. The value of the supremacy of the seas was demonstrated in no uncertain way

when one of the kings entered upon an ambitious naval programme. Enmities of long standing were forgotten and an *entente* was formed to crush him. There was a tendency to create neutral states, and to exempt sacred places from attack and plunder. In the private and intellectual life of the people there are many points of contact with modern civilization. The movement towards reality appeared in every phase of life, in literature, art, science and philosophy. Universities, too, were organized, and in the disputations of the professors we have something sadly akin to the modern doctor's dissertation.

The central figure in European civilization in the third century was Antigonos Gonatas, and around this character Mr. Tarn has woven the history of Greece and Macedon during his sovereignty. Perhaps no period of Greek history is more difficult to deal with because of the chaotic and contradictory nature of the evidence for the early part of the third century, and since the evidence for the later years of his reign has long since been lost to us. In the earlier period the investigator must be endowed with a critical faculty developed to the highest degree; for the latter a vivid imagination to bridge the gaps. In Mr. Tarn these qualities are apparently most happily combined, and he has succeeded in reconstructing the history of Antigonos' reign with a closer approximation to truth than had hitherto been attained.

The opening chapters are devoted to an account of Antigonos' teachers and the empire of Demetrios. The brief sketches of Menedemos and Zeno and their systems of philosophy are particularly good. In discussing the extent of Demetrios' rule on land, the year 295/4 is taken as a starting point, since in that year he recovered Athens. On the assumption that the eponymos archon was the former democrat, Tarn follows Ferguson in believing that a coalition government with moderates from both parties was constituted. But Olympiodoros is not an uncommon name and there is no proof of identity. Unless Stratokles has reformed, any coalition government with him as a member would be largely Stratokles. After his death which seems to have come somewhere between 295 and 293, there was a better chance for moderate policies to prevail, and it was then that Phaidros came to the helm and guided the state through the *δύσκολοι καιροί* to a reestablished democracy. The civic troubles are reflected in the abandonment for a time of the usual tribal rotation by which the secretaries were appointed. The establishment of the new cycle in 291/0 is proof that a certain measure of democracy was granted by Demetrios on the advice of Phaidros.

The chronological problems in Greek history between 290 and 260 B. C. have been a favorite battleground for the histo-

rians in recent years. The debate centres about the secretary-cycle, and its relative merits as compared with the evidence gathered from literary sources. Tarn has far outstripped his predecessors in dealing with the problem, and he has proved beyond a doubt that the cycle and literary evidence can only be reconciled by assuming a break in the former at some point between 294 and 290. Diokles must be dated in 288/7 B. C., and the revolt of Athens from Demetrios in 289/8. The weakness of Tarn's chronology for the succeeding years is due to his too faithful acceptance of Beloch's theories without sufficient examination; for by keeping Polyeuktos-Hieron in 275-273 B. C. he was compelled to assume unusual breaks in the cycle in 285-282 B. C. which could not be accounted for. If Tarn had allowed the cycle to continue without interruption from 291 to 262 he would have found the true solution of the chronological puzzle. We would outline the course of events as follows: Athens regained her independence in 289 and was free until 279. The formal abdication of Demetrios came in 286/5 when Antigonos assumed the title of King with, however, only a few isolated towns as his actual kingdom. Athens probably remained loyal to Lysimachos until Seleucos offered them a more tempting alliance, and after Lysimachos murdered his son, they must have cast in their lot definitely with the ruler of Asia. While the kings were fighting for the throne of Macedon, Antigonos had to wait patiently as *ephe-dros* until he could engage the winner. Meanwhile he was free to attack Athens and the city was taken by stratagem in the early spring of 279 B. C. Death proved to be his best ally in Macedon, and then the Gallic invaders removed Keraunos who was slain in defending the kingdom he had so treacherously acquired. Antigonos now claimed his old inheritance, but probably only part of this unruly country was willing to acknowledge him. It made no material difference at the time for the second invasion of the Gauls in 278 put an end to any attempt to hold the northern lands against the invader. Antigonos withdrew to Asia and watched the course of events from there. In 276 his opportunity came, and striking a decisive blow at Lysimacheia he not only drove out the Gauls, but by the prestige of his victory, regained the throne of Macedon. There is no evidence that Athens had made any attempt to regain her independence during these three years. In fact it seems clear that Athens, under the moderate Phaidros as representative of the king, remained loyal from her capitulation in 279 until the outbreak of the Chremonidean war. There was, of course, a nationalist party at all times, and subsidized by Egypt after 273 B. C. The Nationalists, however, never dared openly to defy Antigonos, although they did send an embassy to Pyrrhos after his wonderful successes in

Macedon inviting him to come over and help them throw off the chains of Antigonid rule. Pyrrhos refused their invitation and went on to Sparta. The Nationalist party promptly withdrew from view and nothing more is heard from them until the coalition of all Greece against Macedon in 267 when the Chremonidean war broke out. Athens held out longer than any of her Greek allies but Antigonos was too strong for her and in the fall of 262 the city yielded once more to the forces of the king.

If the history of the years 290-262 is built about the framework which we have briefly outlined, epigraphical and literary sources will be found to be in general accord. A new and independent examination of the dates of the Delphic archons is urgently needed in settling some of the problems preceding and during the Chremonidean war.

In dealing with the last years of Antigonos' reign, where inscriptional and literary evidence fail us almost completely, Tarn has succeeded in reconstructing the story with remarkable skill. Athens practically drops out of the reckoning and the chief interest of these years is found in the struggle between Macedon and Egypt for the supremacy of the sea, and in the breaking down of the Antigonid system of government in the dependent states. The former is a story of wonderful achievement in the face of apparently unsurmountable obstacles. The latter is a story of dismal failure. The tyrannies which he had established had to give way before the new spirit developing in Greece. The Achaean League, however, originated in a reaction against Macedon, and never got beyond that limitation. Moreover Greece was too much obsessed with the idea of the city state to permit the development of any sort of federal league. The importance of the reign of the Antigonids to civilization is thus expressed: From 277 to 168 Macedonia, under the Antigonids was the shield and bulwark of Greece, preserving Greek civilization from the possibility of being swamped by northern barbarism before its work was done, before it had yet taught Rome and through Rome the whole modern world; Macedonia and her kings stood in the gap till Rome was ready and able, with greater resources, to take up the work. Republican Rome herself, when her time came hardly and with many failures kept out the north-erners; the Antigonids on the whole managed it with success. This is the real importance of the Antigonid dynasty in history. The world of classical scholarship owes to Mr. Tarn a debt of gratitude for having told this story so well.

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REPORTS.

PHILOLOGUS, Band LXXII (1913).

I, pp. 1-41. O. Immisch. Der erste platonische Brief. (1) The purpose of the collection of Platonic letters, originally the sole purpose, was to supply the *τρίτη πολιτεία* (739 E). (2) Text of the first letter and discussion. It serves admirably to provide explanation and proof for what is said in the seventh letter about the founder of the tyranny. The position at the head of the collection is to be explained by the fact that the recipient was Dionysius I, not II. The letter was probably taken from the history of Timaeus. The collection was made in the first half of the 3d cent. B. C. The thirteenth letter also may have been borrowed from Timaeus, perhaps others also. The Hermias letter is certainly genuine, but was also probably taken from literary sources, perhaps the *ἀπομνημονεύματα Πλάτωνος*.

II, pp. 42-64. R. Hirzel, *Οὐσία*. The word developed from a concrete use in Attic popular and juristic language into the abstract term of the philosophers. Originally, it referred to property not only as regards the origin and purpose of one's possessions but especially as regards the substance and its entirety. The sense of 'being' and 'substance' is derived from the use of the word in the philosophical schools. Aristotle, who made it the chief of his categories, in discussing its different meanings, does not give its original meaning, although he often uses the original meaning in his political writings. In the *Metaphysics* he was concerned especially with the terminology of the philosophers. Plato and Aristotle used *οὐσία* for either 'being' or 'substance'; later it came to mean 'substance', and still later 'material'.

III, pp. 65-82. G. Kafka, Zu Theophrasts *De sensu*. Critical examination of some of the fragments of a work important for the history of psychology in antiquity. (1) § 9, *ἰσων* becomes intelligible, when we know that Empedokles referred tone-perception to a phenomenon of resonance. Thus we trace back to remote antiquity the root of one of the most modern theories of psychophysics, that the perceptive apparatus vibrates as a whole and not, as Helmholtz held, in its separate fibers. In § 20 *καὶ γεῦσιν* is a senseless interpolation; so also in § 44 *συμβάλλεσθαι . . . γλῶτταν*. In § 39, by reading *λεπτότατον . . . ἀσύμμετρος* as a parenthesis, the text at least re-

ceives logical connection. Other passages discussed are § 66; 71-72; 75; 84; 91.

IV, pp. 83-114. O. Schissel v. Fleschenberg, *Die Technik des Bildeinsatzes*. The fiction of describing a painting is often resorted to in sophistic writing to make a transition from introduction to the main part of the work; e. g. Kebes, *Πίναξ* c. 1-4; Petron. Sat. c. 81-88; Lukian. Toxaris, c. 5-8; Ps.-Lukian. *Ἐρωτες*, c. 6-17; Achill. Tat. I, 1-2; and the prooemium of Longus. The device becomes stereotyped. It was artistically and practically suited to realistic scenes. Arguing from the technical rules followed, the author tries to show that the part of Book XVI of Petronius now lost must have concluded with a separation of Encolpius from Giton; and also of Giton from Eumolpus.

V, pp. 115-124. R. Asmus, *Zur Kritik und Erklärung von Julian Ep. 3* und 35*. The third epistle was probably written in 359 A. D. The addressee is Salustius. Ep. 35 is addressed to an official who is friendly to philosophers, but who cannot be identical with the man who insulted the addressee of Ep. 3.

VI, pp. 124-148. H. Wingels (†), *De ordine libellorum Lucianeorum*. In very ancient times the works of Lucian were published either singly or in groups containing only a few of the writings. In the course of time (probably gradually) all these works were collected into a corpus. One such complete corpus is cod. Vat. 90=Γ; part of another is cod. Harleian. 4596=E. Even in ancient times there were two different minor corpora of the dialogues. Cod. Vindobon.=B is derived entire from an ancient corpus of the whole of Lucian, which was made up of several corpora and single writings. The compilers of Γ and the corpus from which B was copied found the same corpuscula, which they arranged in different order.

Miscellen.

1, pp. 149-152. W. Schmid, *Zu Virgils Catalepton*. (1) Cat. II 2-5 is emended as follows:

Iste, *ἴσσε*, rhetor, usquequaque *νοῦς* totus
Thucydides Britannus, Atticae *φύβοις*
tau Gallicum, *μιν* et *σφιν* εὖ μάλα illisit,
εἴτα omnia ista verba miscuit fratri.

In Cat. X 23, read *pyxinumque pectinem*. In XIV 9 f. read:

Marmoreusque tibi atque ignicoloribus alis
in morem posita stabit Amor pharetra.

2, pp. 152-155. Eb. Nestle, *Beobachtungen zu den lateinischen Evangelien*. (1) The cod. Bezae (D) alone, and only in the first gospel, more than 50 times translates *ὁ δέ*, etc. *qui autem*. In the other gospels it is regularly *at ille*, etc. This

fact points to different translators. (2) *ait*, *dixit*, *inquit*. From the use and non-use of *ait* in cod. D as a norm Nestle concludes that some of the peculiarities of usage in this MS may be due to local or provincial influences.

3, pp. 156-157. G. Landgraf, Lucilius Fr. 417 M 'si tricosus bovinatorque'. 'Bovinator' is a rustic word meaning a "loafer fit only for tending cattle". Tricosus is to be connected with *tricandi* found in Colum. 11, 1, 16 where the writer is following the Oeconomicus of Xenophon, probably in Cicero's translation. The corresponding Greek is *προβάειος εὐπλόκορος*. Those glosses are right which define *bovinator* by *tricosus*, and *bovinari* by *tricari*. Gell. 11, 7, 7 and Non., p. 79, 26 correctly give *bovinator* = *tergiversator* although the word is used in a more developed sense.

4, pp. 157-158. W. v. Voigt, Zu Cicero und Germanicus. (1) Cic. de legg. II, 9, 22 read: *avos* leto datos divos habento. (2) Germ. Arati Phen. 665 f. retain *Cancri*. In vs. 444 f. *arcanis* applied to the Muses indicates the poet's intention of giving to the Romans an astrological work.

5, pp. 158-159. A. Zimmermann, Zur Duenosinschrift. (1) If Thurneysen (K. Z. 35, p. 204) is right in maintaining that *duenos med feced* etc. contains a word-play, "ein Guter hat mich gemacht für einen Guten", then the Praenestine fibula also may have a word-play: Ein Guter hat mich gemacht für einen Begüterten. (2) 'opet oitesiai, etc. = "wenn du dich durch Vermittelung der Göttin des Brauchens (i. e. by the gift of an object for use) zur Versöhnung nicht bewegen lassen willst". opet = oped (CIL XI, 3078). oitesia = dea quae praeest rebus utendis; cf. Fructesea Aug. c. d. 4, 24.

6, pp. 159-160. A. Laudien. Plutarchea. A list of hitherto neglected manuscripts of the Lives.

VII, pp. 161-195. W. F. Otto, Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien. Summary on p. 190 ff. The ancients conceived the Lupercalia as a festival for the purification of the community and the warding off of evil. The purification was symbolically effected on the persons of two noble youths and by the atonement sacrifice of a dog. The warding off of evil was accomplished originally by two naked priests of the god who ran through the city; later when the ritual combined fertility with purification, they carried the *amiculum Iunonis* (the magic thong made from the skin of a sacrificed goat) with which they struck women whom they met. Lupercus means 'wolfish', 'wolf-like'. It is originally the name not of the priest of Faunus but of Faunus himself. Lycaeus (Pan) whose statue was naked and girt with a skin, like the Luperci

when they ran. Faunus is the god of the Lupercalia; originally, Faunus was not a shepherd-god. He belongs with Mars; his voice is heard in battles; the wolf belongs to them both. Further investigation of the legend of Romulus may shed additional light on this question.

VIII, pp. 196-205. E. v. Druffel, Papyrologisches. 1. Pap. Grenf. I, 11. Besides the duplicate Nr. 1277, the Heidelberg Library has in Nr. 1288 a fragment, in another hand, belonging to the same document. It is of juristic interest and mentions opponents in the petition possibly not identical with those in the earlier case. (2) On the Hermias suit.

IX, pp. 206-224. H. Rubenbauer, Der Bau des trochäischen Tetrameters in der neueren Komödie. The trochaic tetrameter of comedy is less freely formed than the iambic trimeter. Pure tetrameters are used rather rarely (1 in 23.5); verses with resolutions more frequently, in keeping with the colloquial form of the discourse. The dactyl, allowed by Euripides in proper names, was admitted also in common nouns; its formation was strict. Diaeresis is rarely neglected. Menander always uses it, although it is often apparent to the eye only where a verse is divided between speakers. Menander allows himself greater freedom, yet he is careful not to mar the smoothness and finish of the tetrameter.

X, pp. 225-249. L. Gurlitt, Plautinische Studien. An examination of cases of *double entendre*, where honesto verbo vitiosa res appellatur: e. g. asta=hasta (φάλλος) Most. I, 4; Asin. III, 3, 112; Miles III, 3, 61-68 also Miles 1018.

XI, pp. 250-262. F. Görres, Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Licinius. (Contributions to the criticism of the sources for the age of Diocletian and Constantine.) Licinius is known for his friendliness towards the Christians between 311 and 319; and his persecution of the church in his last years. He kept aloof from the persecution of 302/3-305 from antipathy to the Neoplatonists, the chief instigators. His later hostile attitude was due principally to the Christians themselves.

XII, pp. 263-277. W. A. Baehrens, Propertiana. I. Propertius never uses an adjective at the pentameter close, except in cases where the substantive with which it agrees, could not stand at the close, but only before the caesura. Hence in III 13, 56 read *tuo*; II. 9. 12 *flavis . . vadis*; III. 7, 42 *solis . . doli*; II. 29 b, 36 *volutantis*. II. On the principle of ἀπὸ κοινοῦ *et . . . quique* is retained in IV 11, 39-40. III. II 2, 6 is explained as a mixture of two constructions: *incedit vel Iove digna* and *incedit ceu Iovis soror*. IV. In I 8, 19-20 the reading of the archetype *ut te* is defended by the use in I 11, 9-10.

V. In I 8, 25 retain *Atraciiis*. P. forgetting his mythology has confused two Hippodamias. VI. In I 21, 9 read *quaecumque* and in vs. 6 *et* for *ne*. VII. In II 13, 47 read *cui si* for *quis*. VIII. II 17, 1-4 should be joined to elegy 16. IX. Hosius' reading in II 20, 8 is defended by examples. X. In III 13, 8 retain *pastor*. XI. In III 13, 59 *verus* is defended. XII. Transpositions by certain scholars are shown to be needless.

XIII, pp. 278-297. J. Brummer, Zur Ueberlieferungsgeschichte der sogenannten Donat-Vita des Vergil. The Vita by Donatus has descended through a double tradition, (1) the common, much padded form Ω , and (2) the fragments in *S* and *m*. The latter together with the vita Gudiana prima may be referred to the school of Eriugena where there was still in use a more original Donatus than in the form Ω . *S* and *m* are clumsy workings over of their copy. The MSS containing the vita in its common form are in two classes: *GΣ* and *MERABP*. The vita in Ω was again interpolated, at the latest, in the fourteenth century, from a MS of the *G* grade. Only the data in Hieronymus go back directly to Suetonius.

XIV, pp. 298-308. S. Brassloff, Beiträge zum Juristenlatein. I. *Quando* occurs in juristic Latin not only in the temporal and causal, but also in an explicative and adversative sense. The adversative use goes back to the *legis actio per manus iniunctionem*. The causal use is definitely proved only for Africanus' *Quaestiones* and Claudius Tryphoninus. In other cases it is due to citation of an earlier authority or Justinian's interpolation. II. The use of *id* referring to a preceding masculine or feminine. The cases are the fault of the compilers.

Miscellen.

7, pp. 309-311. A. Zimmermann. Randglossen. Continued from Philol. 65, p. 478. 3. *πλευρά*=costa=wife, in Christian times. 4. Tecusa (*τεκούσα*)=mater. CIL. III 8752 and 10611. 5. In CIL. IX 5771 *pellex*=filia; perhaps connected with *παλλάς*, *θυγάτηρ* (*Διώς*). It is suggested also that *Ἀφαία* is from *ἄππα*, a pet name for father.

8, pp. 311-312. A. Laudien, Zur Ilias A 50 f. Hagenbeck's experiences with his menagerie in Hamburg are cited to illustrate the sensitiveness of animals to infection through drinking water, long before the pestilence affected men.

9, pp. 312-316. J. Miller: Nochmals die 16. Epode des Horaz. A rejoinder to Kukula (Römische Säkularpoesie, Teubner, 1911). The epode, like 1, 9 and 13, is *not* satirical. Hiemer's explanation (Ellwanger progr. 1905), that the epode

is a reply to Vergil's Ecl. IV, is accepted. Horace's *vate me* answers the prophet of the fourth eclogue.

10. pp. 316-317. G. A. Gerhard, Zur Priesterliste des ptolemäischen Urkundenprotokolls.

11. pp. 317-320. O. Weinreich, Die falsche Astraia. An example from Carl Spitteler (Olympischer Frühling, Bd. II. 100 f.) of the use of the same motif as Wieland may have taken from Lucian (Alex. 39) for his Peregrinus Proteus.

XV, pp. 321-337. A. Müller, Die Schimpfwörter in der griechischen Komödie. The cases occurring in direct address are classified according as the speaker (1) alludes to the interlocutor's appearance, lack of intellect, moral character, individual traits, manner of life, misery etc.; or (2) uses names of animals or (3) certain formulas of imprecation. Words of abuse occur in the plays of Aristophanes per 100 verses as follows: Av. 8; Ach. 1.2; Lys. and Ran. 1.3; Vesp. and Eccl. 1.4; Eq. 1.6; Thesm. 1.7; Pax 1.9; Plut. 2.2; Nub. 2.5.

XVI, pp. 338-357. H. F. Müller, Plotinos über die Vorsehung. Examination of the views on divine Providence given in Ennead. III books 2 and 3. Plotinos' estimate of the world and human life is thoroughly Greek even in its oneness and limitations; he undervalues the masses and exalts the aristocracy of the spirit. Thoroughly Greek also are his cheerful optimism, his lively feeling for the beauty of the world, and his unbroken confidence in the moral strength of man, who bears what is necessary, because he sees through it, and tries to overcome evil by virtue.

XVII, pp. 358-372. W. Soltau, Classis und Classes in Rom. (1) The Etruscan despots created a new army organization which added to the old levy the second and third *classes*. (2) This Servian army fought the fight for freedom, was augmented by the *seniores*, chose its leaders, and remained the active army. (3) The plebs not included organized themselves for political purposes. (4) Soon after the decemvirs the traditional organization of the army was gradually superseded by the manipular. Hence the use of the Servian army for political purposes was precluded. "Army" and "Voters" were differentiated. (5) The transition from the purely military *exercitus Servianus* with limited number of centuries, to a *comitatus maximus*, which included the whole Roman people, must have been made much earlier than the change in the number of tribes. (6) Numismatic evidence would make the end of the 4th cent. B. C., (the introduction of coinage) the earliest date for a perfect voting organization of the people according to census.

XVIII, pp. 372-391. O. Könncke, Zu Theokrit. (1) 7, 122 f. *πόδας τριβόμενες* refers to standing before the door, not to 'das Nachlaufen des ganzen Tages' (v. Wilamowitz). (2) 10, 18. *χρoίξειται*, passive; 'sie wird von dir die Nacht hindurch geliebkost werden. (3) 22. Rejects v. Wilamowitz' view (Textgeschichte, p. 182 ff.) that there is a long lacuna after 170 and that the part following is the conclusion of a speech by Kastor. (4) Discussion of textual points in 22. (5) 24; 15. We must assume that *each* of the *σταθμά* had a hole, so that the two snakes passed through, each through a separate hole. V. 31 *ὀψίγονον* refers to the retarded birth of Herakles. In v. 74 *θείσθαι* is to be retained.

XIX, pp. 392-402. W. Gurlitt (†), De hiatu in Dionysii Halicarnasensis de antiquitatibus Romanis libris obvio. An examination of books I-VI shows that D. sought to avoid hiatus caused by the concurrence of two long vowels or a long and a short vowel. But he allows hiatus in certain cases; where the article, or *καί* would be spoken with crasis; after *ἦ*, *μή*, *δῆ* (*εἰ* and *εὖ* once each); in some set phrases; after enclitic forms of *εἶναι*; between adjective (or numeral) and its substantive; between infinitive and the verb on which it depends, in short clauses (mostly relative) of 2-3 words; in certain formulas; if there is some punctuation. MS discrepancies make 501 cases of hiatus suspicious. Most are remediable with a slight change or transposition.

XX, pp. 403-413. F. Lammert, De C. Iulii Solini Collectaneis a Guidone de Bazochiis adhibitis. Guido was born before the middle of the 12th cent. He should be added to the lists of Mommsen (ed. alt. p. 25-29) and Manitius (Philol. 47 and 51) of those who used Solinus.

XXI, pp. 414-441. Th. O. H. Achelis, De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum. I. Later grammarians made false ascriptions to A. (continued on pp. 518-545).

Miscellen.

12, p. 442. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt, Zu Herodots persischer Steuerliste. A rejoinder to F. H. Weissbach, Philol. 71, 479 ff.

13, pp. 442-444. A. Müller, Der Schauplatz in Aristophanes' Wespen V. 1122 ff. The action takes place outside the front of the house.

14, pp. 444-447. S. Eitrem, Die Hera mit der Schere. There was once at Argos a cult-statue of Hera represented as holding bronze shears,—a reference to her function of *pro-nuba*, who cut the bride's hair.

15, pp. 447-448. H. Blumner, **Ἄλες*. Apparently the only

place in Greek where ἄλεις=sales=wit is Plut. Comp. Aristoph. et Menand. 4, p. 854 C. The gloss (C. Gl. II 177. 22) merely translates the Latin *sales*.

XXII, pp. 449-456. P. Maas, *Verschiedenes*. (1) Excerpts from Strabo in Psellos. Quotations from Strabo 9, c. 1-2 suggest two readings which should be noted by editors of Strabo. (2) Hesychios, father of Synesios of Kyrene. Note on Syn. Hymn. 8, 29 ff. and Ep. 53. (3) *Paroemiographica*. 5 notes on proverbs containing ancient verses. (4) Theocritus 15, 8. For τῆνος read Δίνος a possible secondary form for Δίνων (v. 12). (5) Simias Πτέρυγες 10; read παῦνόω. (6) Note on Alciphro Ep. 4, 16. Read δειπνήσεις τὰ Ἀφροδίσια. ποιῶ etc. (7) Aristoph. Thesm. 1181. Read ἀνώμεν for ἀνωθεν. (8) Pind. Isthm. VI 72. Read τὸν ἄνδρα for νιν ἄνδρα.

XXIII, pp. 457-464. P. Corssen, *Die epischen Gedichte des Euphoriön*. The poem Ἡσίοδος ascribed to Euphoriön by Suidas was probably called Ἡς Περίοδος; many of Euphoriön's fragments seem to point towards this assumption.

XXIV, pp. 465-483. K. Svoboda, *Die Abfassungszeit des Geschichtswerkes des Polybios*. Summary, p. 483. Before 146 B. C. Polybios had written what is now contained in I-XXXI 21 (XXXII 2). At the end of his internment in Rome he began to publish the history, but in consequence of the stormy occurrences of the year 146 he reached only books IV or V. After 146 the work was interrupted for a long time, and not continued and finished until after the composition of the book on the Numantine war. Only book III was especially prepared for the new edition. (This article appeared in the Bohemian "Listy filologické" (1913, p. 12 f.) and was translated to give the results of the investigation a wider usefulness).

XXV, pp. 484-491. G. A. Gerhard, *Der Prolog des Persius*. Papyrus finds have shown that the choliambic meter was a favorite for the popular-philosophical diatribe of the stoic and cynic satirical type. Varro used this meter among others in his Menippean satires. Lucilius passed from varied meters to the hexameter. The metrical difference between the prologue and the satires proper of Persius is like that between the satirical Hellenistic diatribe and the standardized Roman satire. Before Persius wrote Roman satire in the meter of Lucilius and Horace, he wrote choliambics; and of these youthful verses from his early stoic period the introductory verses have come down to us as a so-called prologue. The views of F. Leo (*Hermes*, XLV, 1910, p. 48) and E. Gaar (*Wiener Studien*, XXXI, 1909, pp. 128-135, 233-243) and others are subjected to examination.

XXVI, pp. 492-502. A. Müller, *Die Schimpfwörter in der römischen Komödie*. The 160 terms of abuse are classified according to the speaker and the person addressed.

XXVII, pp. 503-517. P. Lehmann, *Cassiodorstudien* (continued from *Philol.* LXX 1, 278-299). III. Lost Writings? Although some works have been lost, the ascription to Cassiodorus of a commentary on Aristotle, and even a translation of Aristotle, arose from a misunderstanding by Manitius (*Geschichte der lat. Lit. des Mittelalters*, p. 46) of a quotation from Boethius by Cassiodorus. IV. Isidore of Seville's dependence on Cassiodorus. There is a striking recurrence in the text of Isidore of stylistic peculiarities of Cassiodorus, especially in passages where, on other grounds also, close relationship is evident. The parts used were the second book of the *Institutiones*, the *Liber de orthographia* and the *Historia tripartita*.

XXVIII, pp. 518-545. Th. O. H. Achelis, *De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum*. II. (Continued from pp. 414-441). Critical analysis of the formulas used in the *ὑποθέσεις* for the purpose of finding a norm by which to determine if possible, which are genuine. (To be continued).

Miscellen.

16, p. 546. O. Weinreich, *Ein Gedicht des Aristoteles*. (Bergk *PLG.* II 336). Immisch's emendation (*Philol.* 65, p. 1 f.) is unnecessary. The genitive (v. 2) without *χάριν* or *ἐνεκα* is found in other dedicatory inscriptions.

17, pp. 546-548. E. von Stern, *Graffiti*. Two inscriptions, giving the ancient name of the object, to be added to the collection of P. Wolters, *Eingeritzte Inschriften auf Vasen* (*Ath. Mitt.* 1913, 193 ff.).

18, pp. 548-552. A. Sonny, *Zur Moskauer Sammlung mittelgriechischer Sprichwörter*. Supplementary to C. E. Gleye's article in *Philol.* 71, 527 ff. New readings and interpretations with parallels are offered for the following proverbs, according to Gleye's numbering: 1-4; 10; 14; 16-17; 42; 48; 61; 63; 78; 88; 97-99; 102; 115-116; 118-119; 123; 130.

19, pp. 552-556. K. Preisendanz, *Die Homeromantie* Pap. Lond. CXXI. The oracle complete had 6 times 36 verses, 216 being 3 times the sacred number 72. An attempt is made to arrange the 28 fragments.

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Pp. 427-463. Drei Gedichte des Properz (continued from p. 413). Felix Jacoby. On the interpretation of poems II 24 A and III 8.

Pp. 464-476. A che punto siamo coll' interpretazione dei testi etruschi? Elia Lattes. La formola finale di alcune epigrafi.

Pp. 477-490. Das Pilum des Polybios. A. Schulten. A description of some ancient weapons recently found at Numantia. None of them corresponds exactly to Polybios' description of the pilum, but they serve to explain and supplement it.

Pp. 491-514. Wiederholungen bei älteren griechischen und lateinischen Autoren (continued from Vol. LXVII, pp. 515 ff.). W. Bannier. Examples from early prose and verse of the repetition (1) of principal verbs (2) of substantives (3) of prepositions (in stating both the general and the particular place). These repetitions are so numerous, and many of them so well attested, that classical editors should have been less prejudiced against them, and less ready to remove them from their texts. They served to avoid ambiguity or to add to the rhetorical effect.

Pp. 515-521. Zum Aias des Sophokles. J. M. Stahl. At 966 read οὐ κείνοις γλυκὺς. At 1311 read τῆς σῆς ὑπὲρ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ σοῦ θ' ὁμαίμονος.

Pp. 522-537. Zur kyklischen Theogonie. Johannes Dietze. A comparison of the accounts given by Hesiod and Apollodoros.

Pp. 538-557. Zu den griechischen Bukolikern. Otto Könecke. In Theocr. Epigr. 22, ἄλλος ὁ Χῖος, κ. τ. λ., the 'Chian' is not Homer, but Theocritus of Chios. In Theocr. 3. 28-30 the thing used in the augury is perhaps a pod of the 'bladder-senna' (*colutëa*). This was placed in the hollow of the elbow, and crushed by suddenly bending the arm. In Theocr. 7. 4-6 τῶν χαῶν is partitive genitive with εἰ τί περ ἰσθλόν=ἰσθλότατοι and εἰ τί περ κτλ. refers to Κλυτίας καὶ Χάλκωνος: 'Phrasidamos und Antigenes, abstammend von Klytia und Chalkon, den trefflichsten der Edeln der Vorzeit'. In Theocr. 15. 7 read τὸ δ' ἑκαστέρῳ αἰὲν ἀποικεῖς: 'du ziehst jedesmal (bei jedem Wohnungswechsel) weiter hinaus'. In Theocr. 15. 16 (πάντα . .

ἀγορεύων) read, with Ahrens, *ἄνωγε... ἀγορεύων*. In Moschus, 2. 61, *ταρπεία* should be kept against Wilamowitz' conjecture *ταρπεία*: 'wie wenn ein Schiff mit seinen Ruderblättern den Rand des Korbes beschattete' (*περίσκιετο ταρπεία*). The scenes portrayed on Europa's basket were probably on the inside—as the scenes portrayed on Theocritus' cup were on the inside. <See the article by A. S. F. Gow, 'The Cup in the First Idyll of Theocritus', *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXIII (1913) 207-222.> In Mosch. 2. 155 read, with Meineke, *καί* for *καὶ*. In his edition of the text (1914) Könnicke printed this conjecture as his own, not knowing that Meineke had anticipated him. Now he reproaches his predecessors for ignoring Meineke's reading, and so leading him into a false position. <It is accepted, and credit given to Meineke, in the edition of J. M. Edmonds, London, 1912.> In the Lament for Bion he rejects Wilamowitz' conjecture *γῆρας ἔειδα* (16) and his reading *βυαίς* (49); also Hermann's *τοβία*, for *φιλία* (68) and Kaibel's *ποχ'*, for *τοι*, (71). He prefers *ἐπίλασας* to *ἐπίλασας* (107). He rejects Wilamowitz' *ταίς*, for *ταίς*, (107) and Wakefield's *ὧν*, for *ἐν*, (before *στυγ'*, 105). *Καὶ παρὰ Κῆρα* (119) is right. In Mosch. Megara, 67-68, read, *οὐτ' ἀναρρήτουν... θυρήνῃ*.

Pp. 558-564. Antike Messungen der Landenge von Suez. (Oskar Viedebantt. The measurements of the Isthmus given by Greek and Roman writers all go back to early measurements in Egyptian 'schoinoi'. These early measurements attained a high degree of precision, but their value was sadly impaired when they were converted into stades by Greek writers who did not understand them,

Miszellen.—Pp. 565-567. Otto Seeck. Das Epigramm des Germanus und seine Überschrift (Anth. Pal. XIV 148).—Pp. 567-568. A. Ludwig. Zu Tryphiodoros. Textual notes.—Pp. 569-570. A. Ludwig. Zu Musaios. Textual notes, on lines 5, 225, 272.—Pp. 570-574. H. Heimannsfeld. Zum Text des Helladius bei Photius (cod. 279).—Pp. 575-576. H. Schenkl. Der Dichter der Ilias Latina.—Pp. 576-580. A. Klotz. Zu Cic. pro Milone 2. Examines, and rejects, Th. Birt's argument that we should assume a long lacuna before the beginning of the second chapter.—Pp. 580-584. E. Hohl. Reste einer Handschrift des Kollektaneums des Sedulius Scottus in Paris.—Pp. 585-586. A. Brinkmann. Lückenhasser. Further notes on the burning mountain in Lycia (Olympus). See pp. 424-426.

Pp. 587-596. Arion und Thespis. J. M. Stahl. Discussion of a statement in Johannes' commentary on Hermogenes: *τῆς δὲ τραγῳδίας πρῶτον δράμα Ἀρίων ὁ Μηθηνναῖος εἰσήγαγεν, ὥσπερ Σόλων ἐν ταῖς ἐπιγραφομέναις Ἑλεγκίαις εἰδίδαξε*.

Pp. 597-614. Zu Sophokles. Th. Birt. In Antig. 691 read *λόγοις τε τούτοις*, at 24, *χρηστῶς* (for *χρησθείς*), at 4, *οὐδὲν γὰρ φῦν' ἀλγεινὸν οὐτ' ἀτης ἀπο*, at 140, *δεξιόχειρος*. In Elec. 1344. *τεὰδ τελουμένων εἵποισι' ἂν ᾧδε· νῦν ἔχειν|καλῶς τὰ κείνων πάντα κᾶτα μὴ καλῶς*, in Oed. Col. 711, *εὐπποιν εἰπὼν νιν εὐθάλασσον*, in Ajax, 178, *εἰν ἐλαφρηβολίαις*.

Pp. 615-624. Herodot und Cortona. A. Rosenberg. An examination of Herodotos I 57 (reading *Κρότωνα* for *Κρηστῶνα*). He could have had no special knowledge about any Pelasgians in Etruria.

Pp. 625-629. Ein römischer Epikureer. F. Münzer. Note on L. Saufeius, the friend of Nepos and Atticus. Probably he is the Saufeius who is quoted by Servius, on Aen. I 6.

Pp. 630-641. Die vordere, bisher verloren geglaubte Hälfte des Vossianischen Ausonius-Kodex. S. Tafel. This has been found in Cod. Lat. Paris. 8093.

Pp. 642-679. Studien über den griechischen Artikel. H. Kallenberg. An important study of the use of the article with numerals: (1) with round numbers, (2) with fractions, (3) with ordinals. The phrase *μετὰ τρίτην ἡμέραν* is discussed in an appendix.

Pp. 680-734. Die Quellenberichte über Aristarchs Ilias-Athetesen. A. Ludwig. A long criticism of Adolf Römer's 'Aristarchs Athetesen in der Homerkritik' (Leipzig, 1912).

Pp. 735-741. Die Abfassungszeit der Horazoden II 6 und III 29. R. Philippson. The poems are assigned to the year 25.

Miszellen.—Pp. 742-744. F. Novotný. Ὅτι und ὥς in Platons Briefen.—P. 744. Otto Immisch. Ad Aristotelis poet. cap. 18. Read *δεῖ δὲ ἀμφω ἀρτικροτείσθαι*.—Pp. 744-746. Νίκος Α. Βέης. Die frühbyzantinische Grabinschrift eines Arztes.

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BRIEF MENTION.

A familiar illustration of the ruling passion strong in death is furnished by the dying words of the old French grammarian: 'Je vais ou je vas mourir; l'un et l'autre se disent'; and I suppose that I shall continue to repeat my little syntactical formulae to the end. Even in this day of wrath, when the jar of conflict is felt to the remotest verge of the world, I find myself repeating the statement: Verbs of vision in Greek as a rule take present and perfect participles. These are the ordinary conditions of actual vision. There are two notorious exceptions—*ἐπιθεῖν*, 'to live to see', and *περιθεῖν*, 'to fail to see'. These are often followed by the aorist participle. The negative explanation of *περιθεῖν*, which I adduced years and years ago (Morris-Classen Thuk. i, 24; A. J. P. X 124), is not wholly satisfactory. The verbs are not to be separated. They are not verbs of vision pure and simple. They have a moral sense. They involve will and wish. *περιθεῖν* may be a wilful ignoring, 'to shut one's eyes to'; *ἐπιθεῖν* involves desire or dread. Alas for life as mirrored in language! Scan the passages in which *ἐπιθεῖν* occurs. It is enough to make one a pessimist. But I drop the grammarian, and leave the statistics to those who are carried away with the *furor arithmeticus*.

What have I not lived to see, if only from afar. My memory goes back to the Seminole war, and as a child I went to Fort Moultrie in order to get sight of Osceola; but the hero was not on exhibition that day. I was only to see his grave; and from that time on war has followed war—almost every one brought to the consciousness by personal interest or personal contact with the actors. I have lived through four years of the Civil War—more than four years, if one counts prelude and postlude of the great red game. I know the life of the fireside and the life of the field. The conditions of the present wrestling-match—the grimmest of the ages—are different, but at bottom war is the same. I think of the scholars that have taken the field on this side and that. Some of them I know personally. I understand them. Paul Cauer's *Grammatica Militans*, ominous title, is on my study table. I open the last number of the 1914 *Jahrbücher*, and learn that he is in the field. Ilberg tarries by the stuff. To judge by my own

experience the man in the field is the happier. The first article is by WILHELM NESTLE. It deals with Thukydides. This is my Aristophanic year, but Aristophanes means the Peloponnesian War, and the Peloponnesian War is the pivot about which so much of my work as a teacher revolves. The note-books from which these trivialities are taken bear Aristophanic titles—*σκαριφισμοί*, *κοσκυλμάτια*, *πομφολυγοπαφλάσματα*, but of the two interpreters of that typical struggle I find myself turning from the comic mask of the 'baldhead bard' to the grave countenance of the historian; and Thukydides shall be the chief contributor to the *Brief Mention* of this number.

NESTLE's article is a companion-piece to his Euripides (A. J. P. XXIII 111) and is called *Thukydides u. die Sophistik*. To him Thukydides is the 'Geschichtschreiber der griechischen Aufklärung', as Euripides is the 'Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung', though the natures of the two rationalists are far different. Thukydides' rupture with the traditional religion is more complete than that of Euripides, whose poetical soul longs every now and then for the old faith (A. J. P. XXX 227). Thukydides simply ignores the gods <E. caelo deripit ille deos>. A striking contrast is Herodotos, who, while he could not withdraw himself from the mighty movement of the times, went no farther than a rather tame rationalism, <after a fashion that reminds one of Pindar and Palaiphatos>. But for Herodotos the moral government of God abides; <for him an increasing purpose runs through the ages>. He looks upon the world with the artistic vision of Aischylos or Sophokles, rather than with the cold eye and cool blood of the investigator of history. <He is, in short, a good Church of Greece man (A. J. P. XVII 127).> Thukydides' programme is not the momentary diversion of hearer or reader, but the ascertainment of the truth (*τὸ σαφές*). <Only *τὸ σαφές* is not *τὸ ὄν*. It is non-committal, as is so much in Thukydides.> This bent toward the real, this *Wirklichkeits-sinn*, shews itself, says NESTLE, in the pragmatic character of Thukydides' work and style. <If the world were only agreed on the meaning of 'pragmatic! '> It is not necessary, therefore, to advance as an explanation the northern barbaric blood that flowed in his veins (cf. A. J. P. XXXIII 238), as did Wilamowitz, <despite the fact that Karl Blind claimed him as a German, and the other fact that the Holkham bust has the type of an English gentleman—an untranslatable type>. This makes him, according to NESTLE <and a thousand others>, the first historian in the modern sense, <despite the deliberate limitation of his vision, which forms a striking contrast to the

wider sweep which makes Herodotos akin to the historians of to-day (A. J. P. XVII 127) >.

Thukydides' passion for the truth is not a flame, but a hidden fire. He is not a propagandist. In religious matters he maintains <the> reserve <of the superior person>. He recognizes religion as a power; <he would have recognized it in Cromwell and his Ironsides>. When he develops his own views, he refrains from any religious philosophy. Note the eloquent silence in his introduction. But we must remember that the philosophic content of his work resides in the speeches, and we must not attribute to him the sentiments of his characters. He is a dramatic poet. His work is an historical drama, as Otfried Müller puts it. <Indeed, Mr. Cornford frankly calls him 'mythistoricus' (A. J. P. XXVIII 356)>. Far different are his *δημηγορίαι* from the discourses of Herodotos. Like the tragic poets, Herodotos uses his *sermones* to open our vision into the dealings, <into the *poscaenia*>, of the divinity. Thukydides, like an apt pupil of the sophists, builds his speeches in the main on the *ἀντιλέγειν* business, but in spite of his art we can see behind the mask of the speaker the clear and serious eye of the writer. <A difficult matter, Herr NESTLE, if it were not for the simple rule given by Bury. According to Bury, the harder Thukydides is to understand, the more perverse his style, the nearer are we to the real Thukydides.> Like the sophists, Thukydides is averse from speculative philosophy. Antiquity has called him a pupil of Anaxagoras, and branded him as an atheist, <though, to be sure, *ἄθεος* does not mean atheist in the modern sense>, but there is no *Noûs* (with a capital N) in Thukydides. Earthquakes, inundations, volcanic eruptions, eclipses, tempests, are mentioned, but only because of their historical consequences or their effect on popular belief; nor does he spare the superstition of a statesman and a general of whom he thought so highly as he thought of Nikias, <though what he really thought of Nikias is another story>. His famous description of the plague shews how thoroughly trained he was in the observation of natural phenomena—<a vivid description, indeed, in which modern physicians have seen every kind of contagion, bubonic plague, syphilis, what not?> All that happens is to him the working of an unvarying machine. He believes in the 'Gesetzmässigkeit alles Geschehens', and we trace in him the teachings of Demokritos. The law of uniformity that he recognizes in the world without, he recognizes also in human nature, which the sophists regarded as the proper study of mankind. The soul of Sophistic is intellec-

tualism. There is no ethical judgment of actions—no good, no bad, no ἔβρις, only ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ in the sense of adaptation of means to end. His whole terminology is intellectual, not ethical. σύνεσις was the watchword of his time. πρόνοια is human foresight, not divine. In his ζήτησις τῆς ἀληθείας he discards myth and anecdote, <though he is not proof against *bons mots*—Who is?> For him there was no golden age; nor any speculations as to primitive man. He is on his guard against exaggeration of former exploits. To him the Peloponnesian war was greater than the Trojan. He uses his Homer as evidence of social and cultural conditions, and recognizes an advance, <though there is no divine plan for the education of the race, no modern God in History, no ratchet-wheel movement from without>. No myths of the gods. No enthusiasms about heroes. The Trojan war he considers historical. <If he lived in our day, he would have escaped the sun-stroke, cf. A. J. P. XXIX 117>.

In NESTLE’s opinion there was no recognition of a ‘sittliche Weltordnung’, no sublimation of Τύχη into Providence, <no ἰοχέαιρα Τύχη, no Διὸς πлагὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν, A. J. P. XXIII 347.> Chance is sheer chance, <not even as Swinburne has it, ‘chance central of circumstance’>. Cult and violations of cult are mentioned only when they are significant for the course of events, nor always without an intimation of the insincerity or the weakness of those who used them or were swayed by them. For the whole brood of soothsayers, the whole apparatus of oracles, he does not pretend to disguise his contempt, <any more, say, than our orthodox friend Aristophanes>.

τὸ θεῖον is a mere δόξα. The only rule to follow is the φύσις ἀναγκαία, the inviolable rule to which the world within is subject, as is the world without. There is no ethic even when a definite personality speaks. <Why then make allowances, as NESTLE bids us do?> The God Pan has nothing to do with panic, <any more than the σχῆμα Πινδαρικόν has to do with Pindar.> Scares are catching, that is all. The Spartans march to the sound of the fife, not for the sake of τὸ θεῖον, but simply because of the psychological effect of music <a familiar doctrine from Tyrtaios to Rudyard Kipling—but no details are given as to the character of Dorian moods and Lydian airs>. Crime and punishment—everyday themes with the Sophists—are discussed in the speech of Diodotos: πεφύκασί τε ἅπαντες καὶ ἰδία καὶ δημοσία ἀμαρτάνειν. <But ἀμαρτάνειν is not to be

rendered 'Verbrechen' (A. J. P. XXXV 386) as it is rendered by NESTLE>. Human nature is prone to make mistakes—so prone that no law, no νόμος—<for νόμος is not 'law'>—can check it. Such is human nature, and such it will ever be. The only wickedness is weakness of judgment. The trouble must be met by intelligence—<Jefferson's remedy>. Punishment as vengeance, <I will repay, saith the Lord> as a deterrent, as a means of reformation, is naught. τιμωρία and κόλασις are naught. 'Tis a pessimistic creed: σύνεσις cannot make head against ἐπιθυμία. φύσις gets the better of νόμος more and more. He says, as Euripides says, μέγιστον ἄρ' ἦν ἡ φύσις. <Nay, he is one with Pindar in the exaltation of φύσις, and Isokrates was to be one with both.> Thukydides is an aristocrat at heart. NESTLE has not recognized any special use of ἀρετή in Thukydides. He employs it, we are told, in the usual significance of the word. <But the Thukydidean theory reduces it, as I have said, to 'efficiency' (A. J. P. XXXV 367)—the adaptation of means to an end. ἀρετή consists in getting things done. It lacks moral content as much as does its antithesis ἀμαρτία. νόμος is Use and Wont. Its sway was recognized by Pindar, who made it an absolute rule—νόμος τύραννος>. The law of nature is the rule of the stronger for the world without. It is also the law of the world within. Might makes right. The only check is the inevitable law of decay—the inevitable ups and downs of life. The whole scheme is dramatically worked out in the debate between Melians and Athenians. The Athenians are ruthless in the proclamation of their programme. Thukydides points no moral. <It is the old, old story—An nescis longas regibus esse manus? The Melian Aphrodite is powerless. She has lost her arms. What Athens was to lose afterwards matters not—the awful sequel of the 'Wille zur Macht', of which one hears so much nowadays>. Classen would have us believe that Thukydides is following the lines of documents preserved in the archives of Athens, <a notion begotten by German practise>. Nay, says NESTLE. The dialogue is a sophistic debate in which the traditional view of the course of this world is upheld against the real laws that regulate the currents of events. It is an ἀντιλογία, which, however, leaves us in no doubt as to the side which Thukydides accepts <we must not say Thukydides 'favors'>. But form and content go back to sophistic exemplars, to Gorgias, to Euripides. We hear the echo in the ἀγών of the Clouds; and the anonymous Athenians of the Melian dialogue find their spokesman in the Kallikles of Plato's Gorgias and the Menon of the Anabasis. In political life the doctrine 'Might makes right' is accepted as the practical formula. Moral indignation is out of place in calculating the forces of history. Nietzsche interprets the dialogue as Nietzsche might

be expected to interpret it. <Indeed, Nietzsche, whose boyhood was influenced by Theognis (A. J. P. XXXIII 106), may in riper years have been inspired by Thukydides (A. J. P. XXII 232)>. Nor does NESTLE spare us the inevitable parallel of Machiavelli. <Unfortunately, Thukydides offers no parallel for the trumpet-note of Petrarch, which forms the memorable close of 'Il Principe'—a note that resounds and will resound through the ages so long as there is such a thing as nationality.>

This brings us to the chapter of Thukydides' attitude toward the parties of his day. He is no believer in political Utopias. Himself an aristocrat, he maintains his independence of oligarchs and democrats alike, and declares himself in favor of the compromise government of the Five Thousand as the best he had lived to see <a bitterer sarcasm than is to be found in Tacitus>. 'Ομόνοια was the watchword of the time, as it is the title of a discourse of Antiphon the Sophist, whom NESTLE is inclined to identify with Antiphon the statesman, whom Thukydides praises as he praises Nikias <both eulogies open to interpretation, for as NESTLE himself says, all Thukydides' estimates of character are based on political evidence, quite apart from what we should call moral standards>. The Epitaphios of Pericles is a glorification of Athenian culture, of the Athenian spirit—not of Athenian political life. <'Ομόνοια, by the way, is the name of one of the two great squares of Modern Athens (Place de la Concorde). One wonders what Thukydides would have thought of the Greeks of to-day.> NESTLE seems to think that Thukydides favored the régime of the μέσοι πολῖται, <but for that matter Pindar has been claimed for the same régime (I. E. xxvi), and with as much foundation>. His ideal—if he had any ideal—was the one man rule of Perikles. For the ὄχλος, the πολλὸς ὄμιλος, he does not disguise his contempt. It is simply a force to be used. Thukydides as the aristocrat could hardly have been, thinks NESTLE, in sympathy with Perikles' praise of liberty and the equality of all the citizens in the management of the State. These are real forces, not to be underrated so long as they are swayed by genius. The trouble is the inevitable tendency of democracy to the one man power—a τυραννίς in fact, if not in name. Perikles, Kleon, Hyperbolos are the masters; <their rule was a monitory and minatory rule>. As for foreign relations, Thukydides recognizes <as all antiquity recognized, as the language itself shews> that war is the rule and peace the exception. <Ares holds the scales, the grim χρυσάμοιβός, as Aischylos calls him>. The balance of power is the balance of fear—τὸ ἀντίπαλον δέος. <The doc-

trine holds to-day. Big guns are the Poundtexts>. Sparta and Athens for a time; Sparta or Athens as a rule. Thukydides understood the strength and the weakness of both. The command of the sea was a necessity for Athens. He indulged in no dreams of imperial conquest for Athens. He could have been satisfied with Perikles' sphere of influence. Dreams are only for those who have the power to make the visions realities. Alkibiades was not an Alexander. Thukydides was no Panhellenist. <That was reserved for the renegade Xenophon (A. J. P. XXVI 490). Thukydides was as good an Athenian as Pindar a Boeotian. To Thukydides an Athenian was an Athenian always. No wonder that Thukydides always, like Athens, kept his eye on Corinth—the old mole (A. J. P. XXVIII 356), the old layer of political mines.>

On the influence of Sophistic on the style of Thukydides NESTLE touches but lightly, and as this is the burden of LAMB'S *Clio Enthroned* (Cambridge, University Press)—the rather affected title of a volume dedicated to the study, or, if you choose, vindication of Thukydides as an artist—I may take up the subject in a future *Brief Mention*. Of course, *more Teutonico*, NESTLE'S article is garnished with references to the literature and larded with proof-texts. I have imitated him by citing the Journal. The Thukydidean scholar will not be impressed with the novelty of all his views. NESTLE'S essay belongs to the class of papers for which the world owes so much to the *Neue Jahrbücher* with their wide outlook for the general reader and their pregnant hints for the specialist. I trust that my rapid summary and my ungracious asides have not done injustice to an estimable scholar and to a valuable periodical.

In the Michaelmas semester of 1850 the illustrious Boeckh was lecturing on the History of Greek Literature, and when he came to Sotades, he paused to remark that some people looked upon the universe from the point of view of sexual love; and then he went on to tell us with evident relish the jest that got Sotades into trouble with Ptolemy Philadelphus. It was not a proper joke, and yet an appropriate one, for according to popular etymology the German 'Zote' comes from the Greek Sotades. In this year of grace not some people, but all people, deal in sexualities. The God of the Garden has displaced Max Müller's sun-god. In 1850 Payne Knight was still held up as a man of impure mind because he saw the phallus everywhere in the universe, as he saw the digamma everywhere in Homer. Now everybody seems to be a devotee of Tree-Worship and Serpent-Worship. There are no reserves, and I do not see why I should keep back any longer

an outline or at least an adumbration of my sexual system of the cases (XXXV 109), about which I have had to undergo some good-natured banter. Of course, as I am an old-fashioned man, I must leave the details to be worked out by those who are better equipped both with knowledge and courage.

It is not only yesterday and the day before that I have expressed my dissatisfaction with the scientific methods that have been in vogue since the advent of Delbrück, who took up the clue dropped by Quintilian; and I find no more repose to-day than I did a generation ago (A. J. P. II 83 foll.). The mixed cases are still mixed cases; and it is often impossible to tell which element preponderates in this or that use, all the uses being endowed with metaphysical names—most of which the Greek man in the street would not have understood. No system of the cases could be devised that would transcend the nonsense that has been gravely put forth on the general subject, and not only put forth but accepted. Think, for instance, of the utter absurdity of calling the dative a grammatical case. I lifted my ineffectual toe against it many years ago, and shortly after Whitney came down upon it with his merciless heel. And yet this same Whitney yielded to the temptation of making the accusative a 'whither' case. The local theory is anything but simple, anything but convincing. 'Where' has the murderous habit of killing 'whither'. It has actually exterminated 'whither' in spoken English, and in Spanish the place of 'whither' has been usurped by its opposite 'whence'. Never shall I forget the charming naïveté of the old romance:

Rey de mi alma y desta tierra conde,
¿Porqué me dejas, donde vas, en donde?

Why, instruments of precision are installed in modern vessels in order to determine the direction of sounds, so unsatisfactory is the operation of the human ear. Locality is secondary—not primary. These same localists suffered from an embarrassment of riches when they attacked the problem of the nominative. If the genitive is a whence-case, what is the nominative? A whence-case also. And now comes Van Wijk (A. J. P. XXIII 235) and reinforces Streitberg in maintaining that the original genitive singular is a nominative, differing from the nominative only by a tentacular accent which fastens on the word it wants after the fashion set forth by George Bernard Shaw. The whole moral make-up of the genitive is feminine. It leans, it clings, it twines. Put it at the head of a sentence—as one should say a club—far from its natural régime, and it becomes what they call nowadays a 'bachelor maid'—haply a suffragette, haply a free lover. Looked at from this point of view the genitive absolute ceases to be a

mystery, and the syntactical progress in loose behaviour is a chapter in the emancipation of woman. The grammatico-rhetorical tradition of *ὀρθός* (opp. to *ὑπίτιος*) and *ὀρθότης* sufficiently vindicates the masculinity of the nominative.

The dative, so far from being a grammatical case, is often an ungrammatical case. It flits over a sentence and takes its good where it finds it. It is, to be brief, a *φιλότῃτι μῆγῃναι* case—masculine or feminine, or both. Dr. Fennell heaped scorn upon me for saying that *μῆγῃναι* in Pindar always has its rights of <personal> contact, and he declined to put *κεκραμένον* in the same category (P. 5, 2). He is hopelessly wrong. The accusative is not a whither case. It is simply the result of an action. 'To make port', 'to make land', shew the nexus. Now, Johannes Schmidt has taught us that there is no neuter in language. 'It' is simply indeterminate. *τέκνον*, the result of the action of *οἱ τεκόντες*, is differentiated later in *ὁ παῖς* and *ἡ παῖς*. Pseudo-Galen asks *εἰ ζῶν τὸ κατὰ γαστρός*. It was a moot point. But I have written of the mysterious *Es* before (A. J. P. XXV 112). The nominative then is the point of departure, the positive pole. The genitive is the door, the Daleth of the Semites, the delta of the Greeks, the deep well of love (A. J. P. XXV 229), the place within which, the place from within which, emerges the tide of life. The dative is that which gives and takes (Pindar O. 13, 29). The accusative is the resultant, the other pole of activity.

As for the trifling objection that all the four cases under discussion assume masculine or feminine gender, no determined theorist will be balked by that. This assumption of gender belongs to a later period of development. Besides, Brugmann's masterly treatment of grammatical gender has minimized the sexuality of the noun. We must come down from our philosophical altitudes. Too many grammarians are like Renan's Eastern sage, whose name being interpreted means *ὁ σπέρμα εἰς τὴν κεφαλὴν ἀνέβη*: and we must utter the Aristophanic cry *κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα, κατάβα*. But will the response come, *καταβήσομαι*? However, I am forgetting another *κατάβα*, the *κατάβα* addressed to Xanthias by Dionysos, as to a grammarian mounted on his hobby, *κατάβα πανοῦργε*. But, for all that, there is a good omen in the words that follow:

καὶ γὰρ ἐγγὺς τῆς θύρας
ἤδη βαδίζων εἰμι τῆσδ', οἱ πρῶτά με
εἶδει τραπέσθαι.

In his Man and Superman George Bernard Shaw represents his cultured American as still in the Matthew Arnold stage. That stage is long overpast even on this side. Perhaps the restoration of 'sweetness and light' to Dean Swift, the fascinating reiteration of Arnold's pet phrases, may have some-

thing to do with it, but I still cling to one of his more or less happy turns, which I used in the Preface to my *Essays and Studies* (1890) and expect to use to the end. The attitude of 'Oriental detachment' is one that I sedulously observe towards all my performances, but more especially towards the school-books of which I was guilty more than forty years ago. The maledictions showered upon my Latin Grammar in the beginning continue to drizzle upon me even in these latter times, as if it were not curse enough for a man of my temperament and early aspirations, to be known chiefly as a schoolboy's *Aeacus* (A. J. P. XXIII 3). And not only so, but I am debarred the privilege of disporting myself in *Brief Mention* at the expense of those who seem to be pillars in Latin Grammar lest perchance I might be thought to be pleading a lost cause—a familiar function for me. Every now and then, however, I take up a Latin school-book and examine the references in order to find out wherein the Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar falls short of the higher standards of to-day. True, I have protested by precept and example against the practice of disfiguring books by references to grammars which the fewest will take the pains to consult (A. J. P. XXVI 111), but I am glad to find that I myself can make practical use of these ugly *sigla*. Now, the latest school-edition that has come into my hands is the *Andria* of Professor STURTEVANT (N. Y., A. B. Co.), in which references are made to seven of the Latin Grammars most in use. To judge by these references no new observation has been made in the last twenty years, the Gildersleeve-Lodge Grammar having appeared in 1894, for the Gildersleeve-Lodge book is represented as meeting every contingency, so that one draws the conclusion that the important thing is not the fact, but the grammarian's interpretation of the fact. At one point, however, the twenty year old book is not cited—v. 303: *Tu si hic sis, aliter sentias*, an example of the Early Latin construction of the present subjunctive, where according to later usage, we should expect the imperfect subjunctive. It is a phenomenon of especial interest to the Grecian who got up the grammar, because it has a parallel in Homeric usage, for Homer, as Professor Goodwin was the first to point out, does not use the unreal indicative conditional of the present. Nor did the Grecian overlook the Latin phenomenon either in 1872 (598 R. 2) or in 1894 (596 R.). In both editions the Terentian passage is quoted, and a translation given which serves to mediate the two subjunctives. It is rather curious that the most Greek of the Latin elegiac poets, Tibullus, uses *ni sint* (i, 4, 64) as one should say for *ni essent*. Here too the imperative sense of the mood is the key to the situation. By the way, I did not use a single verse from Tibullus in my original Latin Grammar—not because I

had not read Tibullus, for at one time I studied him closely in a copy of Dissen's ed. which once belonged to Gottfried Hermann (and was as good as new when I bought it)—but because Tibullus was not rhetorical enough for my purpose, though in the Prosody two of the elegiac distichs are from him. For a different reason I did not cite Persius. Madvig quotes Cicero de Finibus and Livy too often. Such a procedure smacks of the editor. And so I sit in my cave and let the pilgrims to the Heavenly City go by. Whenever I rouse myself, I rouse susceptibilities. So, f. i., I have received angry expostulations against an irrefragable statement that 'futurus esse' in a paradigm is an unpardonable solecism (A. J. P. XXXII 241), and in defiance of my dictum a recent much-lauded grammar teaches the boys to say *audiens esse*. In the same manual the genitive of material is set down as a regular category. It is regular in Greek, but in Latin? Relatively infrequent, says Bennett (E. L. II 12), and disputed to boot. My friend and colleague, Professor Mustard, has set us all to reading Sannazaro. How in the world did those old worthies steer clear of the mines that blow up so many of the Latinists of 1914?

Apropos of grammars and syntaxes Krueger's Greek Grammar is a mirror of his life. The quarrel with his wife, his wrangle with the world, made themselves felt in the examples which he gathered from his Greek authors, and when the examples did not fit, he altered them to suit his mood—and fooled the men who copied him blindly. This was made known to me when I was a student in Berlin sixty odd years ago and it lent a new interest to a book, which gave me my first interest in syntax, and I sometimes wonder how many suspect that there is a human document in a schoolbook that came into the world shortly after the great conflict of the Civil War, out of which the author, who was not a mere compiler, emerged, crippled in body, shattered in fortune, with teeth set hard to meet the stress of fate, his eyes wet with tears for his fallen comrades; and yet with the gleam of a new love reflected in their depths. In the examples of my Latin Grammar of 1867 lies perdu the history of that period of my life. The first page of the Syntax shows my attitude towards the Civil War by a quotation from Ovid, <Non> tam | turpe fuit vinci quam contendisse decorum est (A. J. P. XXXV 234), and the poet of love is accountable for many examples of a different kind. The book is a breviary of love. My friend, Professor March, used to say that Hamlet belonged to Shakespeare's earlier period by reason of the large part that love plays in the drama, and anyone interested in the story of my life might recognize my

state of mind in the many quotations from Ovid and Propertius. If the period of disillusionment should ever come, I said to myself, Krueger is at hand.

I was present at the twenty-fifth meeting of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies in 1904—for me, at least, a memorable occasion. The longest address was by Professor John Williams White, in which he told the story of his palaeographical travels and his studies in the manuscripts of Aristophanes—those studies by which he has made for himself an imperishable name among Aristophanic scholars, who with one accord have yielded to him abundant tribute in accepting his classifications and testifying to his painstaking accuracy. As he spoke, my thoughts went back to my master, Ritschl, and I compared his experiences in the Ambrosian library at Milan (A. J. P. V 348) with the similar trials of Professor White in the Vatican: “It requires strength and resolution”, he said, “to continue this work day after day under the conditions imposed by the place. The hours are short, and one is tempted to work too rapidly; the place is sometimes uncomfortable—the Vatican collating-room, for example, is so cold in January as to give one a new conception of the Roman Catholic Purgatory—and the man who collates grows weary, in spite of himself, and like Homer may fall to nodding, with consequences that are disastrous”. In the course of his talk Professor White gave some specimens of his discoveries, and if the outcome seemed disproportionate to the immense labor, the critical edition of Aristophanes that is to come will doubtless outrank all critical editions of any classic identified with an American name. It is not surprising, then, that in the Introduction to his new edition of *The Acharnians of Aristophanes* (Oxford, Clarendon Press), Mr. ELLIOTT acknowledges his obligations to Professor White, and almost apologizes for anticipating the publication of his text. The title of Mr. ELLIOTT's edition challenges attention—*The Acharnians of Aristophanes: Edited from the MSS. and Other Original Sources*—and it was my purpose to write an elaborate review of his book, for the *Acharnians* is an especial favorite of mine—partly because I feel myself better prepared to judge of Aristophanes' cruder work—and to that end I caused one of my seminary students, Miss SHIELDS, to collate Mr. ELLIOTT's text with the Hall and Geldart edition. The result was disillusioning in the extreme, and for the present at all events, I am constrained to acquiesce in Mr. BEARE's judgment as expressed in the last number of *Hermathena*: “Mr. ELLIOTT's vast industry has not enabled him to make even one certain and valuable restoration, or suggested to him a single brilliant emendation”

This exactness in the handling of manuscript evidence may be set down as what Hegel calls 'ein Produkt der sich selbst denkenden Zeit'. It goes with photography, it goes with instruments of precision; and no wonder that those who excel in it see in it more than the perfect command of material, of which we have another exemplification in statistical methods. In his *Recent Developments of Textual Criticism*, A. C. CLARK, the eminent editor of Cicero, cites with emphatic approval the dictum of Robinson Ellis that 'during the last thirty years all, or nearly all, the principal contributions to an enlarged knowledge of Greek and Latin authors has been based on an investigation of a minute and laborious kind unknown before'.

Und ach! entrollst du gar ein würdig Pergamen,
So steigt der ganze Himmel zu dir nieder.

But the exhaustive mastery of the evidence does not constitute a *Novum Organon*. After as before the requirement of absolute accuracy, the need of penetrating intellect abides. Reiske was a manuscript in himself. Everything depends on the way in which the minutiae are combined, and one is tempted to adapt the old schoolmaster's joke and say: ΔΕΙ <OPTANOY> KAINOY (καὶ νοῦ).

G. L. H.: The most recent volume of the *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lateinischen Philologie des Mittelalters* (München, 1914) keeps up the standard of the earlier volumes. PAUL LEHMANN, the general editor of the series, gives an interesting study of twenty-five pages on the use of the term "Middle Ages", and the development of the scholarly conception of the study of medieval philology. The greater part of the volume is devoted to what is, in substance, a supplement to the classical edition of Jacques de Vitry's *Exempla* of Professor T. F. Crane. The latter only referred to the manuscripts of the *Sermones communes*, which were to be found recently in Belgian libraries. Two editions of the *exempla* in these manuscripts appeared last year in Germany, one in Winter's *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, edited by Dr. Josef Greven, the other, the one in hand, the work of Dr. Goswin FRENKEN, which is superior on account of the long introduction on the general use of *exempla*, and the source of de Vitry's stories (1-87). There is plenty of occasion for comment on two subjects covering such a wide field, but the correction of a few omissions and mistakes will suffice here. In the account of the use of *exempla* in antiquity (5 ff.), there is

no reference to the best that has been already written on the subject by H. Peter (*Wahrheit und Kunst, Geschichtschreibung und Plagiat im klassisch. Altertum*, 162 ff., 169), and E. Stemplinger (*Das Plagiat in der griechisch. Literatur*, 223 ff.). The date of the composition of the Pseudo-Aristotelian *Secretum Secretorum* is not about 1300 (78); the Latin translation of this Arabic work was made a century earlier, as is shown by the use made of it in the *Liber physiognomiae* of Michael Scot, to whom Dr. FRENKEN wishes to deny the authorship of the *Mensa philosophica* which cites the *Secretum* frequently. It has also escaped his attention that de Vitry gives (128) from his personal experience, and with monkish acidity, an account of a French practice, anterior by a century and a half, to the allusion to the Dunmow flitch of bacon in *Piers Ploughman*, the earliest instance of the custom that has been pointed out. Then, again, Dr. FRENKEN has not pointed out that de Vitry has only given a monastic setting (140-1) to the story of the father who deceived his ungrateful sons by the use of chests containing stones (cf. Knowles, *Folk Tales of Kashmir*, 241; J. Geffcken, *Der Bilder catechismus des fünfzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 71; Herbert, *Cat. of Romances*, 486, 653).

R. V. D. M.: Professor Barbagallo's name appears with increasing frequency on monographs which deal with various phases of classical history. His latest work [Un Semestre d'Impero Repubblicano. Il governo di Galba (giugno, 68-15 gennaio, 69) Napoli, 1914. Pp. 89.] is a pamphlet on the emperor Galba. There is not much that is new in this presentation, and the author has not been able to refrain from giving overmuch prominence to the latterly lurid career of Nero. He has confined himself to a comprehensive and comparative examination of the literary evidence and has made a very neat summary, not without flashes of inspiration and clever turns of phrase, of six months of a time quite entirely "out of joint".

Professor Barbagallo makes it quite clear that Galba came to the throne with high ideals, but that he was not able to reconcile to himself the establishment of high ideals by high-handed means. He sent his own soldiers away, which was foolish; he did not give largesses to the praetorians, which was fatuous; and he announced as his successor a young and untried man, which was futile; and so he was killed before he had evinced any inclination to try to get into touch with the times.

This monograph is another of its author's many carefully

written sketches which treat of short periods in Roman imperial history. Professor Barbagallo is probably publishing chapters of a projected book.

It must be said, however, that there is not much to be gleaned in the field of literary sources. It is to epigraphy and numismatics that the Roman historian is turning now for new material. Professor Barbagallo will be interested in an article soon to be published by an American woman who by her study of coins has cleared up several matters hitherto in dispute regarding the years 68-70 A. D.

F. E.: Not only Indologists, but all persons interested in folk-psychology and cultural history, should welcome the publication by Dr. VON NEGELEIN of *Jagaddeva's Svapnacintāmani* ("Der Traumschlüssel des Jagaddeva", Giessen, 1912). The painstaking and industrious editor has not contented himself with publishing a critical text with careful translation of this, perhaps the most important of Hindu treatises on dreams. This in itself would have been a valuable work, and by no means an easy one, for—as the editor complains, p. XVIII—the language of the text is often purposely obscure, and corruptions are not rare. But he has enriched his work and greatly increased its value by a wealth of parallels from other Indian sources (enumerated p. XIX), contained in voluminous notes which seem pretty well to justify the claim (p. XX): Das Gegebene genügt vollauf, die Kenntnis des indischen Traumaberglaubens dem Indologen wie auch dem Religionsforscher zu erschliessen. It is to be regretted that Dr. von NEGELEIN did not add to the book an alphabetical index to the first lines of stanzas contained in his book: this would have made its use as a book of handy reference easier. I have tried in a small way to test the completeness of the collection of materials by looking up in the *Traumschlüssel* the verses on dreams found in the Vikramacarita (a work not used by von NEGELEIN), which number about ten. Four of them I find quoted word for word, though they do not occur in the *Svapnacintāmani* itself, from parallel texts¹: and there are close parallels for the ideas contained in all the others, with one exception. This exception is all the more surprising because it is the only verse in the Vikr. which is definitely stated to be a quotation from a "book of dreams" (*svapnādhyāya*), and yet I have failed to find not only the verse itself, but any ref-

¹On account of the lack of an index of first lines mentioned above, I cannot be sure that I have not overlooked the occurrence of some others.

erence to any similar conception in VON NEGELEIN. The verse is the following (Southern Recension 4. 6) :

*devo dvijo gurur gāvah pitaro liṅginas tathā
yad vadanti vacaḥ svapne tat tathāiva vinirdiṣet.*

Which may be freely translated : One should resolve to follow strictly the advice, given in a dream, by a god, a brahman, a teacher, cows, ancestors and bearers of *liṅgas*.—Of course, Dr. VON NEGELEIN cannot be blamed for not printing what his text does not contain, and these remarks are not intended as in any way a reflection on his admirable and highly important work. But this chance find of mine may perhaps be taken to indicate that in spite of the richness of his collection, there may remain phases of the dream-superstition in India which it happens not to touch upon.—An index of words found in the *Svapnacinlāmani* itself, and a systematic *Inhaltsverzeichnis*, help to make the book usable.

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AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY

VOL. XXXVI, 2.

WHOLE NO. 142.

I.—WORDS OF SPEAKING AND SAYING IN THE INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES.

[CONCLUDED FROM A. J. P. XXXVI 18.]

SECOND PAPER.

II. FROM 'POINT OUT', 'MAKE CLEAR', 'MAKE KNOWN'.

23. Lat. *dīco*.—The original meaning of the root is 'point out' as in Skt. *diṣ-*, Grk. *δείκνυμι*, and Ger. *zeigen*, and this is still apparent in Lat. *indīco* 'point out, show', and *index* 'forefinger, sign', etc. In Sanskrit several of the compounds are specialized to 'point out in words' that is 'announce, proclaim, tell'; Grk. *δείκνυμι* is occasionally 'explain, tell'; and Goth. *ga-teihan* is used exclusively in the sense of 'announce, tell', translating Grk. *ἀπαγγέλλω*, etc. It is simply the climax of such a development¹ that is characteristic of Italic, where *dīco* is the regular verb of saying in the Oscan-Umbrian dialects (e. g.

¹ Many legal expressions have arisen naturally from 'point out', as Lat. *iūdex*, *vindex*, *dicis causa*, etc., OHG. *sīhan* 'accuse', Grk. *δικη*, originally 'direction', whence 'way, custom' (as often in Homer), then 'right way, right, law, judgment', and in post-Homeric times regularly 'legal action' (cf. Skt. *diṣ-* 'direction' and also 'way, manner' and 'precept, rule'). But I see no reason to assume, with Bréal, *Rev. des études grec.* XIV, p. 115 and Meillet, *l'année sociologique* IX, p. 32, that *dīco* itself belonged specifically to legal terminology before coming to mean 'say'. The legal use of some of its cognates no more proves that *dīco* was once a strictly legal term than does the legal use of *δικη*, which clearly grew up in the historical period, prove that *δείκνυμι* was so used. And such an intermediate stage in the development of 'point out' to 'announce', 'state formally' and of this to simple 'say' is entirely unnecessary.

O. *deicum* 'dicere', U. *deitu* 'dicito') as well as in Latin, and has persisted as such in all the Romance languages.

24. Russ. *skazat'*, etc.—The regular verb of 'saying' in Russian, *skazat'*, corresponds to OBulg. *sŭ-kazati* 'announce, explain, relate', etc., this being a compound of *kazati* 'point out, show'. The simple verb also has come to mean 'say' in Little Russian (*kazáty*), Bulgarian (*kázvam*), and Serbo-Croatian (*kázati*).¹

The meaning 'point out, show' comes from 'make clear', as is shown by such cognates as Skt. *kāṣ-* 'shine', *caḥśas* 'brightness', *caḥś-* 'appear' and 'see' and with various prepositions 'announce, tell, speak to', etc. For the development in meaning compare also Lat. *dē-clāro* used of a public announcement and our wider use of *declare* for any emphatic statement.

25. Grk. *φημί*, Lat. *fāri*, etc.—In Homer *φημί* is the commonest verb of 'saying', but also often emphatic 'assert, affirm' (hence sometimes, without the notion of expression to others, 'assure oneself, believe'). In Attic, where *λέγω* had

I do not of course question the correctness or importance of the principle which Meillet is appropriately emphasizing in a sociological journal, namely that changes in meaning often originate in particular social and economic circles, in the language of the army, the law, religion, and of special trades, and spread from there. But if this point of view has often been too much neglected, there is also some danger of overstraining it. Many changes in meaning are equally easy and natural in all social strata, and cannot be safely attributed to any one of these, except on the basis of unmistakable evidence that the new meaning actually appeared first in this one. I am not convinced that any one of the three verbs of 'saying' which Meillet mentions (p. 32), namely Lat. *dīco*, Russ. *skazat'* (no. 24), and Alb. *thom*, etc. (no. 30) gained this meaning exclusively in legal or religious terminology.

¹ The verb has also come to mean 'admonish, command' and 'preach', especially in Bohemian and Polish. I regard this as a collateral development, of which that to 'say' is independent. Otherwise apparently Meillet, op. cit., p. 32, who states that the earliest recorded sense of Russ. *skazat'* is 'preach'; and in this connection one may recall Bréal's statement, op. cit., p. 114, that in certain French dialects it is said of the infant just beginning to speak that it "apprend à prêcher". But the change from 'make clear' through 'announce, declare' to simple 'say' is so easy that there is no occasion to assume the more specific 'preach' as an intermediate stage in the Slavic development. If preach is the earliest recorded meaning of Russ. *skazat'* this may well be accidental, due to the religious character of the earliest documents.

become the regular verb of 'saying', *φημί* is virtually restricted to the emphatic use 'affirm', etc., or to parenthetic phrases like *ἔφη* 'said he'.¹ In Latin, *fārī* 'speak' is mostly confined to the poets, being commonly replaced by *loquor* (but cf. Osc. *fatium* 'loqui', which, like Lat. *fateor*, is derived from an old participle **fato-*), upon which however it was avenged through its derivative *fābula*, whence the colloquial *fābulor*, Span. *hablar*, etc. (see no. 54). A corresponding Slavic verb *bajati* is used in Russian dialects and elsewhere in the sense of 'speak, talk, chat', etc. (cf. Berneker, Slav. Et. Wtb. s. v.). Cf. also Arm. *ban* 'word' and *bay* 'word'.

All these are from a root *bhā-*, and there is no occasion to doubt the old identification of this with Skt. *bhā-* 'shine'² and the ultimate connection with Grk. *φαίνω* (see no. 26). The semantic development 'make clear, declare, affirm, say' (cf. also no. 24) is especially supported by the Greek uses, and the shift from 'say' to 'speak' in Latin and Slavic causes no difficulty (see above, p. 5).

26. Skt. *bhan-*, etc.—Ved. *bhan-* 'speak, say', in later Sanskrit *bhañ-* with Prakrit form, has furnished the regular verb of 'saying' in Mahratti, *mhañanem*, and in the Gypsy dialects, *phen*, *pen*, with the regular change of sonant to surd (cf. *phuv puw* 'earth' = Skt. *bhūmi-*), which is one of the characteristics common to Gypsy and Paiçāci-Prakrit (cf. Pischel, Gram. d. Prakrit-Sprachen, p. 28, Grierson, JAOS. XXIX, 234). With Skt. *bhan-* belongs OE., OHG. *bannan* 'call, summon, order'. The root is to be identified with that of Grk. *φαίνω*, and ultimately connected with *bhā-* (see no. 25, with footnote 2). The semantic relations are the same, only with inverse results for Greek and Sanskrit.

¹In *φασί*, though related to *φημί*, the physical character of speech, the sound of the voice, is the dominant notion. Hence the use of *φασί* for 'speak' in the poets (cf. also its use in Cretan, 'affirm, bear witness') is more analogous to that of *αὐδάω* and other verbs in our group I.

²Prellwitz, BzB. XXII, 76 ff. argues that Skt. *bhā-* 'shine' represents an IE. *bhā-* and has nothing to do with the root of *φημί*, etc.; and in this he has been followed by Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.³ s. v. *fabula*, Berneker, Slav. Et. Wtb. s. v. *bajo*, and Falk-Torp, Fick III⁴, p. 256. I have not been convinced, and am glad to see that Per Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 117, 569, disputes Prellwitz's arguments and emphatically maintains the old identification.

27. Eng. *say*, Germ. *sagen*, Lith. *sakýti*, etc.—Eng. *say* is representative of what is the regular verb of 'saying' in all the existing Germanic languages, e. g. Germ. *sagen*, Dutch *zeggen*, Swed. *säga*, Dan. *sige*, Icel. *saga*, and has been in common use from the earliest period, at least in West and North Germanic, e. g. OE. *secgan*, OHG. *sagēn*, OS. *seggian*, ON. *segja* (but in Gothic only *quipan*, no. 67). In Lithuanian *sakýti*¹ is the regular verb of 'saying', likewise in Lettic the corresponding *sazit*. But in Germanic and Lithuanian this verb has gained its present dominant position in part within the historical period at the expense of other verbs, from which it was often distinguished by more emphatic force, as well as by a looser relation to the *form* of the content. It was most certain to be preferred for that 'say' for which we might substitute *declare*, *announce*, *assert*, *command*, or, more generally, *tell*. It retained this force most clearly with direct quotations, where its present general use represents the last stage of its development. Cf. above, p. 3, and footnotes to nos. 5, 67.

Cognates with similar meaning have survived in other languages, but as poetical words, or restricted to certain special uses, or in isolated forms, e. g. Grk. *ἐννεε*, *ἐννοεῖν*, Lat. *insequere* (*insece*), Umbr. *prusikurent* 'pronuntiaverint', Lat. *inquam* (probably), Welsh *hepp* 'inquit', OIr. *insce* 'word, saying', etc. (cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *inquam*).

Opinions differ as to the relations between this 1) *sequ-* 'say' 2), *sequ-* 'point out' (OBulg. *sočiti* Lat. *signum*, etc.), 3) *sequ-* 'see' (Goth. *saihan*, etc.), 4) *sequ-* 'follow' (Skt. *sac-*, Grk. *ἑρμαι*, Lat. *sequor*, etc.). Some combine 1) with 2), and 3) with 4), e. g. Kluge and still Falk-Torp, though with a query for 3) and 4). Others combine 1), 2) and 3), e. g. Brugmann, IF. XII, 29, who for the transition of 'see' to 'say' compares the frequent application to speech (and writing) of Ger. *bemerken* and especially *Bemerkung* (one may add the corresponding use of Eng. *observe*, *observation*, *notice*, *remark*, etc.), and the partial or complete shift from 'point out' to 'say' in Ger. *anweisen*, Lat. *dico*, and the like. A striking example of the change from 'see' to 'show' is seen in Eng. *show* contrasted with OE. *scēawian* 'see, look',

¹ Besides *sakýti*, pres. *sakaũ*, there is a rare form *sėkti*, pres. *sekũ*, of the same meaning. Cf. Schulze, KZ. XLV, 288, and Osten-Sacken, IF. XXXIII, 219.

Ger. *schauen*. Wood, Pub. Mod. Lang. Ass. XIV, 323, holds, that 1), 2), 3), and 4) are all connected and derives the meaning 'follow' from 'point out' through 'show, guide, attend'. Whether he is correct in this complete identification of the forms of *sequ-*, as I think probable, and also in deriving 'see' from 'point out' instead of conversely, of which I am more doubtful, need not concern us here. For the derivation of 'say' from 'point out' is common to all the views quoted.

28. Pol. *powiedzieć*, Boh. *pověděti*, etc.—From OBulg. *věděti* 'known', cognate with Grk. *oīda*, etc., is formed *po-věděti* 'make known, inform, relate', with iterative *povědati*. (Cf. the Skt. causative *vedaya-* 'make known, tell.') The corresponding forms have become the usual expressions for 'say, tell', in Polish (*powiedzieć, powiadać*), Bohemian (*po-věděti, povídati*), Slovakian (*povedať*) and Wendish (LWend. *powjedaś*). A similar development, though not leading quite to a true verb of 'saying', is seen in Grk. *φράζω*, originally 'make intelligible' (cf. *φραδής* 'wise', *ἀφραδής* 'senseless'), in Homer 'show', later more freely 'disclose, tell'.

III. FROM 'ARRANGE', 'ORDER', 'MAKE SUITABLE', MAKE STRAIGHT', 'PUT IN PLACE', 'MAKE', 'JOIN', 'WEAVE'.

29. OBulg. *rešti*, etc.—What was undoubtedly the general Slavic verb of 'saying' is that represented by OBulg. *rešti* (pres. *rekā*), Serbo-Croat. *reći*, Slov. *reči*, Boh. *řici*, Sorb. *rjec*, Pol. *rzec*, Polabian *řect*, all meaning 'say'. But it has been wholly displaced in this use in Russian and Bulgarian, is virtually obsolete in Polish and Sorbian, and even in Bohemian, Serbo-Croatian, and Slovenian, where it has been most persistent, it is now, at least in the first two, characteristic of the literary language or more formal speech, rather than colloquial.

It is to be connected with Skt. *rac-* (*racāyati*) 'arrange, prepare, make', Goth. *rahnjan* 'reckon'¹. Tocharian *rake*, *reke* 'word' is very probably also from the same root.²

¹ So Uhlenbeck, Altind. Et. Wtb., Falk-Torp, Fick III⁴, 335. Feist, Got. Et. Wtb. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *racco*, connects the Slavic verb rather with Lith. *rekti* 'howl', according to which it would belong in our group I. But this is far less likely, both on formal and semantic grounds. Cf. above, p. 4, and now Osten-Sacken, IF. XXXIII, 250.

² So Pischel, Ber. Berl. Akad. 1908, 933. Otherwise Grierson, Jour. As., Ser. 10, No. 19 (1912), 344.

30. OPers. *θah-*, Alb. *θom*.—In the Old Persian inscriptions *θah-* is constantly employed to introduce direct quotations, as *θātiy Dārayavahuš xšāyathiya* 'says' Darius the king', *avaθā aθaha* 'thus he said', and in numerous other phrases in which 'say' is its most natural translation, e. g. *kaščiy naiy adaršnauš čišciy θastanaiy pariy Gaumātam* 'no one dared say anything about Gaumata', *tyašām adam aθaham ava akunavan* 'what I said to them (i. e. told them, commanded them) that they did'.¹

In Albanian *θom* is the regular verb of saying. The universally recognized cognates of OPers. *θah-* and Alb. *θom* are, apart from Avest. *sqh* (see footnote 1), Skt. *çāṁs-* 'say in a loud or solemn voice, recite, praise, declare', etc., and Lat. *cēnseo*, to which some add Grk. *κόσμος*. The phonetic agreement is perfect in spite of appearances.² The semantic relations are less clear, and indeed Thurneysen, Thesaurus s. v. *cēnseo*, remarks, pessimistically, that this is connected with the Indo-Iranian forms "similitudine sonorum magis quam sig-

¹ Such has been the usual understanding of the word, and is, I think, the correct one. Bartholomae, however, Altiran. Wtb. 1578, in treating of OPers. *θah-* together with the corresponding Avest. *sqh-*, gives 'pronuntiare' as their common meaning and quotes the Old Persian examples under the subheads 'verkunden, kund tun, bekannt geben' and 'befehlen' (in passive also 'genannt werden'), never as simply 'sagen'. It is undoubtedly true of the Avestan form that its force is 'declare, announce, recite', etc., more formal than 'say'. It is used with no such freedom as *vač-* and *mrθ* (nos. 2, 18), and never to introduce a direct quotation. (The noun *sanha-* is sometimes simply 'word, saying', and so regularly Mod. Pers. *suxun*.) It is possible, of course, that something of this more formal character persists in the OPers. *θah-*; and especially when its subject is the king, as is most often the case, the meaning 'proclaim, declare' or 'order' may seem particularly appropriate. But taking into account all the occurrences, and noting that the translation 'say' or 'tell' (once pass. *θahyāmahy* 'we are called'; cf. the identical use of Avest. *vač-*, Bartholomae, op. cit., 1331) is adequate for all, and, further, its contrast to Avest. *sqh-* in frequency and in the fact that no other word occurs introducing a direct quotation (*vač-* does not occur in Old Persian), I can see no reason to believe that the word itself means anything more than 'say', with such nuances in various contexts as are usual in verbs of 'saying'.

² In both Old Persian and Albanian the IE. palatal *k̑* regularly undergoes a development similar to that of the palatalized Lat. *c* in Spanish. Hence the initial *θ*.

nificationis". The prevailing opinion is that the essential force of the root was 'say in a solemn and authoritative manner, pronounce formally', about as in Sanskrit, and that Lat. *censeo* meant first 'pronounce officially' either the rating of a citizen, whence the technical 'rate', or the decision of an official body like the senate, whence the usual 'judge, think'.¹ Even of those who have supported the connection of Grk. *κόσμος*,² only Brugmann has plainly drawn the conclusion that the force of 'announcing', in what he also regards as the usual content of the root, might be a secondary element;³ and no one seems to allow this suggestion any bearing on the interpretation of the Latin uses.⁴ Furthermore Brugmann now favors a different connection for *κόσμος*.⁵

I am convinced of the connection of Grk. *κόσμος* and that the notion of orderly arrangement is the original one; further, that the Latin uses have come from this without the intervention of 'announce, pronounce', etc., so that the application to speech is not only secondary but peculiar to Indo-Iranian and Albanian. That is, I believe the semantic history of the group to be somewhat as follows: the original meaning 'put in order, arrange' is preserved in the derivative Grk. *κόσμος* (from **κονσ-μο-ς*), which means properly 'order', as usually in Homer (Hom. *κοσμέω* always 'order, arrange'), whence 'ornament' (cf. the connection of Lat. *orno*, *-āre* with *ordo*)

¹ Cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *censeo* and especially Meillet, Bulletin de la société de linguistique 1909, p. CVI.

² Fröhde, KZ. XXIII, 311, Zupitza, Gutturalen 109, Brugmann, Idg. Distributiva 19, Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *censeo*, Boisacq, Dict. étym. de la langue grecque s. v. *κόσμος*.

³ Brugmann, Idg. Distributiva 19, remarks of Lat. *censeo*, Skt. *ṣaṁs-*, etc.: "Der Begriffskern dieser Verba war 'nach einer bestimmten Massgabe und Ordnung, autoritativ kundtun', and da zu dieser Wurzel auch griech. *κόσμος*, Ordnung, Schmuck, Welt' aus **κονσ-μο-ς* zu ziehen ist, . . . so dürfte das Begriffselement des Kundtuns und der mündlichen Äusserung, wie in ähnlichen Fällen, erst sekundär hinzugekommen sein". Boisacq, loc. cit., quotes only the first part of this statement, and apparently regards the Greek use as secondary, since he speaks of "i. e. *kens-* 'annoncer avec autorité, dire de façon solennelle'".

⁴ Cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *censeo*.

⁵ Brugmann, IF. XXVIII, 358.

or (orderly) 'universe', and in Crete designates the chief governing body.¹

In Italy 'arrange in order' came to have as its dominant element the notion 'assign a person or thing to the proper rank or position'. Hence the technical use of Lat. *cēnseo* 'rank, rate' in the taking of the census,² and also its application to the estimate or judgement of an official body like the senate, whence it came to be used freely of the opinion of an individual, simply 'judge, believe, think'. The fact that *cēnseo* may be followed by a direct quotation of the official judgement reached, so that we may translate, 'express judgement, decree', is no ground for assuming that this is an antecedent use, any more than it would be in the case of Eng. *resolve* (as follows), *decree*, Grk. ἔδοξε or dialectic ἔαδε 'was voted' (as follows), or hundreds of like instances. Note, as especially pertinent, the present prevailing use of Eng. *order* as equivalent to *command*.

In Indo-Iranian 'put in order' definitely absorbed from certain contexts the added notion of 'by word of mouth', so that this became an integral part of the concept, as 'express in due form', whence the formal 'recite, announce, etc.' of Sanskrit and Avestan, and the freer use in Old Persian. The development in Albanian must have been similar.

31. Russ. Ch. Sl. *kl'uditi* 'λέγειν, ὁμλεῖν' is from *kl'ud'* 'propriety, order, beauty'. Cf. Berneker, Slav. Et. Wtb. 527.

32. Sogdian *fra-mā*.—Avestan *fra-mā*-, from *mā*- 'measure', means 'order, command', likewise the noun OPers. *framānā* 'command', Mod. Pers. *farmān* (whence the familiar Turkish *firman*). In Sogdian the verb has come to mean 'declare authoritatively' and simply 'say': e. g. in the Chris-

¹ So in the earlier Cretan inscriptions; only later used of a member of this body, with plural κόσμοι. See the glossary in my Greek Dialects.

² This is the use which is common to the Oscan forms also, as *censaum* 'take the census', *ancensto* 'not rated'. It is not unlikely that the institution, and so this very special application of the word, was borrowed from Rome. But I doubt if the forms themselves (except of course *kenzsur* once beside usual *keenzstur*) are merely Oscanized Latin, as suggested by Meillet, Bull. Soc. Ling. 1909, cv. The change of conjugation and the reestablishment of the proper form of the participle seems an excessive Oscanization, as compared with what we observe in the case of other words in Oscan which are clearly borrowed.

tian Sogdian texts very frequently of the words of Jesus *framāyam-saq* 'I say' (*-saq* emphatic), *framā-dārat* 'said';¹ also *čānū framāyaŋ nipikīy* 'as the scripture saith'.²

33. Lith. *teikt*.—This verb, which is in common use for 'say', beside *sazit*,³ is cognate with Lith. *tikti* 'fit, suit', *-teikti* 'put at one's disposal, bestow, impart' (*įteikti, suteikti*, etc.), OPruss. *teickut* 'make'. Cf. Leskien, *Ablaut der Wurzelsilben im litauischen*, who for the Lettic use compares "slav. *praviti* 'sagen', eig. 'recht machen'" (cf. no. 34). It is probable, however, that in this case the development from 'make suitable' to 'say' was through an intermediate stage represented in the use of Lith. *-teikti*, that is, that 'bestow, impart' was specialized in Lettic to 'impart information, inform, announce', hence simply 'say'.

34. Boh. *praviti*, Pol. *prawić*, etc.—From OBulg. *pravŭ* 'straight', regularly used to translate Grk. *εὖθις*, is formed the verb *praviti* 'make straight, set right'. This has come to mean simply 'make, do' in some of the Slavic languages (Bulg. *pravja*, etc.)⁴, while in others it is applied, prevalingly or exclusively, to speech, that is 'set right by word of mouth', hence 'relate, tell, say, speak', as in Bohemian and Slovenian (*praviti*), Polish (*prawić*) and Wendish (UWend. *prajić*). Cf. Ger. *berichten* 'inform'.

35. Boh. *diti*, etc.—OBulg. *děti* 'place', cognate with Grk. *τίθημι*, Lat. *facio*, etc., is occasionally used in the sense of 'say', and this meaning is widely attested in the West Slavic languages, together with Slovenian, and traces of it are preserved in certain Russian particles (cf. Berneker, *Slav. etym.* Wtb. 192). It is most prominent in Bohemian, where *diti* 'dicere' and *diti* 'facere' came to be felt as distinct words and were differentiated in part of their forms (cf. Gebauer, *Historická Mluvnice Jazyka Českého III*, pp. 220–226).

¹ Cf. F. W. K. Müller, *Soghdische Texte*, passim, Abh. Berl. Akad. 1912.

² Idem, *Handschrift-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan* 99, Abh. Berl. Akad. 1904.

³ Cf. Drawneek, *Deutsch-lettisches Wtb.* s. v. *sagen*.

⁴ Yoshioka, *Semantic Study of Verbs of Doing and Making*, p. 13, footnote, has already called attention to the frequent parallelism between the meanings 'do, make' and 'say', as developed independently from a common source. Cf. nos. 33, 35. In no. 36 there is a direct transfer from 'make'.

Compare Eng. *state*, which, except in the participle *stated* where the more general force of 'set, fix' is still apparent (e. g. 'stated intervals'), always implies the expression of the situation ("to state the facts", "state that . . ."); the frequent use of Lat. *pōno* in the sense of 'state, maintain'; and especially Rom. *spun* 'relate, tell, say' from Lat. *expōno*.

36. Fr. *faire*, Ital. *fare*.—Here may be mentioned, though the development is quite different from that of the preceding words, the colloquial use of Fr. *faire* and Ital. *fare* before or after a direct quotation. In French at least this use is old. Cf. *fiât un des ces de Israel a David* introducing a quotation Livres des rois (Bartsch, Chrestomathie de l'ancien français XIV. 56); "*Di, vœ*" *fait ele*, Roman de Troie (Bartsch XXVIII. 323); *fait Aucassins, fait Nicolette*, etc., very frequently in *Aucassin et Nicolette* (Bartsch LVI, passim). It occurs in Molière, "*moi, j'ai blessé quelqu'un!*" *fis-je tout étonnée*, école des femmes II, 6, and is common in present colloquial French. For modern Italian, cf. *mi trovò, e fa: "Si vœ a Palermo?" Io gli dissi: "Sùbito?" Fa lui allora: "Ek, sùbito, nò"* (Petròcchi s. v. *fare*, p. 879, col. 2); *con un colpo tale che Marcòn fece 'ohé!'*, from Foggazaro (Wilkins and Altrocchi, Italian Short Stories, p. 49). This use evidently rests upon a fuller 'make a response, inquiry, or exclamation', the object being left unexpressed except by the words quoted. To cite a parallel from a distant quarter, in Gujerati "*kidhū* 'done' is quite commonly employed in the sense of *kahyū* 'said'" (Linguistic Survey of India IX. ii, p. 371).¹

37. Grk. *ἄρω* (and Lat. *verbum*, Eng. *word*, etc.).—While the present is rare, the fut. *ἔρῳ*, perf. *ἔρηκα, ἔρημαι*, aor. pass. *ἐρήθη* are the regular expressions for 'say, speak' in these tenses in Homer and classical Greek, supplementing the various presents and the aorist *ἔρω*. Derivatives are prominent, as *ῥῆμα, ῥῆσις, ῥήτρα, ῥήτωρ*. The root is *uer-*, *urē-* (cf. Arg. *φερπέμενα*, El. *φάρπα*, etc.). Outside of Greek this root plays no rôle in verbs of 'speaking or saying'.² But the antiquity of

¹ I also note the similar use by Psichari of the Mod. Grk. *κάνω* (*κάνω*) 'make, do', as in his romance entitled *Ἀγνή*, p. 39: "*ναί, ἀλφ-θεα*", *τῆς κάνει δ' Ἀγγελίας*.

² Mid. Ir. *fordat* 'inquire', given as cognate by Stokes, Fick II⁴, 274, and repeated by Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.³ s. v. *verbum*, is of wholly differ-

its application to speech is indicated by its derivative, the most wide-spread expression for 'word', namely, aside from Grk. *ῥῆμα*, Lat. *verbum* (whence the verb of 'saying' in Roumanian, no. 56), Goth. *waúrd* (Eng. *word*, Ger. *Wort*, Dan. *ord*, etc.), Lett. *wahrds*, OPruss. *wirds* (Lith. *vardas* 'name'). As to the more original meaning of the root, the total absence of any notion of 'sound', 'voice' or the like (contrast, e. g. Lat. *verbum* with *vōx*) eliminates sources of this type (our Group I). The usage of the Greek derivatives (note especially *ῥῆμα* 'compact') and of the group meaning 'word' suggests that the notion of speech in this case was of something organized, properly put together. The root may then with great probability be identified with *yer-* 'join', which is seen in Lett. *wērt* 'thread a needle, embroider', etc. (Zubaty, Archiv. f. slav. Phil. XVI, 418), in Grk. *ἀείρω* in part (Solmsen, Unters. z. griech. Laut. und Verslehre 293), and perhaps in *είρω* 'string' (Sommer, Griech. Lautstudien 133 ff.; otherwise, Solmsen, loc. cit.). Cf. Wood, Publ. Mod. Lang. Ass. XIV, 329.

A stock example for such a semantic development is Lat. *sermo*, from the root of *sero* 'join'. This ancient derivation is still distinctly more probable, I feel, than that now preferred by Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v., namely, from the *swer-* seen in Goth. *svaran* 'swear' Eng. *answer*, Osc. *sverrurei* 'spokesman', which originally denoted sound as in Skt. *svar-* 'resound', Lat. *susurrus*.

38. Afghan. *vayal-*, Sogdian *vāb-*, Yagnobi *vāw-*.—The Afghan *vayal* 'say, speak' is probably connected with Skt. *vā-* 'weave' (pres. *vayati*), as suggested tentatively by Geiger,¹ who notes the figurative use of the latter in Rig Veda I. 61. 8 ("they wove a song of praise to Indra"). Compare also the figurative use of 'weave' elsewhere, as in Eng. *weave a story*, Grk. *μύθεος καὶ μῆδεα πᾶσιν ὑφαίνειν* (Hom. Il. III. 212), Lat. *quamvis sermones possunt longi texier* (Plaut. Trin. 797); and especially, for the complete substitution of a figurative for the literal meaning, Avest. *vaf-*, *uf-* 'besingen' (Bar-

ent origin. Cf. Thurneysen, Idg. Anz. VI, 194, Havers, KZ. XLIV, 34. The connection of Russ. *vrat'* 'mis-speak, lie' (Solmsen, Unters. z. griech. Laut- und Verslehre 263), is at least doubtful.

¹Lautlehre und Etymologie des Afghanischen, no. 382, in Abh. Münch. Akad. XX, p. 201.

IV. FROM 'ACCOUNT', 'PLAN', 'REASON', 'JUDGE', 'THINK'.

In this group, words which properly denote certain mental processes¹ come to be used for the oral expression of these processes, and the latter fade away from the background, leaving only the notion of expression. For example one reasons (plans, judges, etc.), then expresses one's reasoning (plan, judgement, etc.), then expresses anything that is in one's mind simply 'says' or 'speaks'. A partial shift in this direction is illustrated by Ger. *gedenken*, formerly 'think', now 'recall, intend', etc., and also 'mention', and a complete transfer to the notion of expression by Eng. *mention*, without this having reached the colorless 'say' or 'speak', like the following examples.

Whether the shift of meaning has originated in the noun or in the verb derived from it is not always possible to determine, and is immaterial for our purpose. Sometimes noun and verb run parallel in use, sometimes not. Often the shift has clearly begun in the noun, but has become more complete in the verb. That is, the noun may retain traces of the earlier meaning which is lost in the verb.²

39. Germ. *reden*.—This is derived from the noun *Rede*, OHG. *radja*, *reda*, Goth. *rapjō* 'number' (ἀριθμός) and 'account' (λόγος), cognate with Lat. *ratio*. In the noun the

occurrences are in passages where the Greek has λαλῶ, e. g. *αὐτὸς ἔδυσσε* 'he was speaking' (p. 16, l. 11) = Math. XVII. 5 *ἔτι αὐτοῦ λαλοῦντος*. Is this verb to be identified with Pahl. *sāyēm* 'beseech', Avest. *šaidyemi*, etc. (below, p. 150)? Sogd. *š* = Avest. *š* is regular, as in *švān* 'life' to Avest. *šiva-* 'living', etc. The nearest semantic parallel to 'speak' from 'beseech' would be that of 'speak' from 'reason, argue' and the like (cf. nos. 41, 42, 53). Connection with Osset. *sāyīn* 'say' (no. 72) is suggested in Ber. Berl. Akad. 1907, 261. [Gauthiot, Mém. Soc. Ling. XIX, 157, quotes a Minjani *šāy* 'dire' (*šāyēm* 'je dis', etc.), and adds, without referring to the Sogdian forms, "il faut comparer yid. *ištah* 'dire', vakhi *šoyam* 'je recite'". This last form is compared by Tomaschek, Ber. Wien. Akad. 96, 886, with Mod. Pers. *gōyam*, infin. *guftan* (cf. no. 3), but wrongly, I think. The connection of all these East Iranian forms with Pahl. *sāyēm*, Avest. *šaidyemi*, seems to me increasingly probable. But I see no possibility of bringing in the Ossetan form.]

¹That these must go back ultimate^{ly} to expressions for physical activities need not concern us here.

²These remarks on the relation of noun and verb apply equally to several words in our other groups.

earlier meaning still survives in certain phrases like *zur Rede stellen* 'call to account', though in general this has passed on to 'narrative' (cf. Eng. *account* in this sense), 'speech', now used especially of a formal speech. In the verb the shift of meaning is more complete and its use more general, so that *reden* is a simple verb of 'speaking' no less than *sprechen*, though in part differentiated idiomatically from the latter. Cf. Paul, Deutsches Wörterbuch.

40. Goth. *rōdjan*, etc.—The regular verb of 'speaking' in Gothic is *rōdjan*, the nearest cognates of which are ON. *ræða* 'speak', OIr. *rādim* 'say', *rād* 'saying, speech', Welsh *adrodd* 'narrate'. These are all secondary derivatives of the root seen in Goth. *garēdan* 'provide for, *πρὸςοἰσθαι*', *urrēdan* 'judge, decide', OHG. *raten* 'provide for, help, advise', OE. *rædan* 'provide for, possess, advise, explain, read' (of which only the last specialized sense has survived in *read*), OBulg. *raditi* 'take thought for', Skt. *rādh-* 'succeed'. The wide range of meanings may be derived from some such notion as 'provide for', either materially or mentally, with eventual predominance of the latter application in most languages, whence 'plan for', 'judge', 'advise', 'explain', any one of which may be the immediate source of 'say' or 'speak'. Compare the occasional use of ME. *read* in the sense of 'tell', e. g. *But read how art thou named*, Spenser.

41. Rhaet. *radschuner*, OFr. *raisnier*, Ital. *ragionare*.—The farther back we trace the history of Eng. *reason*, Fr. *raisonner*, and Ital. *ragionare*, the more general do we find their application to speech. Cf. *Stand still, that I may reason with you, before the Lord, of all the righteous acts of the Lord* (I. Sam. XII. 7, quoted in Webster's New International), where the meaning is obviously not 'give reasons, argue', but simply 'discourse' or 'discourse carefully'. For OFr. *raisnier* cf. the statement of Littré s. v. *raisonner*: "*raisnier*, qui est la forme ancienne, avait surtout la signification de parler", and quotations in Godefroy, Dict. de l'ancienne langue française. This is also the prevailing use of *ragionare* in early Italian poetry, e. g. *al suon del ragionar latino*, Petrarch, T. A. IV. 106; *da ch' ebber ragionato insieme alquanto*, Dante, Inf. IV. 97 (innumerable examples in the Petrarch Concordance of McKenzie and the Dante Concordances of Fay and Sheldon-

White); and is still current in familiar speech, e. g. *li trovai che ragionavano insieme*.

In the Rhaetoroman dialects the corresponding verb in its various forms (*radschuner*, *raschunar*, *režonar*, *ružne*, etc.) means 'speak', and in several of these it is the expression most commonly employed. Cf. Pallioti, *Roman-Deutsches Wtb.* s. v. *radschuner*, and Gartner, *Rhaetoroman.-Sprache und Literatur* 254.

The history of this verb in the Romance languages is such as to indicate that its antecedent *rationare* had already come to be used mainly, if not wholly, in the sense of 'discourse', and that what is felt as the normal use of the modern French (and English) and Italian forms is a restoration, due to the influence of the noun, which has always kept closer to the sense of Lat. *ratio*.

42. OHG. *kōsōn*, Fr. *causer*.—From OHG. *kōsa* 'legal action', itself from Lat. *causa*, was derived, obviously through the medium of 'argue, dispute', OHG. *kōsōn* 'talk, chat'. This meaning is still preserved in some German dialects (cf. Grimm, *Deutsches Wtb.*), while in the literary language, after dropping out of use for a time, it was revived in the meaning 'caress', under the influence of *liebkosen*, which lost its application to speech at an early period.¹

In French likewise *cause*, taken directly from Lat. *causa*, which was already represented by *chose*, gave rise to *causer* 'argue, explain', whence later simply 'chat'.²

43. Bulg. *dúmam*.—In Modern Bulgarian a verb of 'saying' which is only less common than *kazvam* (no. 24) is *dúmam*, derived from *dúma* 'word'; and in certain Serbo-Croatian dialects also *dúmati* means 'speak'. The noun corresponds to Russ. *dúma* 'thought, deliberation' and 'deliberative body' (the Russian Duma is now familiar to all), and

¹ Cf. especially Paul, *Deutsches Wtb.* s. v. The derivation from *kōsa* was formerly rejected by Kluge, and is still by Falk-Torp, *Norw.-Dän. Et. Wtb.*, p. 568, who set up a Germanic root *kus* 'mit einem wisch streicheln > schmeicheln > einschmeichelnd reden', thus reversing the semantic process which is clearly recorded in German, where alone the verb is known from an early period.

² The view that Fr. *causer* in this sense was borrowed from OHG. *kōsōn* (Diez, *Wtb.* 110, Mackel, *Frz. Stud.* VI, 147, Falk-Torp, loc. cit.), is rightly rejected by Meyer-Lübke, *Rom. et. Wtb.* 142.

the Slavic word is itself borrowed from the Germanic (cf. Goth. *dōms* 'judgement', Eng. *doom*). The semantic development in Bulgarian has been from 'thought' to its expression, then generalized to any expression, 'word'; and this has been attended by a corresponding shift in the meaning of the verb from 'think' to 'say'.

44. Pol. *gadać*.—The verb which in most Slavic languages means 'think, advise, judge', etc. (e. g. Russ. *gadati*, Boh. *hadati*) is in Polish (*gadać*) a verb of speaking, sometimes 'chatter', but also a frequent colloquial synonym of *mowić* 'speak', e. g. *gadać po polsku* 'speak Polish'.

45. Mod. Grk. (dial) *κρένω*.—Mod. Grk. *κρένω*, from *κρίνω* 'judge', is used in Northern dialects in the sense of 'speak' or 'say', e. g. *δὺν λόγια νά σου κρένω* (Passow, *Popularia Carminum*, nos. 394, 579).¹

46. Welsh *medd*, Breton *comps*.—Welsh *medd*, Corn. *meth*, Bret. *eme*, all used like Lat. *inquit*, are from the root seen in OIr. *midíur* 'think, judge', Lat. *meditor*, Grk. *μέδομαι*, etc. Cf. Pedersen, *Vergl. Gram. d. kelt. Sprachen* II, 580. Bret. *comps*, the regular verb of 'speaking', is probably from **kom-med-tu-* or the like, containing the same root. Cf. V. Henry, *Lat. étym. du breton moderne*, s. v. *kumps*, footnote, and Pedersen, *op. cit.*, I, 170.

V. FROM 'COME TOGETHER WITH', 'CONSORT WITH', 'MEETING', 'ASSEMBLY', 'AGREEMENT'.

47. Mod. Grk. (δ)μῶ. —In Homer and Classical Greek *ὁμιλέω*, derived from *ὄμιλος* 'crowd, throng', means 'consort with', 'join battle with', 'be familiar with', 'be busy with', etc. The meaning 'converse with, talk with' appears first in Xen., *Mem.* IV. 3. 2: *αὐτῷ πρὸς ἄλλους οὕτως ὁμιλοῦντι* 'while he was conversing on this subject with others; and is common in Hellenistic times', as in Polybius, Babrius (very frequently *ὠμίλει* 'spoke'), New Testament, e. g. Luke XXIV. 14: *καὶ*

¹Cf. Hatzidakis, *Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik* 413 with footnote. It is not stated here that the meaning 'speak' is locally restricted, and this use is cited by Bréal *Rev. des ét. gr.* XIV, 120 as Modern Greek without reservation. But, to the best of my knowledge, it is not current in the usual form of the vernacular. Kretschmer, *Zum heutigen lesbischen Dialekte* speaks of "lokr., epir. *krenu* 'sage'", and such instances as I have noted are from the North.

αὐτοὶ ὡμίλουν πρὸς ἀλλήλους 'and they talked together', Acts XX. 11: ὁμιλήσας ἄχρις αὐγῆς 'having talked till dawn'. Cf. also ὁμιλία 'instruction, lecture', in ecclesiastical writers 'sermon, homily'. At this time the verb still carried the notion of intimate, familiar conversation, in contrast to λαλέω, which had already lost this and meant simply 'speak' (see no. 10). In Modern Greek it is the regular verb of 'speaking', as μιλάς (in the literary language ὁμιλεῖς, or with the polite plural ὁμιλεῖτε) Γαλλικά; 'Do you speak French?' μιλά ἄργά 'speaks slowly'.

The closest parallel to the above development in meaning, down to the Hellenistic stage, is furnished by Eng. *converse*, Fr. *converser*, from Lat. *conversor* 'consort with'. As remarked in the NED, "the transference of sense from 'live with' to 'talk with' is recent in French and English, and most complete in the latter". In English the earlier uses such as 'be familiar with, have relations with' survived till about the middle of the last century, but are now obsolete (likewise in *conversation*, but not in *conversant*), while the sense of 'talk with', which is quoted from 1615, is now the only current use.

Compare also the now obsolete Eng. *common* (ME. *comonen* from OFr. *comunier*) in the sense of 'speak', as "if thou shalt common or talk with any man". See Century Dictionary and NED. s. v. *common* and *commune*.

In the following verbs of speaking, which are derived from nouns meaning assembly, etc., the semantic development has been along quite different lines from the preceding.

48. Grk. ἀγορεύω.—Obviously connected with ἀγορά 'assembly', ἀγορεύω meant primarily 'speak in the assembly, harangue'. Yet there is no trace of any such restriction in the earlier usage. In Homer ἀγορεύω is one of the most frequent and general expressions for 'speak', occurring more than one hundred and fifty times, and applied equally to private and public speech, addressed to one person or many. Even in Attic, after its general use had been taken up by λέγω, it was occasionally used in the same sense.

49. Goth. *maþljan*, etc.—Goth. *maþljan*, which occurs once translating λαλέω (John XIV. 30) instead of the usual *rōdjan* (no. 40), and OE. *maeþlan* 'speak', ON. *maela* 'speak' are connected with the noun Goth. *maþl* 'place of assembly, ἀγορά',

OE. *mæpel* 'council, meeting' and 'speech', ON. *mál* 'legal action, speech, language', whence the regular Scandinavian word for 'language', now surviving chiefly in compounds like Swed. *tungomál*, Dan. *tungemaal*, Norw. *landsmal* (Swed. *språk*, Dan. *sprog* are borrowed from Low German).

50. OE. *mōtian*, derived from *mōt* 'meeting, court', means 'argue, dispute', but more frequently simply 'converse with, speak'. Cf. citations in Bosworth-Toller, Anglo-Saxon Dictionary and NED. s. v. *moot*.

51. OPruss. *waitiat*.—In Old Prussian the distinctive verb of speaking, used to translate Ger. *reden*, is *waitiat*. This is connected with OBulg. *věštati* 'speak, announce', Boh. *vece* 'spoke', Russ. *věščat'* 'announce', and with the noun OBulg. *věšte* 'senatus, consilium', Russ. *věče* 'popular assembly'. Cf. Trautmann, Altpreuss. Sprachdenkmäler, 353, 455 and references.

51½. Maced.-Roum. *zburäre*. The regular verb of 'speaking' in Macedonian-Romanian or Vlach is *zburare* (*zburasku* 'I speak').¹ This is of Slavic origin. Cf. Bulg. *sbor* 'assembly' (from OBulg. *sъ-borŭ* 'assembly') used also in the sense of 'conversation', 'word', whence *sboruvam* 'speak'; similarly Serbo-Croat. *sbôr*, *sböriti*.

52. Roum. *curintă*, etc.—Lat. *conventum*, 'agreement' came to mean 'conversation' in the Romanized part of the Balkans. Hence Roum. *curint* 'conversation, talk, word' and its verb *curintă* 'talk, speak', to which correspond in form and meaning Alb. *kurint* and *kuvendón*, *kundón*, Mod. Grk. *κουβέρτα* and *κονδερνίζω*.

53. Rhaet. *plidar*.—In the earliest record of any Rhaetoroman dialect² occurs *plaida* 'speaks'; and *plidar* is the regular verb of 'speaking' in one of the Grison dialects (*chwaktsch*).³ while the noun *plaid* 'word' is also Engadine

¹ Ware and Thompson, Nomads of the Balkans, 244.

² Cf. Gröber, Sitzungsberichte der bayr. Akad. 1907, 71 ff., v. Planta, Archiv. f. lat. Lex. XV, 391 ff., Gartner, Rhaetoromanische Sprache und Literatur 274 ff., etc.

³ It is the word which is regularly employed in the literary form of this dialect, e. g. in the Frankfurt New Testament (1869) which is based upon that of 1668 prepared by Lucius Gabriel, Minister of the Wäld (and corrected *dü plaid da deus*) at Ilanz. For the present Späher, dialect Gartner, op. cit. 254 gives both *tiintša* and *plida*.

(*pled*). The noun and the verb, which is derived from it, belong with OFr. *plaid*, *plaidier* (whence Eng. *plea*, *plead*), the source of which is Lat. *placitum*. But it does not follow, as is sometimes assumed,¹ that the prevailing legal use of these words is the one to which we should trace back the Grison 'word, speak'. For the legal terms do not represent a general Romance development of *placitum*, but originated in France and spread thence to other Romance lands, as has been shown by Gröber, *Arch. f. lat. Lex.* IV, 439 ff. In Old French, *plaid* (*plait*, *plet*) is not an exclusively legal term, but means also 'agreement, compact' (so in the Strassburg Oaths) or 'discussion', and frequently simply 'speech, word', e. g. *en la salle entre sans lonc plait, a moult de plaids peu de faits*, etc. (cf. the numerous quotations in Godefroy). It is in all probability the more general meaning, 'agreement' (cf. no. 52) or 'discussion' (cf. nos. 41, 42), rather than the technical legal use, that has been further generalized to 'speech, word' in Old French, and likewise, only more completely and permanently in the Grison dialects. Cf. also Span. *platicar* 'converse'.

In the Modern Greek dialect of Bova, in Southern Italy, the regular verb of speaking is *platégua*, and the corresponding noun *plato* 'speech, word'. This is believed to be not of Greek, but of Italian origin, and to belong to the above group, representing Lat. *placitum*²

VI. FROM NOUNS MEANING 'TALK', 'TALE', 'WORD'.

It has seemed convenient to group together the following words, in spite of the fact that some of the nouns from which they are derived are from roots that are discussed elsewhere.

54. Lat. *fābulor*, Span. *hablar*, Alb. *fal'*, etc.—From Lat. *fābula* 'talk, tale', itself a derivative of *fārī* (no. 25), was formed *fābulor*. At the outset this doubtless had a depreciatory or familiar tone, but is simply a popular synonym of *loquor* in Plautus and other early Latin writers (e. g. *qui*

¹ V. Planta, *op. cit.*, p. 396: "sonst ist m. W. das Wort überall bei seiner ursprünglichen juristischen Sphäre stehen geblieben" (italics mine).

² So Comparetti, *Saggi dei dialetti greci dell' Italia meridionale* 91, and Pellegrini, *Il dialetto greco-calabro di Bova* 206.

Obice et Volsee fabulorum, non Latina verba sunt. III. 1. While avoided in Cicero's Latin it must have remained the usual colloquial expression and eventually passed *indefinitely* from the spoken language throughout the Roman world. It persisted, as the regular word for 'speak' mainly in the extreme West (Span. *hablar*, Port. *falar*) and in parts of the East (Friul. *fevelâ*, Vegliota *favôr*, All. 'a' 'speak' whence *fa'te* 'word'). But Friuli is not the only one of the Italo-Roman dialects in which it has survived. The Lower Engadine version of the New Testament regularly has *favôr* e. g. Mark xiii. 10, Luke v. 4, etc. In Italian also it has not been entirely driven out by *parlare*, for *favôlare* is not merely a literary term, but a common expression for 'talk, speak' in some of the dialects (cf. Petrucci, s. v.). In French it was more completely replaced by *parler*. Offr. *favôler* occasionally means simply 'speak', but usually 'tell stories', etc. by re-attachment to the noun *fable*.

In connection with Lat. *fabulor* from *fābula* may be mentioned Slov. *marnjovati* 'speak, talk', from *marnjati* 'saying, tale', borrowed from the Germanic (OHG. *māre*, Ger. *Märchen*).

55. Fr. *parler*, Ital. *parlare*.—These verbs, which in France and Italy replaced *fabulāre* (see no. 54), are derived from the noun for 'word, saying' which is common not only to French and Italian (*parole, parola*), but also to Spanish and Portuguese (*palabra, palavra*). The noun *parabola* is from Grk. *παράβολή*, but its use is not due to a Romance extension of meaning, as has been commonly supposed, but has a more specific basis in the use of the Hebrew word which was regularly translated by *παράβολή* in the Septuagint.² The Hebrew word in question meant not only 'comparison, par-

¹Cf. Lindsay on Pl., Capt. 548, and F. Marx, Neue Jahrbücher XXIII, 437, in his interesting article on "Die Beziehungen des Altlateins zum Spätlatein". But when Lindsay comments on the survival of the word in Spanish, remarking that Spain became a Roman province about the time of Plautus, and Marx says: "Unter den heutigen Romanen haben nur die Bewohner der Pyrenäenhalbinsel dieses vielgebrauchte Wort bewahrt", both scholars are overlooking the survival of the word in other parts of the Roman world, as stated above in the text.

²Cf. Wackernagel, IF. XXXI, 262 ff.

able', but also 'proverb, saying'; and *παραβολή* which was an appropriate translation for the word in the former sense (cf. *παραβάλλω* 'put beside, compare with') was also used to translate it in the latter. This wider use of *παραβολή* passed over into the Latin versions of the Bible, and hence, although the Latin ecclesiastic writers used the word only in the sense of 'parable', into the mouth of the Christian masses. In spite of its associations it did not have that specifically sacred connotation which *verbum* had acquired (the Word), and was a welcome substitute for the latter in the ordinary sense of 'word, saying'. It is significant that this substitution did not occur in Roumanian, which was beyond the influence of Roman Christianity.

56. Roum. *vorbi*.—In Roumanian Lat. *verbum* was not driven out by *parabola* (see no. 55), but remained as *vorba* (from the plural) 'word, speech'. From this is derived *vorbi*, the regular verb of 'speaking'.

57. Bulg. *hortúvam*.—In Modern Bulgarian a very frequent synonym of *gavorja* 'speak' (no. 3) is *hortúvam* (e. g. *toj hortuva nemcki* 'he speaks German'), derived from *horatá* 'word', which is borrowed from Turkish *choratá* 'jest', this again derived from Grk. *χώρα* in its modern meaning 'city, chief town', which has replaced the original 'country'. This remarkable series of changes in meaning is then: from 'country' to 'city' (cf. Kretschmer, KZ. XXXIX, 554 ff.); from 'city ways, city talk' to 'witticism, jest', for which compare Grk. *ἀστεῖος* (from *ἄστυ* 'city') 'polite, clever, witty', *ἀστεία* 'jests', Mod. Grk. *ἀστειώτης* 'jest' (cf. Korsch, Archiv f. slav. Ph. IX. 503); and lastly from 'jest, witty saying' to the colorless 'saying, word', for which compare Rhaet. *bajer* 'talk' from Ital. *baia* 'jest' (no. 16).¹

58. Skt. *kathayati*.—In Sanskrit the adverb *ka-thā* 'how' gave rise to a noun *kathā* 'the how', i. e. 'talk, tale', and from this was formed the verb *kathayati* 'talk, tell'. This furnished the regular expression for 'say' in Prakrit and in the majority of the modern Indic languages, namely *kah-* in Hind. *kahnā*, etc.

¹For the opposite development, the specialization of 'saying, word' to 'clever, witty saying' or the like, cf. the occasional use of Fr. *mot*, Mod. Pers. *gap* 'jest', and Lat. *iocus* in contrast to Umbr. *iuka* 'preces', both meanings coming from 'saying'.

59. Mod. Pers. *harf zadan*.—In Modern Persian the commonest expression for 'speak' is *harf zadan*, a phrase made up of *harf* 'letter of the alphabet, saying, word', etc. (an Arabic loan word) and *zadan*, a verb which means 'strike', but is used freely as an auxiliary to make a verbal expression out of a noun.

Similar expressions for 'speak', consisting of phrases meaning literally 'make a saying' are common in other modern Iranian languages, as Afghan *xabare kawal*, Baluchi *habar kanag*, Pamir *gap xak* (Wachi), etc.

VII. MISCELLANEOUS GROUP. FROM 'BRING FORTH',
'STRETCH OUT', 'PICK OUT', 'SELECT', 'COUNT',
'RUN ABOUT', 'WHISPER'.

60. OIr. *asbiur*, etc.—The regular verb of 'saying' in Old Irish is *asbiur*, a compound of *ess-* (= Lat. *ex*) and *berim* 'bring, carry', and so equivalent in form to Lat. *ecfero*, *effero*. From a collateral *adbiur*, which is due to confusion with another prefix (cf. Thurneysen, Altir. Gram. 461), comes Mod. Ir. *deirim* 'say' (3 sg. pret. *dubhairt*, Manx *dooyrt*¹ = Mid. Ir. *atrubairt*).

For a similar development of meaning, though not going so far, compare Eng. *utter* from OE. *ūtiam* 'put out', and the more or less frequent application to speech of Eng. *bring out* ('he brought out the difference clearly'), Germ. *ausführen*, Lat. *effero* and *fero* (*ferunt* 'they say', *fertur* 'it is said'), or Skt. *hr̥* 'bring' with *ud-ā*, or *vy-ā*, as *na tās tam caknuvanti sma vyāhartum api kiṃ cana* 'these (women) were unable to say anything to him'. Similarly Turfan Pahlavi *vi'avard* 'replied' *v'abārtīy* 'speakest',² Mod. Pers. *āwardan* 'bring' and 'relate'. Compare also the application of 'bring back' to speech in descendants of Lat. *reporto* and *relātus*, as Eng. *report* and *relate*.

61. Gypsy *raker*, *vakerav*, etc.—All the Gypsy dialects have in common a verb of 'speaking' which appears in various

¹ In Manx the present system is supplied by the verbal noun *gra*, which in the early texts sometimes has the form *ra* and belongs with OIr. *radim* (no. 40). For the initial *g*, cf. Rhys, Manx Phonology, p. 138.

² F. W. K. Müller, Handschrift-Reste in Estrangelo-Schrift aus Turfan 34. 100, Abh. Berl. Akad. 1904.

forms, most of them falling into two groups, one with initial *r* as Eng. Gypsy *raker* (also frequently spelled *roker*), Ger. *G. rakkerāva*, Pol. *G. rakir*, etc., the other with initial *v*, as Boh. *G. vakērav*, Ital. *G. vakerav*, etc. Turkish or Greek Gypsy, the dialect described by Paspati (cf. e. g. J. Am. Or. Soc. VII, 143 ff.) has *vrakerāva*, which, on grounds both of form and locality, is to be regarded as the earliest European form. Armenian Gypsy has *pakrel* (-*el* being the Armenian infinitive ending), and with this Finck, *Die Stellung des Armenisch-Zigeunerischen im Kreise der verwandten Mundarten*, p. vi, compares Prakrit *pakarai*, Skt. *prakarati*, an etymology which is welcomed by E. Kuhn, J. Gypsy Lore Soc. II, 73, as accounting also for the various European forms.¹ Skt. *kar-* 'do, make', with the prefix *pra* 'forth' has, like Ger. *ausführen*, a great variety of meanings, but among others that of 'set forth, manifest, express', whence the further specialization to 'speak' is easy.

62. OE. *reccan*, etc.—Here may be mentioned, though they never became common words of 'saying', OE. *reccan* 'stretch out' and also 'recount, tell', OHG. *recchan* of similar meanings, OE. *racu* 'explanation, account, narrative' (whence is derived OE. *gerecenian*, Eng. *reckon*), all cognate with Goth. *uf-rakjan* 'stretch out', Skt. *ṛj-* 'stretch out', Grk. *ῥέγω*, Lat. *rego*, etc. The development in meaning was probably from 'stretch out' to 'display, show', whence (cf. group II) 'tell'. Compare Lat. *ostendo* 'stretch out', 'show' and very frequently 'declare, tell'.

63. Grk. *λέγω*.—The original meaning of Grk. *λέγω* and Lat. *lego*, as amply attested for both, was 'pick out, select', whence, by different applications, 'say' in Greek, 'read' in Latin.² In

¹ All previous etymologies, including the connection with Skt. *vac-* approved by Pott and by Miklosich (cf. *Mundarten der Zigeuner* VIII, 92), are wholly untenable. Paspati came nearest the truth in taking *vrakerāva* as a compound of *kerāva* 'make', but went astray in connecting *vra-* with Skt. *brā-*. Even with Finck's etymology, convincing as it is, a phonetic difficulty remains, not in the varying treatment of *v*, for which there are analogies both in Gypsy and the modern dialects of India (cf. Kuhn, loc. cit.), but in the initial *v* of *vrakerāva*, *vakerav*, etc., since the only other instances of *v* from *p* are where it follows a vowel (*lav* 'word', *sov* 'sleep', etc.).

² For 'read' and 'speak' or 'say' in cognate forms, cf. also Eng. *read*, Goth. *rōdjan* (no. 40), and under no. 9.

Homer λέγω means 'select' (the best men, etc.) or 'collect' (wood, bones of the dead, etc.), also 'count' and 'recount, tell over' (one 'selects' certain events for narration, enumerates them one by one), but never simply 'say'. After Homer it becomes, in the present system, the regular expression for 'say' and also 'speak', and has remained the common verb of 'saying' (but not of 'speaking', cf. nos. 10, 47) down to the present day.

64. Swed. *tala*, Dan. *tale*, Eng. *talk*, *tell*, etc.—ONorse *tala* 'speak' furnishes the regular verb of 'speaking' in all the Scandinavian languages, as Swed. *tala*, Dan. *tale*, Icel. *tala*. Cf. also OE. *talian* 'count, tell', ME. *talen*, Eng. *tale*, now obsolete or dialectic and commonly replaced by *talk* from ME. *talken*, which is probably formed with an added *k* element from *talen*; ON. *telja*, OE. *tellan* 'count, reckon, say', Eng. *tell*, Germ. *zählen* and *erzählen*; the noun OE. *talū*, Eng. *tale*, Dutch *Taal* 'language', Germ. *Zahl*. This group is mentioned here as showing the easy interchange between 'count' and 'say' or 'speak' (cf. Grk. λέγω, no. 63, and Eng. *reckon*, etc., no. 62), and not from any conviction that 'count' is the original meaning. The various connections outside of Germanic which have been suggested are all doubtful, but the most plausible of these, to my mind, is that with Skt. *dala-m* 'part, piece', Lith. *dalis* 'part', etc.¹ From the notion of 'apportion' might arise 'enumerate, count' and 'communicate, tell' (cf. Germ. *mitteilen*, Eng. *impart*, etc.).

65. Engadine *discuorrer*.—Lat. *discurro* 'run to and fro' was used in post-classical times in the sense of 'run over, hasten through' and sometimes figuratively of speech, 'speak briefly of' (cf. *super quo nunc pauca discurram*, Amm. Marc.), just as in English a speaker may *run over* certain facts. This application to speech, in verb and noun alike, became the dominant usage in Romance (cf. Fr. *discours*, Eng. *discourse*, Ital. *discorrere* 'discuss'); and in the Engadine dialects *discuorrer* (*diskuorrer*) is now the most usual expression for 'speak'.

66. Lett. *runat*.—In Lettish the regular verb of 'speaking' is *runat*. This stands without cognates in the other Balto-Slavic languages, and is probably borrowed from, rather than

¹ Cf. Walde, Lat. Et. Wb. s. v. *dala* -*br* and *dalus*, with references.

cognate with, the Germanic verb meaning 'whisper', OHG. *rūnan*, OE. *rūnian* (Ger. *raunen*, Eng. dial. *roun*), which belongs with Goth. *rūna* 'secret', Grk. *ῥέω* 'inquiry', etc. The development has been then 'tell secrets, whisper, mutter, speak low, speak'. Cf. the use of Lat. *muttio* (no. 14).

VIII. SEMANTIC SOURCE UNKNOWN.

67. Goth. *quipan*, Eng. *quoth*, etc.—The verb which is still familiar to us in *quoth he* was once a Germanic verb of 'saying' second in importance only to that represented by *say* (no. 27). In Gothic *quipan* held the field to the exclusion of any cognate of *say*; and ON. *kveða*, OE. *cweðan*,¹ OS. *quethan*, OHG. *quedan* were all in common use. At present the verb is for the most part obsolete or used in a secondary meaning as Swed. *qväda*, Dan. *kvoeda* 'sing', Eng. *be-queath*. But it has

¹ Aelfric in his Latin Grammar defines *loquor* by *ic sprece, dico* by *ic secge*, and both *aio* and *inquam* by *ic cweðe* (cf. ed. Zupitza pp. 127, 173, 198, 208, 209). It would not do to invert this and define *ic cweðe* by *aio* and *inquam*, for *cweðan* is used much more freely than either, and in some texts is more frequent than *secgan* as an equivalent of *dico*. Thus Aelfric himself in the Latin Grammar uses it constantly in phrases like *wē cweðan on ledyn hic liber and on englisc p̄os bōc*, or like *sum cyn is gecweden epicena* (also *is gehaten*, but *secgan* is never used in this way), and sometimes with indirect quotations, as *Priscianus cwaep pæt sume sind adversativae*. He uses *secgan* in phrases where it would now be possible to substitute *tell* for *say*, as *ponne wē hēr secgan wyllað, swā swa wē ār sēdon*. In the versions of the Gospels, in the first five chapters of Luke the proportion of *cweðan* to *secgan* in the West Saxon version is, before direct quotations 57: 6 (of which three are *ic secge eow*, which is constant), otherwise 2: 7. (In the same chapters Luther's German version has *sprechen* with direct quotations in all but four passages, of which three have *ich sage euch* corresponding to the W. S. *ic secge eow*; for 'say' without quotation, as in 'what was said', etc., it has uniformly *sagen*. In Kurschat's Lithuanian version the distribution of *laĩti* and *sakĩti* is here as elsewhere almost identical with that of *sprechen* and *sagen* in Luther. Cf. also above, pp. 11, 128.)

And for all these 13 cases of *secgan* the Northumbrian version has *cweðan*, so that the total proportion there, with the addition of some cases where the West Saxon version has neither verb, is 78: 0. This proportion, to be sure, is extreme, for *secgan* occurs elsewhere in the N. version, but with markedly restricted use. It is most frequent in the first singular and in imperative forms, and elsewhere often means 'announce', 'proclaim', 'expound', corresponding to W. S. *cyðan* or *reccan*, e g. Mark IV. 34, V. 14, 16.

survived with the meaning 'say' in some German and Norwegian dialects, and especially in English in the past *quoth*, which is used only with direct quotations, and always with its subject following. In this narrowly prescribed function it is in common use in many dialects (cf. Wright, Eng. Dial. Dict. s. v.), and in standard English, though no longer colloquial, it has remained familiar owing to its frequent use by writers to lend archaic flavor. Of the numerous etymologies which have been proposed there is none which carries conviction.¹

68. Welsh *dywedyd*.—The Welsh verb of 'saying' is *dywedyd*, Mid. Welsh *dywedut*, a compound of which the simplex is seen in OWelsh *guetid*. The forms point to IE. *yet-*; but there is no satisfactory etymology. Connection with Lat. *veto*, given by Stokes, Fick II⁴, 268,² and others, is rejected by Walde Lat. Et. Wtb.³, and, if true, would throw no light on the semantic source, for the meaning in Latin would be the secondary one. Possibly *yet-* is only a collateral form of the *yed-* seen in Skt. *vad-*, etc. (no. 19).

69. Corn, *cows*, *cewsel*.—In Cornish the regular verb of 'speaking' was *cows* or *cewsel*. It has survived in the present dialect of Cornwall as *cousy* 'chat, gossip' (W. Cornish Glossary, quoted in NED). Williams, Lex. Cornu-Brit., s. v. *cewsel*, after citing Bret. *comps* etc., adds: "The Cornish form approaches nearer the French *causer*". Relationship with Bret. *comps* is impossible and borrowing from Fr. *causer* seems out of the question. For the use of *causer* in the sense of 'chat' (cf. no. 42) is comparatively late in France itself, and in

¹ For a convenient summary cf. Lidén, Armenische Studien 69, who himself connects Arm. *kočem* 'call, name', and add Per Persson, Beiträge zur idg. Wortforschung 898, who, instead of IE. *gæt-*, assumes *gæ-et-*, which he sees in Ir. *guth* 'voice', Russ. *gutor*, etc. (above no. 3.)

The following words, which point to roots of somewhat similar, though not identical, form, may be mentioned here for convenience: 1) Skt. *gad-* 'say, tell' (*gæd-* or *gød-*; 2) Avest., OPers. *jad-* 'ask of, beg', Grk. *ἡρααῖσαι* 'pray for', OIr. *guidimm* 'beg' (*gʰkedh-*); 3) Lith. *žadėti* 'promise', *žadinti* 'speak to', *bė žado* 'speechless', *žodis* 'word' (root with initial *g* or *gh*). Cf. also Pol. *gadać* (no. 44).

² The Irish forms given by Stokes, loc. cit., probably belong elsewhere. Cf. Vendryes, Rev. Celt. XXIX, 204. I assume that the OWelsh *guetid*, cited by Stokes and others, is properly attested, but I find no precise reference for it, and note that some Celtic scholars in discussing the Welsh verb make no mention of it.

England the borrowed *coze* does not appear before the nineteenth century and was never wide-spread. Corn, *cows*, on the other hand, is frequent in the Cornish Dramas of the fifteenth century.

70. Modern Indic *bol*.—The regular verb of 'speaking' in nearly all the modern Indic languages, from Bengali¹ to Gujerati, from Mahratti to Kashmiri, is from a root *bol*-, e. g. Hindi *bolnā* 'speak', *bolī* 'speech, language'. This occurs already in (Apabhraṃṣa) Prakrit, e. g. *bolloī* Hemacandra IV. 2, 443, *bollāmo* Mṛcchakaṭika ed. Stenzler, p. 105, 16 (cf. also Pischel, Materialien zur Kenntniss des Apabhraṃsa 43). But it cannot be connected with any of the Sanskrit verbs of 'speaking' or 'saying', and its origin is wholly obscure.

71. Arm. *asem*, Grk. ἡμί, Lat. *aio*.—In Armenian the regular verb of 'saying' at all periods is *asem*. Lat. *aio* is of more restricted use, and still more so Grk. ἡμί 'inquam'. Connection between these three verbs is probable (root *ēg*, *aḡ*),² but throws no light on the source of the meaning 'say'.

Skt. *āha* 'said', formerly connected with Lat. *aio*, is from a root ending in a dental, as shown by the corresponding Av. *āda* 'said'.

72. Ossetan *zäyjn* 'say' is of unknown etymology. Cf. W. Miller, Grd. d. iran. Phil. I, Anhang, p. 59. Now connected by some with Sogdian *žäy*- (above, p. 137, footnote).

73. Tocharian *weñ*.—In Tocharian, the newly discovered Indo-European language from Chinese Turkestan, the verb of 'saying' is *weñ*-, e. g. 1 sing. pres. indic. *weñau* (also *sk*-present *weskau*), 1 sing. pres. opt. *weñim*, 3 plur. pret. *weñdre*, etc. (cf. S. Lévi and Meillet, Mém. Soc. Ling. XVIII, 31 ff.). The striking resemblance to Kashmiri *wan-um* 'say, speak' (Grierson, Manual of Kashmiri II, 181), has already been

¹In the colloquial Bengali of Calcutta, as I am informed by one familiar with it, *bal*- is also the usual expression for 'say', *kah*- (above, no. 58) belonging rather to the higher style. Cf. also the specimen in Linguistic Survey of India v. i, 42 ff. (once *kakila* 'said', otherwise *balila* 'said', *baliba* 'will say', etc.), and that in the "women's dialect", p. 48 (always forms of *bal*-). In other parts of India too the uses of *bol*- and *kak*- may overlap, but it remains true that *bol*- is primarily 'speak' and *kak*- 'say'.

²Cf. Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. I, 421, Solmsen K Z. XXXIX, 218 ff., Walde Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *aio*.

pointed out by Grierson, Jour. As. ser. 10, vol. 19 (1912), p. 346.

WORDS FOR 'WORD' AND "LANGUAGE".

74. Nearly all of the usual expressions for 'word', which are given in the list below, have been included in the preceding discussion of the verbs. Hindi *bāt* corresponds to Prakrit *vatta*, Skt. *vārta*- 'news, tale, story', this being derived from *vṛtta*- 'what has happened (*vṛt*-), occurrence, affair'. Of Arabic origin are Pers. *kalama*, Afghan *xabara*, and Baluchi *gālvar*.

75. The word for 'language', by which we mean that which is used in phrases corresponding to the *English language*, is, in the majority of the Indo-European languages identical with or derived from the word for 'tongue'. So in Greek of all periods (*γλῶσσα*), in Latin (*lingua*) and all the Romance languages, whence also Eng. *language*, in Old Bulgarian (*językŭ*) and all the Slavic languages, in Irish (*teanga*) with Manx and Scotch Gaelic, in Cornish (*tavoseth* from *tavas* 'tongue'), in Albanian (*gjuhë*, cf. G. Meyer, Et. Wtb., p. 142), in Armenian (*lezu*), and in Ossetian and Modern Persian (Oss. *āwzag*, Mod. Pers. *zabān*, both related to Avest. *hizū*, Skt. *jihvā*). This use of Skt. *jihvā* 'tongue' is unknown, but it is represented in the Gypsy *chib*, *jib*, and in Afghan *jiba*, which is a loan word from some Indic dialect. In most of the other languages in which the usual word for language is different, that for 'tongue' may also be so used, as in German *Zunge* beside *Sprache*, Lith. *lėžūvis* beside *kalbà*, Lett. *mēle* beside *walūda*, etc. Most of the other words for 'language' are parallel to Eng. *speech*, that is are derived from verbs of 'speaking', and have been included in the preceding discussion of the verbs. But complete parallelism between noun and the usual verb of 'speaking' in the same language and period, as in Ger. *Sprache* besides *sprechen*, Lith. *kalbà* beside *kalbėti*, is exceptional. Note Dutch *taal* beside *spreken*, Dan. *sprog* beside *tala*, etc.

Welsh *iaith*, Bret. *iez* are probably related to OHG. *jēhan* 'feierlich aussprechen, erklären', Lat. *iocus*, etc., cf. Blankenstein, IF. XXIII, 131 ff., Walde, Lat. Et. Wtb.² s. v. *jocus*. The source of Lett. *walūda* (for the suffix, cf. Leskien, *Bildung der Nomina im Litauischen* 599) is obscure.

WORD-LISTS.¹

	Say (Speak).	Speak.	Word.	Language.
skrit	vac- (18), brū- (2), vad- (19), bhan- (26), kath (58)	bhāṣ (5)	vacas (18)	bhāṣā (5)
li	kahnā (58)	bolnā (70)	bāt (74)	boli (70)
ratti	mhaṇanem (26)	bolanem (70)	ṣabda (22)	boli (70)
imiri	wanun (73)	bōlun (70)	shebd (22)	bul (70)
y	pen (26)	raker (61)	lav (11)	chib, jib (75)
stan	vač- (18), mrū- (2)		vačah- (18)	
Persian	ṭah- (30), gaub- (3)			
lavi	gōwēd (3)		gōwišn (3)	
dian	vāb (38), framā (32)	žāy (p. 136)	vāxš (18)	
Iranian	hvan- (9)			
l. Persian	guftan (3)	harf zadan (59)	kalama (74) suxun (30)	zabān (75)
stan	zāyīn (72)	jurīn (6)	jīrd (6)	āwzag (75)
ichi	gvašag (18)		ḡālvar (74)	zabān (75)
han	vayāl (38)			jiba (75)
ir dial.	xanam (9), lewam, (11), vāwām (38)		gap (3)	
harian	wēñ- (73)		rake (29)	
enian	asem (71)	xōsem (13)	ban (25)	lezu (75)
nian	ṭom (30)	fal' (54)	fjal'e (54)	ḡuhe (75)
l. Greek	φημί (25), etc., (14, 71)	ἀγορεύω (48)	ἔπος (18)	γλῶσσα (75)
s. "	{ λέγω (63) }	{ εἶπω (37) }	ῥήμα (37)	" "
"	{ λέγω (63) }	{ εἶπω (37) }	λέξις (63)	" "
l. "	{ λέγω (63) }	{ εἶπω (37) }	" "	" "
n	dico (23)	loquor (12)	verbum (37)	lingua (75)
an	dire (23)	parlare (55)	parola (55)	lingua (75)
ch	dire (23)	parler (55)	mot (14), parole (55)	langue (75)
ish	decir (23)	hablar (54)	palabra (55)	lengua (75)
uguese	dizer (23)	fallar (54)	palavra (55)	lingua (75)
manian	zice (23)	vorbi (56)	vorba (56)	limba (75)
sto-Rom.	dir (23)	plidar (53), discu- orrer (65), rad- schuner (41), etc. (15, 16, 54)	pled (53)	linguach (75)

Not intended as a complete index to words discussed above, but as a survey of the distinctive words for 'say', 'speak', 'word', 'language' in the several languages. The first mn includes not only verbs meaning 'say' in distinction from 'speak', but also some ch answer to both *say* and *speak*. Cf. above, p. 3. The references are to the numbers he paragraphs.

	Say (Speak).	Speak.	Word.	Language
Old Irish	asbiur (60)	labraim (11)	briathar (6), focal (18)	tenge (75)
Welsh	dyweddud (68)	lleferu (11)	gair (6)	iaith (75)
Cornish	leverel (11)	cows (69)	gêr (6)	tavoseth (75)
Breton	lavaret (11)	comps (46)	gêr (6)	iez (75)
Gothic	qipan (67)	rôdjan (40)	waúrd (37)	razda (20)
Old Norse	kveða (67), segja (27)	tala (64)	ord (37)	mál (49)
Swedish	saga (27)	tala (64)	ord (37)	språk (49)
Danish	sige (27)	tala (64)	ord (37)	sprog (49)
Icelandic	saga (27)	tala (64)	ord (37)	mál (49)
Old English	cweðan (67) secgan (27)	sprecan (1)	word (37)	spræc (1)
Mod. " German	say (27) sagen (27)	speak (1) sprechen (1) reden (39)	word (37) wort (37)	language (75) sprache (1)
Dutch	zeggan (27)	sprekan (1)	word (37)	taal (64)
Lithuanian	sakýti (27), tarti (8)	kalbėti (7)	žodis (67)	kalbà (7)
Lettic	sazīt (27), teikt (33)	runāt (66)	wahrds (37)	waļūda (75)
Old Prussian	billit (5), gerdaut (6)	waitiat (51), gerbt (6)	wirds (37)	
Old Bulgarian	rešti, reka (29)	glagolati (4)	slovo (21)	językū (75)
Russian	skazat' (24)	govorit' (3)	slovo (21)	jazyk (75)
Bulgarian	kazvam (24) dumam (43)	govorja (3), hortuvam (57)	reči (29, 21)	jezik (75)
Serbo-Croatian	reči (24)	govoriti (3)	rječ (29, 21)	jezik (75)
Slovenian	reči (29)	govoriti (3)	slovo (21)	jezik (75)
Bohemian	pověděti (28) řici (29)	mluviti (2) hovořiti (3)	slovo (21)	jazyk (75)
Slovakian	povedať (28) riečť (27)	hovoriť (3)	slovo (21)	jazyk (75)
Polish	powiedzieć (28)	mówić (2)	słowo (21)	język (75)
Wendish (L.)	powjedaś (28)	groniś (6)	słowo (21)	język (75)
Padanian	rečt (29)	gornět (6)	sliwi (21)	

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II.—CATULLUS AS AN ELEGIST.

The position of Catullus in Graeco-Roman elegy is still in need of definition in spite of the numerous characterizations of his elegiac work which may be gleaned from philological literature.¹ An examination of this literature reveals the widest variation in opinion. The extremes may be illustrated by the remark of F. Jacoby² that Catullus wrote no subjective-erotic elegy to Lesbia and can be brought into no direct relation with Augustan elegy, which (for Jacoby) begins with Cornelius Gallus, and that of A. von Mess³ who asserts that in c. 68 Catullus displays the Augustan type of elegy fully developed. Between these extremes there are many other views, some of which contain at least the germs of truth. Among the older scholars Gruppe,⁴ with a poet's instinct, saw that in Catullus is to be found 'the youth' of Roman elegy and that he is for us the beginner of the genre, for before Catullus there was really no Roman elegy. But Gruppe presents very little evidence to support his impressions and his remarks on cc. 65-68 are often wrong. In recent years many scholars have adopted the same general standpoint as Gruppe. G. Friedrich⁵ says that with c. 68 Catullus founded an entirely new genre; Crusius⁶ terms Catullus the real founder of Roman elegy; Lafaye⁷ calls c. 68 "un véritable manifeste"; Schanz⁸ recognizes the subjective-erotic element in c. 68. But neither the historians of Roman literature nor the editors of Catullus—not even Lafaye, from whom we might reasonably expect a

¹This paper embodies essentially the same results as one presented to the Yale Classical Club in February, 1913. Since that date, however, it has been entirely rewritten and I have been able to avail myself of several recent articles bearing on various aspects of the subject.

²Rh. Mus. LX (1905), pp. 64, 84. Anm., ibid. LXV (1910), p. 75 Anm.

³Rh. Mus. LXIII (1908), 488 ff.

⁴Die röm. Elegie, I (1838), especially pp. 347, 349.

⁵Kommentar (1908), p. 457.

⁶Pauly-Wissowa, s. v. Elegie V² (1905) Col. 2290.

⁷Catulle et ses modèles (1894), 199.

⁸Röm. Litt., I, 2^a (1909), 100-101.

full treatment—supply a satisfactory discussion of the question,¹ supported by adequate evidence. And yet many valuable observations have been made and much evidence has been collected,—especially in the last twenty years, which have been years of intense interest in ancient elegy. This recent work has given us a much finer appreciation of the nature and development of elegy than was possible, for example, when Ellis published the last edition of his *Commentary on Catullus* in 1889, and it has advanced so far that an effort to base upon it a juster and a more complete estimate of the position of Catullus seems to promise a measure of success.

The difference in opinion concerning the work of Catullus in elegy may be traced back to the Augustan Age. Indeed, it is safe to say that no modern critic would assert that Catullus had little or nothing to do with the development of Roman elegy were it not for the famous 'canons' of the elegists which have been preserved to us by Ovid (*Tr.* iv. 10. 53 ff.) and Quintilian (x, i, 93). In both of these passages Gallus is the earliest Roman elegist named and there is no mention of Catullus. This is the verdict that has prevailed through the ages—an injustice, as Plessis has observed, to Catullus and his contemporaries.² But there is another important witness whose dissentient testimony has been too often misunderstood or overlooked. Propertius, in a poem concerned with the very nature of elegy, ranges himself and Gallus as writers of elegy side by side with Catullus, Calvus, and Varro of Atax.³ This

¹ The best discussions are those of Schanz, *op. cit.* and Plessis *La poésie Latine* (1909), 347 ff., 169 ff., cf. the same scholar's *Études sur Propertius* (1884), 278 f., but neither is even approximately complete and both contain serious errors. One cannot expect full treatment in such brief outlines of Roman literature as Leo's in *Kultur der Gegenwart* (1907) and Norden's *Einleitung in die Alt.* (1912), and yet even the briefest statements could have been made far more satisfactory. Of the editors Bachrens throws most light on our problem, cf. the *Prolegomena* to his *Commentary* (1885). Neither Ellis (1889) nor Friedrich (1908) give a connected outline, although both have made valuable remarks.

² *Études sur Propertius*, p. 279.

³ Propertius is thinking here primarily of Catullian elegy, cf. the grouping of Catullus, etc., with Gallus and Propertius and the contrast which Propertius is emphasizing between his own poetry and the various types which Vergil practices (61-80). On the phraseology of the pas-

broader view was entirely justified, as I shall try to show, and probably nearer the truth. And yet the injustice of the attitude prevailing during the Augustan and later ages was not intentional. On the contrary, there was almost universal admiration for Catullus as a great poet, even as a great erotic poet.¹ The general disposition to omit his name from the list of elegists was perfectly natural. Apart from the overshadowing fame of his lyrics and the relatively small number of his elegies, which then as now diverted attention from the latter, the Augustans—probably even Propertius—felt that in elegy they had much less in common with him than with Gallus. Catullus sang of Lesbia chiefly in short, polymetrical poems—the very poems which gave him so large a part of his fame as a lyric poet.² Cornelius Gallus was the first real specialist in elegy. He was the first Roman to compose a cycle of elegies reflecting a single passion. In this he was followed by Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid, and Lygdamus. Catullus wrote no cycle of elegies, although the poems concerning Lesbia and Juventius might easily have become such cycles had Catullus chosen for them all the elegiac form. He did not adopt this form until late in the course of his passion for Lesbia and not even then to the exclusion of others. But even if he had chosen it from the beginning, the resultant elegies would have differed in important ways from those of the Augustans. In Augustan elegy there is a highly developed erotic system which would hardly have been possible for Catullus. The growth of such a system requires time. Most of the elements existed long before the Augustan age—many, indeed, in Catullus himself—but it was not until after Catullus

sage (usual in discussions of *genera*), cf. Cl. Ph., vii (1912), 463 ff., and P. Trol, *De elegiae Romanae origine*, 1911, 84–86.

¹ See the testimonia in Schwabe's ed. (1886). Ovid certainly desired to group himself with Gallus, Tibullus, and Propertius, but this does not mean that Catullus was not in his view an elegist at all. It should be noted that in the most famous reference to his predecessors (Tr. iv, 10, 53 f.) Ovid could not mention Catullus because he is speaking of poets who were alive in his youth; and that he is probably thinking primarily of Catullian elegy when he prays that Catullus may greet Tibullus in the lower world (A, iii, 9, 62). To Ovid Catullus was not a specialist in elegy.

² Cf. Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.*, lx (1905), 72.

that these elements were gathered in such quantity and in such form as to assume the likeness of a system. Gallus was probably the first to see the possibilities of such a system. In the four books *amorum suorum de Cytheride*, which Servius attributes to him, there was certainly a cycle of elegies, although it is unlikely that every poem in these books dealt with the poet's love for Cytheris (Lycoris). The cycle, not the book, is the essential thing here. The analogy of later elegy indicates that the books contained poems having nothing to do with Lycoris and it is even possible that not all of these were in distichs.¹ That the elegies *de Cytheride* had at least some elements of the erotic system is shown by the words of Propertius (II, 34, 91-92),

et modo formosa quam multa Lycoride Gallus
mortuus inferna vulnera lavit aqua.

Gallus is depicted in a condition typical of the strenuous elegiac lover, cf. Tib., i, 10, 53 ff. and Smith's notes. Gallus was the first elegiac specialist and it was this that rendered him so closely akin to those who followed.²

Thus Augustan elegy had developed so far beyond the beginnings which appear in Catullus that the results even when rooted in his work seemed to be something new, something almost different in kind. Only Propertius, so far as we know, seems to have perceived the fundamental kinship which existed between his work and that of Catullus. At least he honored Catullus as the beginner, the *auctor*, of the genre at Rome in much the same way as he honors Mimnermos among the Greek elegists (i, 9, 11).³ The contributions of Catullus are

¹ Cf. Wilamowitz, *Mimnermos und Properz* (in *Sappho und Simonides*), 1913, 294, who suggests that Gallus' imitations of Euphorion may have been in these four books.

² Jacoby (Rh. Mus. lx, 1905) seems to me to overemphasize the importance of Gallus not only by neglecting Catullus and his contemporaries, but also in assigning the creation of Roman elegy to Gallus. If Gallus were in any true sense 'der Schöpfer des *yéros*', we could hardly understand the numerous utterances of Propertius with regard to the genre and his own relation to it. Gallus helped greatly to develop elegy; he did not create it.

³ Cf. Plessis, *Études sur Properce* (1884), 278 ff., and Jacoby, *op. cit.*, 43-44, who does not refer to Plessis, although his view is essentially the same.

in fact important in kind and in capacity for development, and if we allow for his meagre elegiac production, they are considerable in number. But before I attempt to enumerate these contributions it is necessary to indicate briefly another bond which served to link his work with that of the Augustans.

Catullus¹ is a true forerunner of the Augustan elegists in point of view. He was for them, as he is for us, the most important figure in that literary movement known as the school of the *νεώτεροι*, or *novi poetae*, as Cicero calls them, the members of which drew their literary tenets, if not always their inspiration, from Alexandria. This movement, which had begun long before, culminated in the time of Catullus. The Romans were completing their apprenticeship; they were attaining power not merely to appreciate the finer elements of Greek literary art, but they were seeking to render them in Roman terms. The *novi poetae* felt that Roman letters needed above all things perfection in form, and they naturally turned to that period of Greek literature in which mere form had become a shibboleth—the Hellenistic and Alexandrian Age. There they found those rules of art which are overemphasized at such periods, and they practiced the genres which had been cultivated by their masters—the epyll, the elegy, the epigram in distichs and the related *παίγνιον*. The numerous Greek literary men in Rome were following the same course and their teachings and example strongly influenced the Romans. Catullus was no narrow partisan of this school. It is true that he accepts and exemplifies in his own work the principle *μέγα βιβλίον μέγα κακόν* and even the Callimachean sneer at the *Ὀμηρικώτεροι* as embodied in the tumid Antimachus (c. 95, 10), that he translates and imitates Callimachus himself, and that he owes much to Alexandrian literature not only in his longer poems, as is well known, but also in his *nugae*. Nevertheless, there was room in his receptive mind for admiration of the best wherever he found it. If he translates and imitates Callimachus, we must not forget that he also translates and imitates Sappho; if he sneers at the *Ὀμηρικώτεροι*, there is plenty

¹ Propertius begins his list of elegists (II, 34, 85) with Varro of Atax, but there is good reason to believe that Catullus preceded Varro in elegy, cf. Schanz, and Wilamowitz, Sappho, p. 294. Wilamowitz exaggerates, it seems to me, the influence of Mimnermus.

of evidence that he admired Homer himself. There is everywhere in the work of Catullus that masterly mingling of early and later Greek with Roman elements which is characteristic of the best Roman literature. Even when the source of his inspiration is wholly Greek, the metre is no sure guide to the period in which that source lies.¹ He had mastered a large number of Greek forms so thoroughly that they were his own. He may fill Sapphic stanzas with a content almost all from his own experience (c. 11), he may celebrate Lesbia's *passer* in Phalaeceans when his inspiration comes in part from Greek distichs, or he may fill an epyll in the Alexandrian style with reminiscences from Homer and the classic Greeks. Nevertheless, Catullus gave his adherence, strongly qualified though it was, to the school of the *νεώτεροι*. He practiced their favorite genres, revered their great master, and earned in their company the title of *doctus*. The chief heirs of this attitude in the next generation were the Augustan elegists. They too revered Callimachus and were proud to be called *docti*. They too practiced favorite genres of Callimachus and the *νεώτεροι*, elegy and epigram. The *παίγνιον* and the epyll continued to be written, but the former was subjected to different influences, the latter achieved no striking success. The elegy and the inseparable epigram not only followed rather closely the principles of form laid down by the *νεώτεροι*, but they achieved a success that was due in no small measure to the acceptance and development of the principles as they appear in Catullus.

The position of the Catullian distich in the development of that metre at Rome is the only feature of his elegiac work about which there is substantial agreement. It is recognized that he was less successful in this metre than in any other. He was consciously endeavoring to transplant the Greek distich, but the result did not commend itself, in all respects, to the ears of those who succeeded him in the next generation. The distich was a form which required time and the touch of

¹Lafaye (Catulle et ses modèles) relies far too much on the metre as a guide. As Wilamowitz says "Catull fragte eben nicht danach, ob er es dürfte, wenn ihm in der schöpferischen Stimmung des Augenblicks diese oder jene Form der griechischen Poesie auf die Lippen kam. Er hatte sich in ernster Arbeit aller dieser Formen bemächtigt, etc." (op. cit., 293).

many poets before the best results could be achieved. Catullus stood too near its beginnings and when we pass from such distichs as

nam quaecumque homines bene cuiquam aut dicere possunt
aut facere, haec a te dictaque factaque sunt

to

divitias alius fulvo sibi congerat auro
et teneat multi iugera multa soli,

we seem to be in a new world because we cannot follow the intermediate steps. In spite of his metrical genius, Catullus was unable to create in Latin a distich that was really dactylic; his distichs are heavy with spondees.¹ In this respect his successors greatly excelled him, although no one but Ovid very clearly approximated the lightness of the Greek form. They surpassed him also in the avoidance of harsh elisions,² and they were far more successful in adapting sense and syntax harmoniously to the metre.³ All these are details which make for a flexible and musical verse. For this Catullus was striving just as earnestly as his successors, but they had the advantage of a long development which included the contributions of Catullus himself. For, in spite of his numerous spondees and harsh elisions, he is one of the long series of Roman poets who gradually developed expedients for the

¹ According to Plessis (*Métrique*), the proportion of spondees in the first four feet of the hexameter is (counting fractions of over $\frac{1}{2}$ as 1): Catullus, 65 %, Propertius, 56 %, Tibullus, 51 %, Ovid (*Am.* and *Trist.*) 46 %. In the schemata ssss and dsss Catullus leads with 15 % and 26 %, respectively. Lygdamus comes next with 10 % and 19 %. In Ovid (*Am.* and *Tr.*), these proportions fall to about 2 % and 13 %. (For spondaic lines see p. 162.)

In the pentameter (first hemistich), the scheme ss occurs: Catullus, 34 %, Lygdamus, 26 %, Tibullus, 15 %, Ovid, c. 12 %, Propertius, 11 %.

² Kirby Smith (*Tibullus*, *Introd.*, p. 99, *Notes*, pp. 226, 280) and Siedow, *De elisionis aphaeresis hiatus usu in hexametris Latinis ab Ennii usque ad Ovidii tempora* (*Diss.*, Gryphiae, 1911). Siedow gives very full and elaborate tables by means of which it is possible to compare the writers of hexameters (and pentameters) in almost any detail of elision, etc. His figures often disagree with those of his predecessors, but for our present purpose small differences are negligible.

³ Kirby Smith (*op. cit.*, *Introd.*, pp. 101 ff.). Drachmann, *Catulus Digting*, etc., 1887, pp. 33-37.

avoidance of these defects.¹ This fact must not be forgotten while we are noting the attitude of the Augustans toward certain more obvious features of the Catullian distich.

The Greeks employed occasional spondaic verses among their hexameter lines, frequently ended the pentameter with a polysyllabic word, and preferred to begin the pentameter with a dactyl and a spondee or (as second choice) two spondees. They did not treat each distich as a unit of thought and syntax, but allowed both to run on into the succeeding distich. In all these details Catullus followed the Greeks.² In the frequency of polysyllabic closes for the pentameter he even out-Greeked the Greeks. The example of Catullus was not consistently followed in any of these details, save the preference of *ds* as the beginning of the pentameter, and yet he was influential or—what amounts to the same thing—his successors, trained to finer appreciation by the work of a generation of poets, prove that he was in a measure right or wrong by their practice or rejection of these principles. His instinct in preferring to begin the pentameter with *ds* is supported by all, but they substituted for his second favorite (*ss*) *dd*. The spondaic hexameter was almost absolutely rejected by all the later elegists. Likewise there was little disposition to allow the run-on of thought and syntax from distich to distich; they prefer, or rather they developed, the 'law of the distich'. The polysyllabic close of the pentameter found advocates in all save Ovid, who possibly influenced Propertius to abandon it, but the frequency of its use was greatly reduced. If then Catullus was in this metre 'a beginner, too near his Greeks', he had, nevertheless, in many ways shown how to begin, and the later development is in many details merely a refinement of the principles that he advocated,—often, it is true, to excess.

¹ Cf. (on the history of dactylic expedients) Zingerle, *Ovidius und sein Verhältniss zu den Vorgängern*, etc., 1869–1871; E. Bednara, *De sermone dactylicor.*, etc., *Arch. lat. Lex.*, xiv (1906).

² Catullus has twelve spondaic verses among the 323 hexameter lines of his elegiac distichs, or about 3½%. This is no accident, nor is it accident that Propertius has only seven in 2005 lines (cf. Hosius' text, p. 179), and Tibullus none at all. See Kirby Smith's note on i, 3, 5, and *Introd.*, p. 97, where it is stated that Ovid has only six spondaic verses in his elegiac poems. For statistics on the 'law of the distich' cf. Maurenbrecher, *Beiträge*, etc., Wachsmuth, (1897), p. 57.

One may perhaps go a step farther and say that the later elegists would have done well to follow the principles of Catullus more closely. Emphasis has often been laid on the fact that the progress of every Roman metre was towards greater strictness of form and that an approximately perfect form is inevitably monotonous. It is always dangerous to dogmatize on such a point, but I feel with Plessis that the Ovidian distich has reached this point of over-refinement and it is easy to select from the principles of Catullus several which, if practiced more widely, would have rendered the distich a better and more varied vehicle of poetic expression than it became even in the hands of Tibullus and Propertius. As Ellis suggests, a Vergil might have moulded a still more perfect distich than that of Ovid by following along the lines marked out by Catullus. The instinct of Catullus was right, it seems to me, in attempting to naturalize the spondaic verse, the polysyllabic pentameter close, and the use of two spondees as the second best form in the first half of the pentameter, and the run-on of thought and syntax from distich to distich, for it is questionable whether the 'law of the distich' was a real improvement. Propertius alone of the great elegists showed a disposition to follow the lead of Catullus, and it is to be regretted that he went over in his later work to the camp of Ovid.

But although as a metrician Catullus supplied many details that were of service to succeeding elegists and several principles which they would have done well to use more extensively, it is not in his contributions to mere metrical technique that his chief importance lies.

Elegy and epigram run a closely connected course in almost every period of their history. In addition to the metrical form (the distich is far the most important metre of epigram), the two genera so often overlap in content, in tone, and even in treatment, that no discussion of one genus is complete without frequent reference to the other; indeed it is often difficult and sometimes impossible to classify a given poem in distichs as an elegy or as an epigram.¹ In the development of elegy

¹On the absence of distinctions cf. Reitzenstein, Pauly-Wissowa, (1907), s. v. Epigramm, col. 102.

Epigram in the broadest sense includes small polymetrical poems (*παλγυρία, nugae*), for these differ in no respect save metre from the epigram in distichs, but the metre relates the latter more closely to elegy.

both among the Greeks and at Rome there is no doubt that epigram was one of the most important factors. The relation between elegy and epigram is best studied in the Augustan Age because the fullest and best elegiac material belongs to that period. In the work of the three great Augustans—to cite some obvious illustrations—epigrams stand side by side with elegies or are included bodily in elegies (Tib., I, 3, 55 f., Propert., II, 13, 35 f., IV, 7, 85 f., III, 13, 43-46, etc.), epigrammatic formulae and adornment are used, and many an elegy (or part of an elegy) is best explained as an expanded epigram or, if you like, an elegiac treatment of a theme which had been already expressed in epigram.¹ In Catullus also epigrams stand side by side with elegies and are embodied in elegies (65, 9-14; 68, 20-24, 91-100), epigrammatic formulae (68, 41 ff.) and ornament (68, 1 ff.) are used.² But the last point—the process by which the epigram becomes an elegy—is the most important, and upon this Catullus throws a great light. In order to understand this aspect of Catullus' work we must glance for a moment at that of the two generations which preceded him.

Roman elegy is predominantly erotic and this erotic content is usually expressed in a gallant, romantic fashion—a point to which I shall recur later. The most interesting and probably the earliest attempts of the Romans in individual erotic expression of this type are the epigrams of Valerius Aedituus, Q. Lutatius Catulus, and Porcius Licinus,—five in all, preserved by Cicero, N. D., I, 28, 79, and Gellius, xix, 9. These little poems prove that more than two generations before the earliest dated elegy of Catullus (c. 59 B. C.) the Romans were beginning to feel the need of more delicate forms of expres-

¹ Conversely it is not unlikely that some epigrams are condensed elegies, cf. Reitzenstein, s. v. Epig., col. 92. A given theme is often treated in various ways in accordance with the genre chosen by the poet. A classic example is Horace's Epode xi, an *elegia iambis concepta*, as Leo says (De Horatio et Archilocho, 9-10). Cf. also Catull., c. 60 with 64, 154-157. But it is easy to make wrong inferences from this possibility about the nature of Alexandrian elegy as (for example) Reitzenstein and Troll have done.

² Cf. Reitzenstein s. v. Epig., 88, 98, who cites Simonides A. P., xiii, 26 on Catull. 68, 41 ff. and Philodemus A. P., x, 21 on 68, 1 ff. Add A. P. v, 235.

sion and had already attained considerable skill in the adaptation of Alexandrian models. All five epigrams embody Greek ideas, and the close resemblance of several to poems of the Greek Anthology together with their Meleagrian style shows where to look for their sources.¹ From such beginnings a considerable literature of the same general type was developed, if we may believe Ovid, Tr. II, 441 ff., and Pliny, Epp., V, 3, 5, those two betrayers of skeletons in the literary closets of Rome's great men. It is unnecessary to describe this literature, but it is important to note that the movement began with erotic epigram in distichs, spread to the brief polymetrical forms (as in Laevius), but did not include elegy until the time of Catullus. It is, in fact, fairly certain, although in view of the fragmentary condition of the literature of that period we cannot say quite certain, that Catullus was one of the earliest, if not as Friedrich and others say the earliest, of those who essayed elegy. He was certainly the most important and his few elegies are the earliest now extant.

Catullus, then, was heir to both the forms of individual erotic expression practised by his predecessors, the epigram in distichs and the lighter lyric (*nugae*) in various metres,² and he developed both to the highest point of excellence. But he did more. He showed how a theme which he had himself expressed epigrammatically could be presented as an elegy and we may still follow the steps of the process. C. 85 is the

¹ *Custodes ovium* (Porcius Licinus) is closely based on A. P., ix, 15: 'The lover's soul is a fire'. *Aufugit mi animus* (Catullus) is probably derived from Callimachus xli (Wil.): 'The lover's soul flies to the loved one'. *Dicere cum conor* (Valerius Aedituus) is based on some Alexandrian version of the well known Sapphic motive, cf. Catull., c. 51. On these epigrams, cf. Büttner, Porcius Licinus, etc., 96 ff., Reitzenstein, s. v. *Epig.*, coll. 96-97, and Leo, *Röm. Litt.*, I, 437 f.

² Both the distichic epigram and the polymetrical *nugae* are properly included, as has been said, under the terms 'epigram'. Among the thousands of extant Greek and Roman epigrams almost any type of theme and (except for the restrictions imposed by the brevity of these poems) almost any type of treatment may be found. The epigram in distichs, however, is more closely connected with elegy by the bond of a common metre. The student of elegy is interested primarily in those epigrams in distichs which treat erotic themes in the gallant manner. The best conception of *nugae* before the time of Catullus can be gained from the fragments of Laevius. Cf. Leo, *Herm.* (1914), 186 ff.

barest possible statement of a theme: 'hate and love—torture that I do not understand'—a whole human life in a couplet as Haupt said, or (to be more exact) the crisis of that life. In c. 75 the same situation is treated, still epigrammatically, but a little more fully. Probably this epigram is a little later in time, when the poet is able to reflect upon his situation; or the slightly calmer tone may be due to a calmer mood—the date really matters little. The essential thing is that the fuller treatment consists in adding the loved one's name (Lesbia) and the cause of the poet's torture (*culpa*, her faithlessness) with a hint of his loyalty (*officio*), so that the hate (*odi*, c. 85) which appears in the weakened form, *nec bene velle*, and the love (continued in spite of hate) receive an explanation which was not given in c. 85. But the reflective mood grows on the poet and in c. 76 the same situation is treated elegiacally. All the brief suggestions of the epigrams recur here in expanded form: the love and the poet's loyalty (which are fully treated, vv. 1–14), the disrespect (which appears in many touches, v. 9, *ingratae . . menti*, but especially v. 24); the poet's torture (vv. 10, 12, 18–22, 25), the cause of it all—her faithlessness (6, 9, 24). The poet's impotence is fully recognized and is the cause of his prayer for release. Again the actual date is of no importance, but the poem is psychologically later than either 85 or 75, at least, for Catullus is not only able to reflect, but sees clearly that his passion must be banished forever. This incomparable poem is, therefore, a true elegy of the subjective-erotic type—an *affectus per sensus*, to quote Leo's suggestive definition of an elegy.¹

¹To say that Catullus viewed c. 76 as an epigram is wrong. The argument of Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.*, LX (1905), that it stands among epigrams is worthless because the ancients drew no sharp line between longer and shorter poems in distichs. If c. 76 is an epigram, then (with greater right) Catull. 65, Tib. II, 2, IV, 2–6, etc., are epigrams; or Sulpicia's poems, Prop. II, 11, etc., are elegies because they stand among elegies. Such makeshift terms as 'epigram with elegiac development of thought' (Jacoby), 'short elegy' (Reitzenstein), or 'epigrammatic elegy' (Crusius), if applied to c. 76, would concede the point I am making: that this poem considered by itself is—to quote Jacoby—'schlechthin eine Elegie'. Its presence among epigrams is a matter of ancient grouping and publication, and is not unique; cf., on such ancient collections, Wilamowitz, *op. cit.* 278 ff., although he seems wrong in his belief that Catullus published his own *liber*.

The Augustans tried this very theme (Prop. III, 17, Ov. A. III, 11), but no other treatment approaches the pathos and power of Catullus.¹

Cc. 70 and 72 illustrate the first two stages of the same process. C. 70, dating from the happy period of the love, is the epigrammatic expression of Lesbia's *mot* (vv. 1-2) together with the poet's distrust cast in the form of an old sententia on women's vows which Catullus probably learned from Callim., A. P., v. 5 (6), cf. 186. C. 72, of about the same date as c. 75, recalls the happy past as expressed in c. 70, and expands this recollection by contrasting the unhappy present (the knowledge of Lesbia's *injuria* and the poet's love in spite of disrespect, vv. 5-8). The tendency to reflect is clear, and the first step is taken towards the composition of an elegy. But Catullus did not in this case take the final step, although a part of c. 76 (cf. 85) is identical in thought. By similar processes cc. 99, 101, 107, might easily have been developed into elegies.

Thus Catullus had begun to work into subjective-erotic elegy by way of epigram. In this he anticipates one of the most important methods of Augustan elegy. In the latter, however, it is usually necessary to compare a given elegy with an epigram of different authorship, Greek or Roman,—Propertius, III, 8,² with Catullus, cc. 92, 83, for example; in Catullus both elegy and epigrams are the poet's own. Such comparisons as Tib. iv, 4, with its basis (Sulpicia's little poem, iv, 11) illustrate the mere method best, but the love is not the poet's. Catullus, therefore, affords the best illustration of the development of subjective-erotic elegy from epigram by one and the same poet. In him, too, one can see most clearly the fact that these forms were specially suited to his genius, but

¹ Cf. also Smith's Tibullus, Introd. p. 55 (on Tib. II, 4). In c. 8, Catullus shows how a very similar theme may be treated in the light lyric. The situation, the tone, and many details of the style, are strongly influenced by comedy, as Leo, *Der Monolog*, 1908, pp. 81, 103, 110, and (more fully) Morris, *Trans. Conn. Acad.*, xv (1909), 143 ff., have proved. Propert. II, 5, and Ovid, A., III, 11, show that this theme also is well suited to elegy. A. P., V, 107 (Philodemus), cited by Troll (*De elegiae Rom. origine*, 1911, pp. 30-31), is a partial parallel

² Prop., I, 15 has some strong resemblances.

when one considers how excellent a vehicle the elegy would have been for the expression of his love for Lesbia¹—how excellent, indeed, are the two elegies (68, 76), in which he has expressed that love, one cannot help surmising that the real reason for the meagre elegiac production of Catullus is that such elegies were something new in Graeco-Roman literature; that he was feeling his way towards a new type of elegy—a type for which he had no exact Greek models. At least the relation of elegy to epigram in Catullus has all the marks of a genre in the early stages of its development.² But whether this is true or not, Catullus still remains for us the pioneer in Roman elegy, even if we mean by this term that many of the noteworthy features of his elegy are Greek in origin and that he was merely the first to introduce them into Roman literature. His importance in the history of elegy will be in direct proportion to the number and value of those elements which his few elegies possess in common with Greek literature on the one hand and Augustan elegy on the other, for these are the elements, no matter whether invented by the Greeks or by Catullus, which enter into the composition of the genre at the period of its greatest success. I have already emphasized a feature which concerns the development of elegy from epigram and in that connection I have had occasion to refer to matters of content and form in which Catullus anticipates Augustan elegy. It is now necessary to deal more fully with these identities or resemblances and to add others which may be gleaned from a closer scrutiny of Catullan elegy.³

¹Cf. F. Jacoby, *Rh. Mus.*, lx (1905), 84 Anm, 1.

²Theocr. (?) Epig. 4 has been discussed from the same point of view by Wilamowitz (*Textgesch. der. griech. Bukol.*, 1906, 199–202). If one compares this poem with Catullus, c. 76, and the related epigrams, and both with Augustan elegy, it is evident that Catullus has gone very much farther in the development. The Greek poem has much more of the character of epigram.

³The remainder of this paper deals rather strictly with the elegies. The evidence of those epigrams in distichs (cc. 99, 101, 107) which have most in common with elegy, or of passages (not in distichs) which are elegiac in tone, e. g., the Ariadne episode of c. 64, is regarded as merely subsidiary. The influence of the entire work of Catullus upon Augustan elegy is one which it is unnecessary for me to discuss at

The elegies of Catullus are five in all: 65-68, and 76. The most important feature of c. 76 has already been noted—the subjective-erotic character, which is the most important feature of Augustan elegy. The situation, which was also treated by the Augustans, is not one to be calmly written out with studied art by a man of Catullus' temperament. The crisis is too great. The other elegies were composed in a calmer, if less inspired, mood—a mood more closely approximating that in which the vast majority of Augustan elegies were written—and afford therefore a better basis of comparison. From c. 76 I will add but one more detail—the prayer to the gods for release. The prayer is common enough in Augustan elegy and this particular form is found in Prop. III, 17. In Greek elegy and epigram the prayer is so widespread that one is inclined to reject Reitzenstein's idea that c. 76 illustrates the development of the votive epigram.¹

The Coma Berenices (c. 66) and the missive elegy (65) which accompanies it contribute several points of interest. The address to Hortalus (65, 1, cf. 68, 11, etc. to Mallius) is the earliest instance in Roman elegy of the half-dialogue form which had been characteristic of the genre from the earliest times. The persons addressed represent two types so common in the Augustan Age²: the prominent man whose relations

length, although I must touch upon it here and there. As Wilamowitz says, 'Als dieses lateinische Gedichtbuch und zugleich dieser Dichter mit seiner Leidenschaft und seinem Freimut einmal da war, ward er seinen Landsleuten Voraussetzung und Vorbild der Dichtung nicht minder als die Griechen'. (Sappho, etc., 294); and much remains to be done in making this influence clear. A dissertation on Catullus' relation to Propertius is in preparation according to Jacoby, Rh. Mus., lxxix (1914), 394.

¹ S. v. Epig., 102. He compares A. P., xii, 131 (Posidippus). A better parallel is the *elegy* of Poseidippus of Thebes discussed by Diels (S. B. Berlin, 1898, 847-858), although it is later than Catullus.

² There is one interesting parallel in the Augustan Age, but it is an epigram. Propertius, I, 22 is, like Catullus, c. 65, a poem answering the request (not here an actual request) of a friend in which are inserted (vv. 3-8) verses on the death of a relative. The disproportion of the parenthesis or insertion produces the same effect in both poems and in both there is an apostrophe. The tendency of Catullus to compose in this way is marked (see below on c. 68). Propertius probably had in mind c. 68, 89 ff., as well as c. 65, for his attitude towards the *pulvis Etrusca* is the same as that of Catullus towards *Troia*.

If Leo's idea that Prop., I, 22 is incomplete were correct (cf. Nachr.

with the poet resemble closely those of the later patrons, although Hortalus was probably not a real patron of Catullus; and the intimate *amicus* (Mallius). The latter type is the more important, for it is to such *amici* that many of the purest subjective-erotic elegies of later time are addressed. The intrusion of a Hortensius, a Messalla, or a Maecenas into such an elegy naturally imposes a restraint upon the poet (cf. Tib., I, 1, Prop., II, 1, etc.). This restraint, however, does not apply to many of the other important characteristics of elegy and c. 65 is not of the subjective-erotic type.

The lines on the death of the poet's brother (vv. 5-14, cf. 68, 19-24, 91-100) illustrate that note of grief in which the ancients were inclined to find the very source of elegy. Its presence in the earliest elegies of Catullus may indicate that he too held to this tradition and that he was led to elegy by this path. However this may be, he wrote no entire elegy on this theme, no real epicede, such as his contemporaries, both Greek and Roman (Parthenius and Calvus), and his successors wrote. He combines the theme with others.

Another detail of c. 65 which obviously anticipates an important feature of Augustan elegy is the mythological *παράδειγμα* (vv. 13-14, 19-24). These cases do not illustrate the poet's love for woman (the most important type), nevertheless, they show the tendency of the elegist to seek in myth parallels to his own experiences and emotions. Moreover, the allusive manner in which they are introduced is a favorite trick of Callimachus (cf. c. 66) and the Augustans. Catullus does not dwell on the story of Itylus (14), still less upon that of Cydippe (19-24). He alludes to both stories as if for his readers an allusion were enough. In this lies also a touch of that *doctrina* which characterizes so much of elegy. Vv. 19-24 are especially in point. The purpose of c. 65 is, as has been said, to accompany and introduce the translation of Callimachus (c. 66). Wilamowitz has called attention to the

Gött. Ges. W., 1898, 469 f.), we might believe that the poem was once long enough to be termed an elegy; but the very disproportion of the parenthesis in both poems argues against this and increases the weight of the arguments which Wilamowitz has brought forward (Sappho, 297). The two poems were seeking the same bizarre effect and the influence of Catullus seems clear.

fact that Catullus with sure poetic instinct composed c. 65 in the manner of Callimachus, and his most successful imitation of that manner is this allusive reference without even a name to the famous apple-girl elegy of the master, the *Cydippe*.¹

The Coma Berenices possesses unique importance because here we may see—through the medium of translation, it is true—what a complete erotic elegy of Callimachus was like. The meagre fragments of the Greek show that Catullus is translating his original as closely as one poet can be expected to translate another. The main features of the poem, therefore, may safely be regarded as Callimachean, and its bearing upon our problem lies in the agreement of many of these features with those of Catullus and later elegy.

The ostensible theme of the poem, the apotheosis of the Coma, is itself an instance of that *doctrina* which Catullus and the Augustans admired in Callimachus and there are other traces of the same tendency in vv. 45 f., 48, 51 ff., and, in general, the astronomy. Aside from c. 65 (see above) Catullus made attempts of this kind in c. 68, 53 f., 107–114, cf. also the myth of Laodamia. From another point of view also the theme is interesting. The speaking tress belongs to the same category as the talking tombstones, statues, chaplets, and especially doors, which are found in ancient poetry. This idea also Catullus first employed in Roman elegy (c. 67) and was followed by Propertius (I, 16).

The allusive treatment of myth (Endymion, vv. 5–6, the Chalybes 48, ales equos 53–54, Locridos 54), often very obscure, show that Catullus may have taken this trait from Callimachus (see on cc. 65 and 68). Callimachus does not dwell on any myth, although that of Ariadne's crown (59 ff.) offered a temptation since it was closely parallel to the story of the Coma. Among the Augustans Propertius especially follows the same method, e. g., I, 2, 15–20, etc., etc.

The erotic is not, of course, the peculiar subjective type; indeed the poet makes the Tress his mouthpiece for the subtle analysis of Berenice's love of Ptolemy (13–34), as well as

¹Reden und Vorträge, 1902, 220 ff. For further discussion of myth see pp. 179. Other details of c. 65 are included in the remarks on c. 68.

of her own love for Berenice.¹ But recognizing this device, which is essentially the same as that of Propertius' Arethusa and Ovid's Heroides (for the Tress is a person), we gain some notion of Callimachus' manner in presenting the love of others. The details of this manner are familiar to the student of Augustan elegy—the *dulcia nocturnae . . . vestigia rixae* (13),² the frequent questions and answers, the erotic sententiae based on experience (17 ff., 31 f.), the girl weeping and lamenting at parting from her lover (19 ff.), the reference to her parting words (though Callimachus spares us her speech!), the curse upon steel workers (48 ff.), the protests of undying love on the part of the Tress—all these could be paralleled again and again, if it were necessary, for they are commonplaces of erotic elegy, but (and here lies the great distinction) the Augustans employ them in picturing their own amours as well as the amours of others. In Catullian elegy, however, only one of these details can be paralleled (the protestation of love, 68, 159–160, cf. c. 76), because he has written no elegy on a similar situation.

The manner in which the erotic is worked into the poem is of greater significance. The ostensible theme is, as has been said, the apotheosis of the Coma, i. e., the elegy is supposed to be a narrative. But the narrative is so broken by the presentation of Berenice's love and the Coma's love that these become the more important themes. The poet avails himself of Conon's brilliant idea, the identification of the constellation with the votive Coma, to compliment the royal pair by expanding the motive for the vow (Berenice's love) and the feelings of the Coma into erotic pictures. These reflections

¹ Berenice and Ptolemy are presented as a pair of lovers. The fact that they are man and wife makes no difference with many of the details, cf. pp. 181 ff. on the treatment of amours as marriage. Wilamowitz thinks that Catullus has rendered his original coarsely here and in v. 81, but this is very unlikely.

² The best proof that Callimachus often spoke in *propria persona* when narrating the love of others is found in the long fragment from the Cydippe (Ox. Pap. vii, 15 ff.). There the poet breaks off his narrative (vv. 3–8) with self-address and reflection, addresses Acontius (vv. 40, 44, 53, etc.), gives his source (53 f., 77), and expresses his own feelings (vv. 80–81). This is also the technique of the later hexameter narrative, e. g. c. lxiv and the Ciris.

of feeling are skilfully connected with the narrative and contain touches of narrative, and the manner in which Callimachus passes from one to the other, from fact to feeling,¹ is a marked characteristic of later elegy. The closest Augustan parallels are naturally to be found in those elegies which, like this, profess to tell a story, e. g., Prop., III, 7 (Paetus), IV, 3 (Aretusa), but the method, as a method, is not less characteristic of the subjective-erotic elegy, e. g., Tib., I, 3, Prop., I, 8, I, 17, etc. Naturally in these elegies the events on which the feeling is based are usually allotted little space. In Catullus c. 68 we find clear traces of this same method: the picture of the poet's love overbalances the ostensible theme (the praise of Allius) and the love is presented partly in narrative (51 ff., 67 ff., 131 ff.), partly in reflection (135 ff.).²

All estimates of Catullian elegy must be based in large part upon his longest and most elaborate elegiac composition, c. 68. Unfortunately the unique features of this poem have blinded many scholars to the presence of other elements which give it an important position in the development of the genre. No

¹ Cf. especially 15-32 (Berenice's acts and love), 37-50 (the apotheosis of the Coma and, in contrast, her feeling, cf. 69-79), 93-94 (the Coma's final cry of despair).

² Troll, *De elegiae Rom. origine*, 34 ff., makes good remarks on elegiac composition, but does not mention Catull., c. 68. He strains the evidence of c. 66 by inferring from its resemblance to Prop., III, 21, 12, and 17 that Propertius must have had as models many elegies in which the Greek poet passed from an erotic colon like 66, 1-38 (? he doesn't specify the lines) to a colon loaded with *doctrina*. One may believe that there were many such Alexandrian elegies without assuming that they were models for definite Roman elegies. Evidence derived from the structure of Roman poems requires strong support of a different character before it can be used to determine the sources of those poems.

Schneider (*Callimachea* II, 39) and Wilamowitz (*Textg. Bukol.*, 127 f.) deny that the *Βερενίκης Πλόκαμος* was one of the *Αἰτία*. They present no real arguments, however, and it is obvious that the poem gives the *αἰτίον* of the youngest constellation; it is really the most modern of Aetia. The date of the original collection of Aetia was apparently rather early in Callimachus' life, cf. Hunt in *Oxyrh. Papyri*, vii, 18, but this poem was certainly one of his latest works (see Ellis' notes on c. 66). It may then have been attached to the other elegies, all of which seem to have been grouped at least under the title Aetia, cf. Wilamowitz, *op. cit.*

other elegy is epistolary in the intimate sense in which the term applies to this poem, no other elegy has so varied a content connected by bonds so loose, and none is arranged with anything like the same complicated symmetry. And yet all of these peculiarities, when viewed from the historical standpoint, appear rather as extreme forms of phenomena common enough in the genre than as something entirely unrelated. The intimate epistolary character of 68^a is but a variant of the common half-dialogue.¹ The loose combination of several themes, however extreme in this case, nevertheless falls into line with the methods of Tibullus (I, 1, II, 1 and 5) and even Propertius (II, 34). No discussion of these features will be attempted here, but upon the third point, the symmetry of 68^b, some new light can perhaps be thrown. As a preliminary to this, however, it is necessary that I should state my attitude towards the problem of unity.

The question whether the poem is in any sense a unity has been so ardently debated that the assertion of one's point of view has become, as Hugo Magnus has said, a veritable creed. I will hasten to state my creed: I am a unitarian! The bonds which connect the three main sections of the poem are so strong that it seems to me impossible to separate even 68^a from the rest. All the arguments of the separatists have been satisfactorily met save that of the violent transition between v. 40 and 41. The most ingenious effort to explain this (that of Lucas, *Festschr. für Vahlen*, 1900, 318 ff.) is not convincing because of the lack of cogent analogies, and I am inclined to assume that a passage has been lost after v. 40, of essentially the same content as vv. 149-150. In addition there is an argument for unity which I have not found in the voluminous literature on the subject. It has already been remarked (after Wilamowitz) how cleverly Catullus adapted the style of c. 65 to that of c. 66, for which it serves as an introduction. In the present poem vv. 149-160 (68^c) serve as a close to 68^b (even the separatists admit this) and the connection in content between this close and 68^a has often been

¹ H. Peter's treatment of the letter (*Der Brief*, p. 179) is very unsatisfactory so far as elegy is concerned. Bürger, *Herm.* XL (1905), 324-325, makes some good remarks. Before Catullus there are no real elegiac letters extant. What were the *ἐπιστολαί* of Aratus?

urged by the unitarians. Now 68^c is adapted in style also to 68^a, as well as to 68^b. The style of 68^a is now elevated, now epistolary (especially 27-40),—elevated because it serves as an introduction to the elevated *Laudatio* (68^b), epistolary, because Catullus refers in it to certain matters contained in Allius' letter. In the same way 68^c is primarily elevated in style, because it serves as a close to the *Laudatio*, but also epistolary (cf. vv. 149-150, with 10, 32, 39-40), because it is a close to 68^a as well; it unites the threads of the entire preceding part of the poem. With the analogy of c. 65 in mind we may feel certain, therefore, that the composite style of 68^a and 68^c is intentional—that the two are thus linked together.

If c. 68 is a unity, the main parts of the poem are arranged: A. Introduction (1-40), B. Centre (41-148), C. Close (149-160), reverting to both A and B; or—and this is a more illuminating arrangement—ABA', an elevated centre inserted in an epistle, for the introduction and the close are *written about* the centre. So the long portion on Ariadne and Theseus is inserted in c. 64, and that on the death of Catullus' brother in c. 65. The same structure is characteristic of the two main parts of the poem, since lines of grief (20-24) are inserted in c. 68^a, and again more fully (89-100) in 68^b. If then one separates c. 68 into two poems, it remains true that both have the same type of structure.¹

Now the point of structure which has been most difficult to explain is the complicated symmetry of c. 68^b, whether this is considered a separate poem or not. Here the three main themes (friendship, love, grief) are arranged with the utmost nicety, so that the reader is led from the first (A, friendship) through the second (B, love) to the third (C, grief) and back once more to the starting point: the scheme in outline is ABCBA. The details of this arrangement have been endlessly discussed, but for present purposes they are not essential. The present question is: Can this type of structure be correlated with the history of elegiac composition? This question can be answered in the affirmative. The right line of explanation is indicated by the structure of cc. 66 and 64. The method of Callimachus as shown in c. 66 (see above, p. 172 f.)

¹ Except, of course, that there are three main subjects in c. 68^b of which the lines of grief are made the centre by means of the symmetry.

results in a structure characterized by constant digressions from the avowed theme to which the poet as constantly returns.¹ This method and this structure remained characteristic of elegy, and such narrative elegies as c. 66 are closely related to hexameter narratives, like c. 64. Both are, indeed, ἐπη;² both present a woman's love by methods which are often identical. Now the feature of the structure of c. 64—the insertion of the lines on the Vestis—is well understood. It can be traced from the Homeric digression (e. g. Il. 9, 529–599, II, 671–769) by way of Hesiod's Shield and its various descendants in Alexandrian epos and epyll (e. g. Moschus, V, 27–62, Theoc. I, 28–56) to Catullus, who, while retaining many of its traditional details, has so extended them as to produce an effect unexampled elsewhere. There is a gradation from the simpler forms of such digressions, in which the poet leaves the main path for but a short space, to those which occupy so large a part of the poem as to overshadow the ostensible subject. When this happens, as in cc. 64, 65, 66, one feels that the digression (or insertion) is really the main theme. All these forms are, however, but varying developments of the same original. From the historical point of view, therefore, it is better to explain the complicated structure of c. 68^b as an extreme development of a feature common in poetry intended for recitation than to assume a transfer to elegy of the structure of the Pindaric ode (Lafaye), the Terpantrian νόμος (Westphal), or the *carmen figuratum*

¹The narrative is broken after v. 14, resumed at v. 33, 51, 79 (for the future belongs to the narrative). The parts which are in the main digressions (15–32, 39–50, 69–78) contain touches of narrative. For this part of the 'talk' nature of elegy, cf. e. g. Reitzenstein, Epigramm u. Skol., 46 ff.

²Wilamowitz (Sappho, etc., pp. 290 ff.) has asserted that, beginning with the recitation poetry of the Hellenistic Age, there is no generic distinction between epos, elegy, and epigram, cf. the Δουτρά Παλλάδος and Αἴτια (both in distichs) with the Hecale (in hexameters), Theok. viii (hexameters combined with distichs). It is true that the same type of content is often cast in hexameters or in distichs and this applies to cc. 64 and 66 (Ariadne and Berenice), but one must beware of saying that *all* the varieties of content found in distichs can also be found in hexameters or even that the ancients would have treated them in the same way in these two forms. The typical elegy of the Augustan Age is far removed from anything extant in hexameters, although many details of treatment are the same.

(Lucas). But whether we ascribe this development to some Alexandrian poet¹ (Vahlen), or to Catullus himself (Friedrich), it found no imitators and throws no light on the later elegy.² The reverse is true of other features which we must now consider.

The three main themes of the poem—grief, friendship, love—all appear in Augustan elegy. The first has already been discussed. Friendship is dealt with primarily in 68^b, the *Laudatio Alli*, which has been termed by Reitzenstein³ the model of an Alexandrian encomium. There is, however, no real evidence that the Alexandrians composed elegiac encomia of this sort. The encomiastic element is common enough in Greek elegy from the earliest times, and in Augustan elegy there are numerous passages and even whole elegies of this character. It is a traditional feature of elegy which naturally became common at Rome when Rome acquired a court and poets became not only clients but courtiers. The real importance, however, of this feature as it appears in c. 68 lies in the character of the encomium: the person praised is not a patron or an emperor, but an *amicus*, and the praise is rendered not for some military or political service, but for service to the poet in a love affair. In other words, the encomium is connected with the subjective-erotic element. This type of encomium is absolutely unparalleled in Greek elegy. With Augustan elegy, however, it has a decided connection. The general relation of Catullus to Allius is the same as that of Propertius to such *amici*, for example, as Gallus (I, 5, 10, 13, 20), Bassus (I, 4), Ponticus (I, 7, 9). Catullus had begun to reflect in elegy the erotic experiences of that gay

¹ The digressions of Callimachus were blamed by Lucian. *Πῶς δεῖ λίσσασθαι*, c. 57.

² Reitzenstein (*Epigramm u. Skol.*, 46, Anm.) compares the structure of 68^b with that of a number of early Greek elegies (Tyrtaeus, 10, Xenophanes, 2; Solon, 12, etc.) as bi-partite, except that in the centre a main thought (the lines on Catullus' brother) is developed to an independent part (so, c. 66). In this 'exception', however, lies a difference which renders 68^b tripartite. The early elegies cited by Reitzenstein are, moreover, unified treatments of a single theme, not combinations of two or three. They are not constructed like c. 68^b, but their method of dealing with a theme throws light on the origin of this structure.

³ S. v. *Epig.*, 88.

circle of which he was a member, just as Tibullus and especially Propertius reflected like experiences of a like circle in the Augustan Age. The praise of an *amicus* for erotic *officia* to the poet is but an aspect of this tendency.¹

The grateful praise of Allius with its allusion to a happy past is intended to give Allius some consolation in his present woes; although it is not as much as the poet would like to do (*quod potui . . . munus, etc., 149-150*). But with this we must stop, for it is not intended to reconcile Allius with an estranged sweetheart, as Vahlen and (with greater exaggeration) von Mess have asserted.² Catullus is not 'der Arzt und erfahrener Rathgeber' (von Mess) and he nowhere claims to be an erotic expert. Such a claim would indeed make of him an elegist of the most advanced type! In reality the utmost that he can do towards reconciling his friend is the prayer *sitis felices et tu simul et tua vita* (155). If he were here practising the Propertian principle *possum ego diversos iterum coniungere amantes* (I, 10, 15), he is not the poet to express himself so vaguely.³

¹F. Jacoby, Rh. Mus., lxi (1914), 393 ff., has emphasized the resemblances of the circles in which Catullus and Propertius moved, remarking that many Augustan elegies are just as much 'Gelegenheitsgedichte' as the *nugae* of Catullus. We may add that the services of Allius (68, 12, 41 ff., 67-69, 149-150) are closely related to those which Catullus rejects from Furius and Aurelius (c. 11), and that Allius' appeal for poems of comfort is probably like that which Catullus makes to Cornificius (c. 38), cf. also c. 6 (promise to extol the amour of Flavius).

In Greek literature the closest parallels occur in comedy, e. g. the services of Pistoclerus to Mnesilochus (Bacchides), cf. Stratippocles reproaches to Chaeribulus (Epid., 112 ff.). The *amici* of comedy have many traits in common with the *amici* of elegy, cf. Leo, Pl. Forsch.,¹ 126 ff., De Horatio et Archil., p. 14, and P. Troll, De elegiae Rom. origine (1911), p. 12. Troll believes that the *amici* of Roman elegy represent a fusion of the *amici* of the *reia* and the *sodales* of epigram, and that this fusion had taken place in Alexandrian elegy. This view is rendered very unlikely by the general similarity of the *amici* in Catullus' *nugae*, c. 68^b, and in Propertius.

²Vahlen, S.-B. preuss. Akad., xlv (1902), 1043. Von Mess, Rh. Mus., lxiii (1908), 488-494.

³Allius had asked Catullus for comfort in erotic woe (1-8, 10), but there is no hint that he looked for reconciliation with his sweetheart. Part of his request at least was for original poetry by Catullus, for

The services of Allius concerned Catullus and Lesbia. It is not unnatural therefore that in the praise of these services the subjective-erotic element should play a large part, and, in fact, the part is so large that this, not the eulogy, is the main theme. In typical details the workmanship foreshadows that of the Augustan elegists. The first of these details is the employment of myth in accordance with its erotic value to the poet-lover—a characteristic of Augustan elegy too common to require illustration.¹ Catullus selects that part of the Laodamia story which illustrates the coming of Lesbia to her lover, her beauty, and her love (73–86, 105–130), just as Propertius selects another part of the same myth to illustrate his love for Cynthia even after death (I, 19, 7–10). The poet dwells on this myth more at length than his main purpose requires, chiefly because he wishes to use it as a transition to the theme of his brother's death: it serves a double purpose. The main point of comparison, however, is the greatness of Laodamia's love (73, 88, esp., 106–131) which led her to an act like that of Lesbia. In its essential point therefore the myth is a genuine παράδειγμα of the Augustan type.² A

Catullus speaks of the *munus* which he sends in the first person (*quod rosi,* etc., 149), using apparently a formula of eulogy, cf. Isoc., Πρὸς Νικοκλέα, 54, ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ἄτε γιγνώσκω παρήνεσα καὶ τιμῶ σε τοῦτοις οἷς τυγχάνω δυνάμενος. The other request was probably for books (33 ff.); or von Mess may be correct in considering that both requests were for poems by Catullus; (1) light erotic poems (cf. 17 ff.), (2) elevated poetry. The view of Vahlen that Allius requested Lesbia is to me/ unthinkable and is refuted by the content of c. 68^b.

¹ Except in Tib., who avoided this type of ornament, but cf. II, 3, 11–32, I, 5, 45–6.

² Good Greek parallels occur as early as Theognis (1123–1128, 1287–1294, 1345–1350), cf. Reitzenstein, *Epig. u. Skol.*, p. 84. The method of Catullus is, however, that of Antimachus tempered by Alexandrinism. Antimachus, we are told by Plutarch, consoled his grief ἐξαριθμησάμενος τὰς ἡρωικὰς συμφοράς, etc., and the fulness of Catullus' treatment as well as the use to which he puts the myth in connection with his brother's death bear witness to the vitality of the Antimachean method even in a poet who echoes the dislike expressed by Callimachus for Antimachus himself. Probably the story of Laodamia occurred in the Lyde introduced by the old ἡ οἷη formula, cf. c. 68, 73, *ut quondam*, but Catullus took it, not from Homer, Antimachus, or Euripides, but from some late Greek source—hence the apparent 'Souveränität' which Friedrich finds in his version.

simpler example of the same type is the comparison of the poet's attitude towards Lesbia's infidelities with that of Juno towards those of Jupiter¹ (138-140)—and this passage suggests another point which requires more than passing mention.

In vv. 135-148 Catullus shows that he is aware of Lesbia's *furta*, but is willing to put up with them. This is the first instance in elegy of that complaisance which is so often expressed by the Augustans, cf. Tib., IV, 14, II, 3 Prop., II, 18, 1-4, II, 20, 13 f., II, 16, 25 ff., II, 32, 23 ff. (connected as in Catullus with myths which justify the poet):

sin autem longo nox una aut altera lusu
consumpta est, non me crimina parva movent.
Tyndaris ipsa Venus . . .

Cf. Ovid, A., III, 14, 1 ff., etc. The attitude of Catullus is the same as that of his successors and his method of presenting it became a favorite one with them, but they had another method not found in Catullus, for they made this principle part of their didactic system, cf. especially Propertius, II, 18.²

The pictorial character of vv. 71-2, 133-4 (the two passages must be combined to secure all the details) has often been noted, cf. e. g. Friedrich, p. 463. But it is only when we compare this picture with c. 64, 52-70 (statuesque Ariadne) and such passages in Augustan elegy as Prop., I, 3, 1 ff. (picture of sleeping Cynthia), Tib., I, 5, 45-6 (see Smith's notes), Tib., II, 5, 1 ff. (Apollo), that we see that striving for pictorial effects of which the Augustans were so fond. Such passages probably developed from the closely related type—an avowed description of a work of art whether real or imagined. The latter type begins with Homer's lines on the shield of Achilles (II., 18, 478 ff.), but both types are especially frequent in the Hellenistic and Alexandrian period, and it was from the later Greeks that the Romans probably learned the lesson.³

¹ The citation of divine example is common enough, cf. Cl. Ph., vi (1911), 63, and add Eurip. Hippol., 433 ff., Asclep. A. P., V, 64, 5 f.

² Cf. Cl. Phil., V (1910), 36 and VI (1911), 64-65.

³ Examples of the same type as that under discussion, i. e., the effort to approximate the effects of the painter, sculptor, etc., are: Apollonius Rh., Argon., IV, 42-46 (Medea fleeing to join Jason), Moschus, II, 125-130 (Europa on the bull's back), etc. Examples of the avowed description of works of art: Eurip., Andromeda fr. 124 N., the Plato epigrams, Theoc., I, 32 ff., Apollon., I, 730-767, etc., etc. There is no

There is a strong tendency on the part of the Augustan elegists to present their amours with all the glamour of romance. Realistic passages are common enough, derived both from literature and life, but there is a tendency to transmute these elements into something of a loftier character,¹ and the total effect is to ennoble those details which are often intrinsically base.² In this tendency, to a greater degree perhaps than in any other of its broader aspects, Roman elegy reflects Roman life, and in this also Catullus anticipates the Augustans. Lesbia was in birth and social position immeasurably above the Delias and Cynthias of later time, but so far as we can compare the picture of Catullus' passion as reflected in his verse with the pictures painted by his successors the traits are remarkably alike even in detail. To gain a complete impression of Catullus' love one must read all the Lesbia poems, but our present purpose is to determine what are some of the more important details which contribute to the generally lofty tone of the elegies and how these details are presented.

Catullus often attests Lesbia's beauty (68, 71 ff., 131 ff., cf. 41, 51, etc.), but *formosa* is to him much more than physical charm (cc. 86, 8, 26). No poet has excelled him in producing a vivid impression of deep and sincere passion, and no poem has contributed more to this impression than the elegy c. 76. To him his love was as pure as that of a father for his children (c. 72) and for Lesbia he had already given expression to this thought in 68, 119-124, where Laodamia's love (with which Lesbia's is compared) is likened to that which an aged man feels for his infant grandson. Indeed, the bond (76, 3, cf. 109, 87, 3) between them was to him so sacred that he considered himself bound as by the pledges of marriage

doubt that there were passages of both kinds in Alexandrian elegy. On the use of these passages in narrative, cf. Norden, *Einl. in Alt.*, 1912, 450-451.

¹ Reitzenstein, for example, shows this very prettily in his comparison of Propertius, I, 3, with treatments of the same theme in Greek epigram, cf. *Herm.*, xlvii (1912), 81-82.

² Cf. *Cl. Ph.*, vi (1911), 77. E. F. M. Benecke (*Antimachus of Colophon and the Position of Women in Greek Poetry*, 1896, p. 66) seems to me to mistake the nature of romance although his book is useful and suggestive. Norden's article, *Vergils Aeneis im Lichte ihrer Zeit* (*Neue Jb.*, 1901, esp. 268 ff.) is suggestive, but deals chiefly with the idyllic aspect.

(73, 3 ff., cf. 68, 73, 107 ff., 130, etc.) and often protests his own loyalty (68, 135 ff., 76, 1-9, cf. 87), although before the death of Metellus he could not (68, 143 ff.) and later (68, 135 ff.) in gratitude he would not exact the same degree of loyalty from Lesbia. His love was dearer to him than life (68, 159-160). All these traits indicate that Catullus conceived elegy as *in general* a medium for the expression of the nobler aspects of his passion; if matters were included which in themselves endangered this dignity they must be garbed in a becoming dress. This conception of elegy is the same as that of Tibullus and Propertius.¹ Epigram, on the other hand, could rise to the greatest heights, but could also sink to the lowest depths. Elegy must not sink below a certain level. The style, the imagery—the whole art of c. 68—are designed to attain this level, and the general tone is in fact elevated in spite of the inclusion (purposely) of epistolary material and syntax (especially, 27-30) and of details that have to be handled carefully (66-72, 131-146).²

Every one of these details can be paralleled in Augustan elegy. The charms of Cynthia also were much more than merely physical (Prop., I, 2, 27-32; IV, 11-14; II, 3, 20; II,

¹ In making this assertion I am, of course, comparing Catullus with the dominant tendency of Tibullus and Propertius—with the main current, not with the eddies and backwaters, of which examples enough may be found—especially in Ovid. The Catullian epigram (including the short lyrics) was capable of expressing the worst themes in the coarsest manner, as everybody knows (cf. c. 16 for Catullus' own recognition of this fact). Nothing is more characteristic of its scope than the fact that the same poem may pass from the heights to the depths, cf. cc. 11, 77, 78^b, 58. Catullus would hardly have included in elegy such themes as we find in c. 79 and many poems against his rivals or he would have touched upon them with elegiac propriety, cf. the outspoken 58, 4-5, with 76-9 and 24. When epigram begins to pass into elegy, the elegiac restraint becomes prominent (cc. 72, 75, 73, 107, 109).

² Some examples: the highly figurative description of Mallius' *casus* (2-8), of Catullus' passion (51 ff.), the lofty periphrasis for marriage (143-144) and its violation (145-148), the use of Jupiter and Juno for purposes of comparison (138-140), the story of Laodamia, the invocation (41 ff.). The euphemistic erotic vocabulary is much in evidence, e. g. *furta* (136, and the word should be restored in 140), *culpa* (139), *furtiva* . . . *munuscula* (145), etc. There is not space to develop this point, cf. Pichon, *De sermone amatorio*, etc., Paris, 1902, p. 5 and lists.

II, 6) and Propertius compares his love for her to that which one member of a family feels for another (I, II, 21-24) and considers it his very life, cf. also Tib., 4, 13. Propertius too would be true to one love in spite of her infidelities (I, 12), cf. Tib., I, 5. Their bond is like that of wedlock (II, 9, 35, where Penelope is used for comparison; III, 20, 21 ff.; IV, 7, 21, etc.),¹ cf. Tib., 4, 13, 1-4. Propertius often expresses his loyalty and recounts his services, not infrequently as a reproach to Cynthia (e. g., II, 9); cf. Tib., I, 5, 1-18. Of the resemblance in the general tone of Augustan elegy to that of Catullus enough has been said.

The evidence bearing on the position of Catullus as an elegist could be greatly increased at many points, but enough has been presented to indicate at least the right point of view. Catullus was something more than the beginner of Roman elegy. He was a real pioneer laying the foundations and in many cases clearly indicating the lines of development which his successors were to follow. Not only was his general attitude towards the Greeks the same as theirs, but he made a good beginning in the adaptation of many traits from the very Greeks whom they also accepted as masters. His elegies, few though they are, possess a surprising number of characteristics in common with those of his successors. Still other characteristics are or may be the germs from which later work developed. His contributions involve both content and form—themes, composition, and in general the literary craftsmanship. In elegy, as in his other work, Catullus is no mere adapter of Greek inventions. His indebtedness to the Greeks is, when stated in general terms, an indebtedness of form, not content. Large parts of cc. 65 and 68 and the whole of 67 and 76 are derived from his own experience, and there is good reason to believe that he treated freely many details

¹ On the *foedus*, cf. Smith's note on Tibullus, I, 5, 7, and Cl. Phil., VI (1911), 60 ff. The *foedus* had some formality even in Catullus (c. 109), but it became a much more technical thing in the Augustan Age—chiefly through the influence of comedy. The presentation of this bond in terms of marriage has often been noted, cf. Benecke, op. cit., 108 ff., Reitzenstein, s. v. Epig. 100 ff. Pichon, op. cit., 11 f., asserts that the only terms properly belonging to marriage which are not used of intrigue are *iugalis* and *hymenaeus*. I have been unable to secure Reitzenstein's *Zur Sprache der lateinischen Erotik* (1912).

which are indubitably Greek,—for example, the composition into which he cast, and the myths, comparisons, and imagery with which he adorned, his elegies. He learned from the Greeks not so much what to say as how to say it, and in independence he compares very favorably with his successors.

But Catullus did not choose to persist in elegy, and if such a course would have curtailed his work in other forms, we may on the whole congratulate ourselves that he did not persist. The briefer and more varied forms were better suited to his genius, and had he chosen to express in elegy even the many emotions evoked by his ill-starred passion for Lesbia, we should have gained little and lost much.

Catullus tried his hand at many genera and all his work is of a high order. After him Roman poetry tended more and more towards specialization and those who specialised in elegy achieved one of the greatest Roman successes. This success was achieved to a considerable degree by the use of Catullus' own methods and spirit; it is far easier to understand a Propertius or a Sulpicia when we remember that they had in him an example of outspokenness equal to that of the Greeks.¹ The Augustans greatly extended the field from which elegy might take material and suggestions, using not only the Greek sources which Catullus had begun to use (lyric, elegy, epigram, epyll), but adding others, especially comedy. The most important of their Roman sources was Catullus himself—not merely his elegy but all parts of his work, for all these literary influences were poured into the elegiac form. Elegiac erotic became a highly developed system in which countless situations, countless moods, were reflected in whole cycles of poems and the poet-lover paraded himself as an erotic expert able to aid other lovers although he admits on occasion that he cannot aid himself. In Catullian elegy this system does not yet exist, but many of its elements and much of the art with which it was later presented are there.

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¹ Wilamowitz, *Sappho*, 301.

III.—MENANDER'S EPITREPONTES.

REVISED BY THE NEW OXYRHYNCHUS FRAGMENT.*

The recto of the Oxyrhynchus fragment (No. 1236, Vol. X, Oxyr. Papyri), containing 14 nearly perfect lines and 8 broken lines, coincides with the last 7 lines of H¹ and the first 15 lines of H² of the Cairo MS and brings welcome light for the secure interpretation of two or three doubtful points in the otherwise perfect text.

The more mutilated verso gives considerable new material and unexpectedly transfers to the *Epitrepontes* four small fragments, β^{1-4} , heretofore wrongly attributed to the *Periceiomene*. This is certain because Oxyrhynchus *verso* overlaps β^1 . In β^2 occurs the usual indication of a "chorus" and we are thus entitled to place definitely the beginning of Act V about where it had already been put by conjecture. The attribution of β^{1-4} to *Periceiomene* was due to three marginal indications of speakers read as ΠΟΛ and supposed to indicate Polemon, a character in that play. Christian Jensen (*Hermes*, 49, 3, 1914) in his second collation of the Cairo MS, which entails many other alterations of Menander's text, shows that in two cases these marginal letters may spell AB (i. e. Abrotonon), the third being very uncertain. Furthermore Jensen points out that in two of these cases Lefebvre has reported the position inaccurately. They should come each one line higher and this, naturally, makes an important difference in the interpretation of the scene.

With this new and unexpected light, however, comes a fresh difficulty. The two fragments Q² and Q¹, each of 9 lines, had already been assigned to positions near the end of Act IV and the beginning of Act V respectively (see Capps's edition) and the new material, obtained from Oxyrhynchus *verso* and β^1 and β^2 , reinforces the probability of this assignment. The combined number of lines, moreover, with a slight, and entirely possible, dove-tailing of the fragments at the beginning of Q² and Q¹, fills the two pages in question without over-

* See Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc. Dec. 30, 1914.

crowding. But the problem arises as to the insertion of the two small, but important, fragments U^2 and U^1 , of six lines each. After their identification as a part of this play they were prefixed to Q^2 and Q^1 with confidence and unanimity by more recent editors (e. g. Körte, 2d ed.). The question now is: Can they be fitted into the new combination—i. e. Oxyr. verso + β^1 and U^2 + Q^2 on the one page; β^2 and U^1 + Q^1 on the other? Can the verse-ends make a physical combination leaving the proper intermediate space for completing the trimeters without expanding the width of the page, and can it be shown that the matter preserved gives some plausible connection, verse by verse?

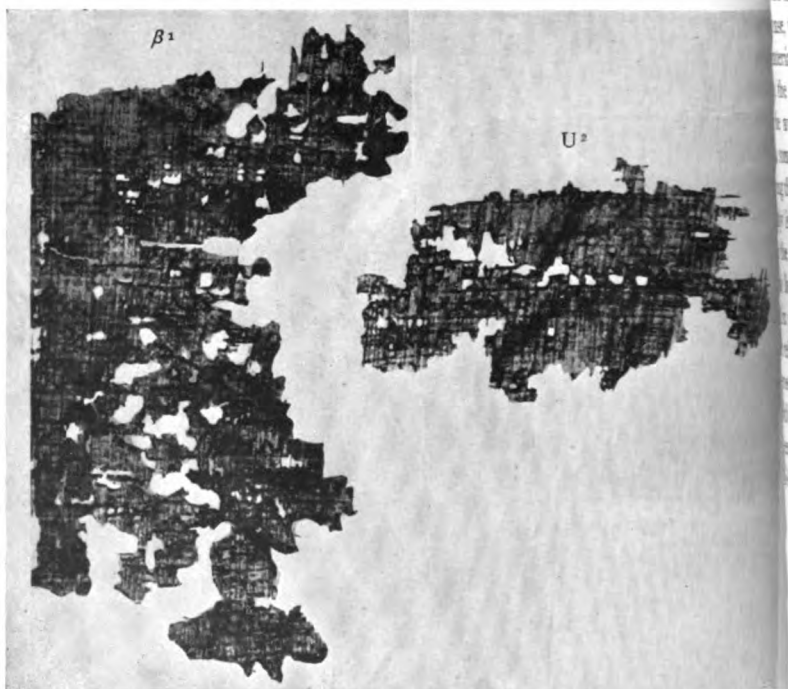
The present writer had reluctantly decided, after repeated attempts to establish a connection, that this must be answered in the negative. Since then, however, Carl Robert, in his article: *Das Oxyrhynchosblatt der Epitrepontes* (*Hermes*, 49, 3) assumes the possibility of a physical union and proceeds to reconstruct the text on this basis. The confidence of so eminent a scholar whose opinion is likely to be accepted by many, in whole or part, suggests the desirability of reviewing the whole question.

Any tentative juxtaposition of the fragments must pass under review two general combinations:

I. Place U^2 immediately before Q^2 and U^1 just before Q^1 i. e. a few lines above the position heretofore (see Körte²) assigned to them. This would bring U^2 opposite, on the right, the last lines of β^1 ; and U^1 on the left and opposite the last lines of β^2 .

II. Place U^{2+1} opposite the large bay torn out of β^1 and β^2 . In this general position two specific attempts, differing by one line, have been made, as follows: (a) To place the first verse-end of U^2 opposite line 4 of β^1 (= line 15 of Oxyr. verso). This is the position assumed by Robert who discusses at some length the meaning of the reconstructed lines thus obtained but offers no comment on the apparently insuperable physical difficulties involved. (b) To place the first verse-end of U^2 to the right and opposite line 5 of β^1 (= line 16 of Oxyr. verso).*

* In addition to the other positions here discussed an attempt at a juxtaposition of U^2 beginning opposite v. 17 proves even less satisfactory than the other combinations.



Line 16 of β^1 opposite 1 of U^2 . See page 189. Position II (b).

On the other side of the leaf U¹ would, by consequence, be moved to the left, opposite corresponding lines of β^1 .

A close approximation to the actual relation between fragments β^1 and U², showing the intervening space left for the oxyrhynchus material, when juxtaposed in position b, is indicated by the accompanying reproduction of Lefebvre's facsimiles. Page-line 16 of β^1 opposite verse-end 1 of U².

Into the narrow space between β^1 and U² must be fitted, in either case, the remainder of the trimeters, including the specific material preserved in Oxyrhynchus *verso*. The larger size of the letters on the facsimiles of β and U, as compared with the average facsimile page of the Cairo MS, indicates that a somewhat shorter focal distance was taken, in photographing these small fragments. Unless the difference in chirography is somehow thus accounted for, the continuity between the fragments Q^{2.1} and $\beta^{1.2}$ —now taken for granted, just as heretofore the continuity of U^{2.1} and Q^{2.1} was assumed in spite of a similar diversity,—is harder to imagine.

The relative position of the letters to the extreme left in the verse-ends of U²—the important factor—is indicated below with approximate exactness. In the last line of U² Sudhaus sees additional traces of letters suggesting his conjecture: περιέροι' ἔλχεις).

ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν:	U ²
ον Δία	
αὐτ' οὕτω σφόδρα	
νός ὁμολογῶ:	
ς ἐμὲ βλέπει	
οἱ (. . .) αἰέ . . . ε	

For convenience in estimating the possibility of a physical union the text of Oxyrhynchus *verso* and β^1 combined is printed below, (p. 191)—the additional Oxyrhynchus material being printed continuously and the junctures being divided by uprights, |; supplements enclosed in []. As no facsimile of Oxyr. *verso* is accessible the space necessary for the letters can be estimated only numerically. The tracings of β^1 and U² given above indicate the whole amount of space available in any junction that may be attempted.

As none of the combinations on this first page can be suc-

cessfully established it is unnecessary to print the combination text of $\beta^2 + U^1$ on the reverse to show the difficulties found there also.

To return now to the possible combinations of U^{2-1} with β^{1-2} .* I. Place U^2 opposite (on the right) to the last lines of β^1 , beginning with (page) line 25 of β^1 , and uniting with Q^2 . This arrangement is closely conditioned on the necessity, upon the other side of the leaf, of placing the first line of U^1 no higher on the page than (page) line 25 of β^2 , i. e. the first line after the "chorus". By a possible union of the last line (. . . $\alpha\gamma$) of U^1 with the first line ($\lambda\omega\lambda \dots \pi\mu\pi \dots$) † of Q^1 we should obtain, for the combination $U^1 + \beta^2 Q^1$, a full page of 38 lines. This is in itself less probable than a page of 35 or 36 lines but it may be urged that in the *Periceiomene* we have two pages preserved, each of 38 lines. When we return, however, to the combination $\beta^1 + U^2 + Q^2$ we are forced to place Q^2 one line lower down (—the dovetailing with Q^2 being impossible—) and this would require, for each page, 39 lines. This combination seems, therefore, very unlikely and must be rejected, although the apparent meaning obtainable from the verse-ends in U^{2-1} seems, in these positions, to fit in admirably with the development of the plot.

II. Place U^{2-1} opposite the large bay in β^{1-2} where now the new material from Oxyrhynchus verso must also be allowed for.

In this general position the last line of U cannot come lower than (page) line 22 which is the last line of β^2 before the "chorus" on the reverse side and, so far as this factor is concerned, three positions, differing each by one line, are conceivable i. e. (c) beginning with line 1 of U opposite (page) line 17; (a) opposite line 15; (b) opposite line 16. (c). Beginning opposite line 17. This, so far as $U^2 + \text{Oxyr. verso} + \beta^1$ is concerned, is excluded, as Professor Capps points out, by the indications of change of speakers i. e. in U^2 line 1, $\epsilon\gamma\omega \mu\epsilon\tau \alpha\lambda\epsilon$, followed in next line of β^1 by $\beta\sigma\sigma\tau\omega\tau\tau\alpha$; thus leaving this latter word isolated. On the reverse of the leaf this combination seems physically possible and it is, indeed, adopted there by Robert, although he begins two lines higher on the first page (see following).

* For text see below p. 191.

† Sudhaus. *Menanderstudien*, p. 20.

II (a). Beginning opposite line 15 (= β^1 line 4). This is the union assumed by Robert (op. cit.) in his recent monograph. In this his attention is wholly concentrated upon the sense which he obtains by a partial completion of the lacunae. It is disappointing that he does not explain just how the verse-ends could fit together. As a matter of fact he has selected the most unlikely combination, physically, of all three. The physical difficulty is this. The matter preserved in (page) lines 15-19 of β^1 + Oxyrhynchus demands spaces, up to the edge of U^2 , for about 24, 25, 17, 15 and 14 letters respectively. The first verse-end of U^2 is, to be sure, set far to the right and might allow space for the long line No. 15.

The second verse-end of U^2 extends much further to the left, while line 16 of Oxyr. is as long as No. 15, or a trifle longer, yet Robert's scheme inserts here three extra letters before U^2 , No. 2. This inconsistency in the attempted juncture of the two lines seems to be an insuperable objection. Furthermore, in the next line, No. 17, Robert forces a *direct union* between the last letter of Oxyr. and the first of U^2 whereas, on the above showing, there should be space left for some 7 or 8 letters! Until some explanation of these physical contradictions is forthcoming no discussion is obligatory of the sense which he obtains by ignoring them.* Robert himself does not fill out several small but important lacunae: e. g. in l. 16 where Oxyr. ends with $\sigma\theta'$ he merely writes . . $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$, $\epsilon\eta\ \tau\lambda\delta\epsilon\ \Delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$, thus avoiding the impossible θ . To justify this slight change in the round letter he cites (part of) a statement received in a letter from Mr. Hunt, the editor, i. e. "But I would not say that $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma$ is impossible".

After rejecting positions II (c) and (a) there remains: II (b). Begin U^2 opposite line 16 of Oxyr. *verso* (= β^1 No. 5). This juxtaposition is indicated (approximately) above in the tracing of fragments β^1 + U^2 . For text see below. This arrangement offers the least *physical* objection and the me-

* Since this paper was presented in December before the Amer. Phil. Assoc. I have received: *Menanderstudien* von S. Sudhaus (Bonn, 1914). On p. 32, note, Sudhaus says: "Robert's Versuch im letzten Hermesheft, das mir soeben zugeht, ist meines Erachtens missglückt. U wird der 'Boden' von β^{1-4} sein wie Q von $\beta^{1,1}$ ". See also (op. cit.), p. 14. Sudhaus's new edition (1915) has not yet come to hand.

chanical union is, perhaps, possible. At any rate, if Robert could operate with his arrangement this one has a far better chance, as we have only one long line on the left to account for and this would come opposite the first verse-end of U¹ which is placed far to the right. For the succeeding lines there would appear to be about adequate spacing without any obvious difficulty from the shape of the fragment edges. Further help in attempting supplements of the lacunae must be obtained, outside the material actually preserved in Oxyr. *verso*, from a dead reckoning of the number of letters probable in each line to the left of U².

But—even granted that the physical union is possible—there are other difficulties in imagining a reasonable text:

(1). In line 16 . . . ουθ must be read as . . . ους if it unites with ἐγὼ μὲν οὖ: Robert finds this necessary in his combination also and obtains only dubious approval from the editor of Oxyrhynchus Pap. (see above) for reading the round letter as C. He does not attempt to fill the lacunae. I can suggest nothing to fit metre, space and the sense successfully. Experiments with γνούς or νοῦς are unpromising for one reason or another, but *some* working supplement for a space of 4 letters should be forthcoming if either combination were correct.

(2). In line 17. Perhaps the last letter preserved in Ox. *verso* could be H, instead of N, and we might complete the line ποιήσω τ'ὸν Δία|. This would about fill the lacuna but the resulting sense—ἐγὼ σε λανθάνειν ποιήσω τ'ὸν Δία|βροντῶντα:—can hardly be acceptable i. e. "I'll make you so deaf that Zeus when he thunders will not be heard by you"! In this connection, however, the difficulty of caring for βροντῶντα by an oath, νῆ (or μὰ) τ'ὸν Δία|βροντῶντα, is obvious as there is no article with the participle.* Hence, to use this verse-end at all, some other locution than an oath should be sought for.

(3). In line 19. Jensen now (op. cit.) reports . . . ΝΟC ὁμολογῶ for the 4th verse-end of U².

* Dr. F. W. Wright, moreover, kindly calls my attention to the fact that Ζεὺς βροντῶν as an oath (with or without the article) has no exact parallel although all other extant Menandrian oaths recur elsewhere. He points out that even βροντήσας in Ζεῦ, μέγα βροντήσας *Vespaë* 323. is Dindorf's emendation for μέγα βρόντα.

To show the unsatisfactory results of these attempted supplements the text of β^1 , page-line 15-22, + Oxyr. combined with U^2 is here given. Further difficulties are indicated in the notes.

- 15 (Char.) ἔσται σε πρωί|. . μα ησ
 16 πάντ' ἐ|πακροάσει: (Ones.) πότ| . . . ους;|ἐγὼ μὲν οὐ:
 (Ch.) ἐγὼ σ|ε λανθάνειν πόη|σω τ'|δὲν Δία
βροντ|ῶντα: (Ones.) διὰ|σ'| ἐ|πραξα τ'|αὐθ' οὕτω
 σφόδρα
ἀλλ' ο|ὐθέν· ὀφθῆσε|ι . . . † (Ch.)|γος ὁμολογῶ.
 20 AB/ τίσεις|[γε τ']αὐ[τ'] εἰσ|ταυτίκ' (Hab. to Ones.) εἰ|ς ἐμέ
 βλέπει—
 . . [Ἀβρ. προσέρχεται

and speaks to Charisius].

AC⁴ οὐκ αἰς| . . . ν . . . | (Ch.) [πόθεν τὰ πε']ριδ[έρ]αι' εἰ[χει]ς;

22 (Hab.) οὐκ ἦν ἐ|μὸν τὸ παιδίον]*

This combination also may therefore be rejected unless some better supplements are found.

If every combination of $U^{2.1}$ with $\beta^{1.2}$ is excluded—and we seem forced to this conclusion—the fragments $U^{1.2}$ must come later and probably as follows: $U^1 + \beta^3$ and $U^2 + \beta^4$ on the two pages preceding H^3 (see below).

With the fragments U eliminated from consideration the contents of the continuous text of Oxyr. *verso* + β^1 , Q^2 may be adumbrated as follows, with the usual apologies for supplements intended to elicit suggestions for a better context.

* Notes (on ll. 16-17 see above): l. 17) No paragraphus. The: of U^1 line 1 requires change of speaker. As β^1 is apparently careful in use of the paragraphus this also is an argument against the juncture unless the paragraphus is here omitted, after the: at end of preceding line, as it indicates elsewhere in each of these 5 lines a change of speaker within the line. It seems obvious, for example, that Habrot. (indicated by marginal sign in line 20, does not speak the whole of line 20 as an aside to Onesimus. l. 19) . . . γος ὁμολογῶ must go to Charisius. No plausible supplement occurs. l. 21). This might (Capps) be completed: (Habrot.) οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀπᾶ[ν]: or with Robert, (who treats: as part of a letter), (Char.) οὐκ εἰς [κόρ]α[ικας]; In either case \aleph is read as α. // τὰ περιέειραι' ἔχεις, Sudhaus. (faint traces).

Oxyr. verso. I . . . 28 letters γ

βάρβαρο

σὺν ταύτῃ σοφῶς

εἰ μέτεισι διὰ τέλους

5 τῶν δαιμόνων τις, ὃ δὲ πατήρ*

[ἀπρεπ]έστατ' αὐτ[ῆ] χρήσεται—τί δέ μοι πατρός;

[ἐρ]ῶ διαρρήδην: “ἐμοὶ σύ, Σμικρίνη,

[μὴ] πάρεχε πράγματ'. οὐκ ἀπολείπει μ' ἡ γυνή.

[τ]ί οὖν ταραττεύς καὶ βιάζῃ Παμφίλῃν”;

ονη . . .

10 [τ]ί σ' αὐ βλέπω ὅγῃ; (Ones. to Habr.) τάνυ
κακῶς ἔχω σφόδρα.

[ο]ἶμοι τάλας, καὶ σοῦ δέομαι—τοῦτ' οἷσθ'

ε . . α—

β¹ begins . . . μὴ μ' ἐ|γκα|ταλίπῃς [:] (Char. to On.) οἷτος
ἐπακροώμε[νος]

ἔστηκας, ἱερ[ό]συν', ἐμοῦ; [:] (Ones.) μὲν τοὺς
θεοὺς,

ἀλλ' ἀρτίως ἐξ[ῆ]λθον· [:] (Char.) ἀ[ρα μὴ] λα-
θεῖν*

15 ἔσται σε; πρῶ[τ]ιν, μιὰ[ρ]έ, κακὰ τ[ῆ] σ[ῆ] πόσυν'

5 πάντ' ἐ|πακροάσει: (On.) πότ[ε] τοι οὐθ' | ἰ[μ]ίν—;
(Char.) ἔα·

ἐγὼ σ|ε λανθάνειν πότη[ισ]ω, ναὶ μὰ τὸν

βροντ[ῶ]ντα: (On.) διὰ [σ]ε| πάντ' ἔπραξα, δέσ-
ποτα¹,

ἀλλ' ο[ὐ]θέν· ὀφθῆσε|ι μ' ἀδικῶν. (Hab. to On.)
προσέρχομαι

* Notes: 5) τῶν δαιμόνων, supp. W-M., Hunt; γειτόνων, Sudh. 6) ἀπρεπ-
έστατ', Capps, Sudh. // αὐτῇ, Hunt, αὐτῆς pap. 7) ἐρῶ, W-M., Körte.
// Quot. marks=: : Körte. 9-10) Ονη . . indicates appearance of
Onesimus (with Habrot. still within the door). 10) τί σ' αὐ, W-M.
11) οἶμοι // σου δέομαι, supp. Hunt. // τοῦτ' οἷσθ' or τοῦτ' οἷσθ' ἔλον, Allin-
son, τούτοις λό[γ]οις, Sudh. τουτοις . ε . . α, Hunt, pap. 14) ἐξῆλθον:?
Hunt: “the lower dot having disappeared in a hole. But there is no
paragraphus in β¹”. Sudhaus gives all, to ἐπακροάσει: (l. 16), to Char-
isius, comparing ll. 7-10 for : : = “ ”. // ἀρα μὴ λαθεῖν, Robert—this
is one letter short. 15) πρῶ[τ]ιν more probable than πρῶ[τ]ιν. J². Before this

AB/ (Ch. to On.) τίσεις|γε τ' αὐτ' εἰς|αὐτίκ'. (Hab.) ὦ Χαρίσιε! .
[. . . ? 'Αβρότονον προσέρχεται]

IO Λ ∪ Λ / οὐκ χις| . . . ∪ . : . | [. . . ? (Hab.) το παιδίον|
? [—]]

β¹ II End of Oxyg. οὐκ ἦν ἐ|μόν· τοῦτ' εἶπα προσποούμενος.¹

(Ch.) οὐκ ἦν σό|ιν; ἀλλὰ τίνος; τάδ' αὐτίκ' εἶπ' ἐμοί.¹

AB/ (Habr.) βούλει μ' ἀπ|ελευθεροῦν, ἂν τὴν μητέρα—

25 (Ch.) ἀλλ' ἐξαπεί|λῳ τάχ' ἀπολείν σ', εἰ μή γ' ἐρεῖς.¹

I 5 (Hab.) ἐμ' ἐπρ|επεν εἰπείν· ἔτεκεν αὐθ' ἡ σὴ γυνή.¹

(Ch.) ἐχ'εις|τεκμήρια; (Hab.) ναί· διερώτα τουτονί.¹

Q² begins. (Ch.) τί φῆς, 'Ον|ήσιμ';¹ ἐξεπειράθη|τέ μου;¹

End of β¹ (On.) αὐτ'η μ' |ἐπε|ισε· νῆ τὸν 'Απόλλω|καὶ θε|ού|ς):

30 (Ch.) τί σύ μ'|ε περισπᾶς, ἱερόσυλε; (Hab.) μὴ μάχων,

|γλυκύ|τατε· τῆς γαμετῆς γυναικός ἐστί σου·

|αὐτῆς|γάρ, οὐκ ἀλλότριον. (Ch.) εἰ γὰρ ὦφελεν.

(Hab.) |νῆ τὴν|φίλην Δήμητρα. (Ch.) τίνα λόγον λέγεις;

(Hab.) |ναί μὰ Δί'|ἀληθῆ; (Ch.) Παμφίλης τὸ παιδίον;

35 |δῶντας ἄρ'|ῆν; (Hab.) καὶ σὸν γ' ὁμοίως. (Ch.)

Παμφίλης;

Q² Ends. 'Αβρότο|νον, ἰκετεύω σε, μὴ μ' ἀναπτέρου.

report (J²) Capps queried, *πέπραγα, μιαιρέ, κακὰ τῇ σῇ τάδε* (which conforms to *πραί*). 16) *πάντ' ἐπακρόασει*; as separate interrog., Sudh. // *ουθ*, arbitrarily divided *οῦ*; (On.) *θελων* . . Sudh. 17) *ποήσω*, Allin. *πον. pap.* // *τὸν*. For final article see Men. frag. passim. For oath, as non-Menandrian, see note supra p. 190. Robert and Sudh. avoid the oath by construing *βροντῶντα* with *σε*. Or (as alternative to preserve N) *ἐὼ|ἐγὼ σε λαμβάνειν, ποτηρέ; μὰ Δία τὸν|βροντῶντα!* (μὰ Δία τὸν, Capps.) 18) *διὰ σε πάντ' ἐπραξα*, Capps. 19) *οὐθέν τὸ ἀδικῶν*, Capps. 20) The marginal names in 20, 21, 24 are read by Sudh. as X[A]P, ABP and AB[P] but see Jensen? In 20, as in 21, the line appears to be divided between the two. 21) *οὐκ οἶσ* (or *οἶσ* or *οἶσ* Lef.) . . . ∪ . : . |, β¹ + Oxyg. *οὐκ οἶσθα πάγρ'* (to Habr.), Capps. *οὐκ εἰς ἀγῶνα* (to Habr.), Sudh., conforms exactly—sense? *οὐκ εἰς κόρακας*; (to Char.), Robert, treating: = AC. [*οὐκ εἰς ἀγῶνα*; if given to Char. as imv. question, might conceivably be taken in *malam partem*, cf. Lucian Peregr. 43. notes ad loc. ed. Allinson.] Perhaps read for whole line: (Habr.) *οὐκ οἶσθ' ἀπᾶν*. (Char.) *οὐκ οἶδ' ἐγώ*; (Habr.) *τὸ παιδίον*. 24) *ἀπελευθεροῦν*, Capps suppl. 25) *ἐξαπειλῶ—ἐξαπεί*, K², Robert. *ἐξαπέρχου* Sudhaus: “*ρ* ist nicht sicher, nicht ausgeschlossen”. [N. B. Both compounds lack parallel.] 27) *ἔχεις*—Sudhaus sees *ἔιδεῖσθα*. 28) *ἐξεπειράθητέ μου*, Sudh. in J². 29) *αὐτὴ μ' ἐπέισε*, Sudhaus sees . . — *ἡμῖν* in β¹. J² *ἰσε* in Q². 22–36) For suppl. see Capps

Translation of Oxyr. *verso* + β^1 + Q^2 .

First, four broken lines, an evident continuation of Charisius's soliloquy at the end of H^2 (Cairo MS).

..... barbarian that I was! (Some divinity) unremittingly pursues (me), and her father will treat her (reading $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta$ for $\alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$ of pap.) most unbecomingly. But what have I to do with her father? I will speak out flatly: "Don't make me any trouble, Smicrines. My wife is not deserting me. Why then do you disturb and bring pressure to bear upon Pamphila?"

Onesimus here appears at the door. Habrotonon is concealed behind him until verse 20. Part of this dialogue must consist of *asides* between Onesimus and Habrotonon.

(Char.) But what? Do I now see you again?

(Ones. *aside to Habr.*) I am in a very tight place, unhappy that I am. And I beg of you—you know what I mean—don't leave me in the lurch.

(Ch. to On.) I say, you! Have you been standing there listening to me, you temple-looter?

(On.) No, by the gods, I've just come out.

(Ch.) Will it never be possible to escape your eavesdropping? 'Twas all bad, you blackguard, what I did lately by reason of your eavesdropping.

(On.) When did we ever have such —?

(Ch.) Have done! I'll teach you to escape notice, by the Thunderer!*

(On.) I did it all for your sake, master. Still—no matter! You'll be shown up as wronging me.

(Habr. *aside to On.*) I'm going out to him.

(Ch. to On.) You'll pay for this forthwith.

(Habr.) I say, Charisius! [*She comes forward.*] You don't know everything.

(Ch.) I? Not know?

(ed.). Note that the H in η l. 35 (Capps) is now confirmed by J^2 who reports:/. IN: $\kappa\alpha\iota$, "so steht deutlich".

*Or, by the alternative (see note): Am I to allow you to lurk concealed? No, by Zeus the Thunderer!

(Habr.) The baby was not mine. I said this by way of make-believe.

(Ch.) It was not yours? Whose then? Tell me this at once.

(Habr.) Will you have me set free if I (reveal) the mother?

(Ch.) Nay, I threaten to kill you if you don't tell me this.

(Habr.) I must speak out. Its mother is your wife.

(Ch.) Have you proofs?

(Habr.) Yes, ask him.

(Ch. *to On.*) What do you say, Onesimus? Were you two experimenting on me?

(On.) She persuaded me into it. Yes, by Apollo and the gods!

(Ch.) Why do you try to twist me about, you temple-looter?

(Habr.) Don't wrangle on. 'Tis your own wedded wife's, her own and not another's.

(Ch.) Would to god 'twere so!

(Habr.) By dear Demeter, yes.

(Ch.) What tale is this you tell?

(Habr.) A true one, yes by Zeus.

(Ch.) The baby Pamphila's? 'Twas really hers?

(Habr.) And, item, yours too.

(Ch.) Pamphila's? Habrotonon, I pray, don't make me walk on air.

On the next page comes a lacuna of 10 lines (or 11 lines, if the traces of writing, χ ? or λ ?, in line 11 do not exist).

The fragmentary verse-ends of β^2 , as revised by J^2 , etc., are as follows:

Page line. 11	[χ ? or λ]	β^2
		αι γὰρ ι
		ως ἐγὼ: τάλαν
		πρὶν πάντ' εἰδέναι
15		ὁρθῶς λέγεις
		ομοι.
		ἀβέλτερε
		ὁμως
		τοῦτο δὴ
20		βούλομαι
21		ματα
(22)		[ξ ?]
(23)		~ ~ ~
(24)		[χοροῦ]
25		ειμένον
26		υτη . ρC
27		εναντιο
28		τα σκέπτς *

In this fragment, down to the break for the Chorus, it is evident that the dialogue continues between Charisius and Habrotonon. The latter is explaining and defending the deception of Charisius (*πρὶν πάντ' εἰδέναι* is an echo of her words when arranging the plot). Charisius is still angry at the deception but chiefly intent upon satisfying himself of the main fact of importance—that Pamphila is the mother of his child—and at line 21 (or 22), the end of the scene, and of the act, rushes into the house to his wife.

Space for 3, or $3\frac{1}{2}$ lines, whether or not we see traces of writing under *-ματα*, before we come to the first verse-end beginning the new act, i. e.—*ειμένον*.

These four remaining verse-ends, preserved on β^2 , would therefore combine with Q^1 as below. Inasmuch as we have

* Notes: In lines 11 and 22 respectively Capps sees traces of χ and ξ ; Robert λ in line 11. The proper spacing seems to indicate that *ειμένον* occupies page-line 25 rather than line 24 as in Körte².

traces of one more line in β^1 , lower down than the last line of β^2 , we cannot consistently * dovetail the matter preserved in β^2 so deeply into Q^1 as in the case of $\beta^1 + Q^2$.

If we assume the page line No. 25 for the first verse-end of β^2 after the "chorus", we obtain a page of 36 lines,† as on the reverse side, by some such union of $\beta^2 + Q^1$ as is given below. And, first, I would suggest, with some hesitation, a device by which we could have, at the beginning of Act V, a dialogue between Onesimus and Charisius, instead of Chaerestratus as the occurrence of the name of the latter, v. 29, has heretofore suggested. To secure this it is necessary to include the word "*Χαιρέστραθ'*" in the words which Onesimus is supposed to be quoting from Habrotonon. It is also necessary—unless Onesimus is to say all down to the end of Q^1 —to assume a change of speakers somewhere and, most naturally, near the end of v. 33. Although, as Jensen² points out, there is no such indication—either by marginal name or paragraphus—in the well-preserved left margin of Q^1 , the right margin is lost where a change of speaker might easily have been indicated as is common enough in the Cairo MS when the change comes near the end of the line.

Jensen², however, assuming that there is no change of speaker, gives the whole to Onesimus and, by reading the easier αὐτόν ‡ is able to make an altogether rational supplement, i. e.

καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸν κατὰ μόνας ὁρᾶν θέλω
τὸν φίλτατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατον δεσπότην.¹

but meanwhile we must suppose Chaerestratus to stand by as a dummy.

Robert, also, gives all, down to the end of Q^1 , to one speaker §—an invented and otherwise unknown father of

* In this respect Robert is consistent, arriving at one less line, however, on each page. Sudhaus (*Menanderstudien* I. c.) is inconsistent as he adopts, so far as the joining of the lines is concerned, the arrangement for $\beta^1 + Q^2$ given above. In his juncture of $\beta^2 + Q^1$ he brings the matter on β^2 down as far as in β^1 thus, apparently, ignoring the space for the extra line on β^1 .

† The well preserved bottom margins of $Q^{2,1}$ forbid the suggestion of any "Verschiebung" as far as Q^2 and Q^1 are concerned.

‡ His last report (J^1) gives the choice, αὐτ. v.

§ As Sudhaus (op. cit.) does too. But Sudhaus, compelled (and apparently with good reason) to read αὐτήν in l. 35, makes the pronoun

Charisius. (Robert has now given up the assumption that Chaerestratus is the father of Charisius.) He supplies *ἰδοῦν* at the end of the last line (reading, with J², the easier *αὐτόν* in the preceding line) and obtains a touching picture of the grandfather's desire to see "unter vier Augen" the grandchild who, as he carefully explains, the speaker still believes to be the baby of the flute-girl.

But if we read *αὐτήν*, as we apparently must if Sudhaus's observation of the fragment of the *η* is correct, the pronoun can apply only to Sophrona, or Pamphila, or Habrotonon. But Sophrona, the nurse, was probably with Pamphila in the scene at the beginning of H¹ and there is no good reason to suppose that she also is present in this scene (except to act as one of the hypothetical witnesses assumed by Sudhaus in Q¹ line 1.). With Pamphila Charisius has just had his private interview within doors and, even if Onesimus were the speaker throughout, it is not easy to establish a connection between her and the masculine words in the next line, unless no sense of humor stands in the way of the grandchild exhibit.

The *αὐτήν*, therefore, if it must be read, would seem to refer to Habrotonon and the text of the passage, opening Act V, might tentatively be reconstructed as follows:

β² cont'd.

Page line.	25	Onesimus)	ειμενον
	26			υτη . οc
	27			εναντιο

β² Ends. }

Q ¹ begins.	28	λωλ . . . ριηρ . . † " τα σκεπτέ[ον],
	29	Χ[α]ι[ρ]έστρ[α]θ', " ἦδε τὸ μετὰ τα[ύτ] ' ἔφη ~ —]
	30	" ὅπως διαμενεῖς ὦν Χαρισίῳ (τὸ πᾶν)
		οἶός ποτ'—οἶσθα—πιστός." οὐ γάρ ἐσ[τί] τοι
		ἑταιρίδιον τοῦτ' οὐδὲ τὸ τυχὸν [ὅ] τι ποεῖ]
		σπονδῇ δὲ καὶ παιδάριον ἡμῖ [ν] εὖρ'. (Char.) ἔσει]
		ἐλεύθερος. πάξ· μὴ βλέπ' εἰς τ[ὴν] γῆν ἔχων]

agree with [σε] (meaning Sophrona). Sophrona, though elsewhere a nurse name, he still insists was the mother of Pamphila. We thus obtain another pathetic combination—this time of grandmother + the supposed illegitimate child of a courtesan.

35 καὶ πρῶτον αὐτὴν κατὰ μόνα|^{τς} λαβών, τότε]
 Q¹ Ends. τὸν φίλατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατ|^{τον} φίλον ἐμοῦ] *
 [κέλευε

Translation of *this* restoration:

Onesimus and Charisius enter conversing. Onesimus has, apparently, won back his master's favor towards himself but feels that Habrotonon, with whose plotting his own interests had been involved, must also be represented to his master as having been both loyal and altruistic. He effects this impression by cunningly quoting part of a conversation which he has heard between Habrotonon and Chaerestratus. Then he launches into direct praise of Habrotonon which his master cuts short, promising him his freedom and then passing on abruptly to tell him what he is to do next:

..... "You must, Chaerestratus", said she thereupon, "look to it that you remain loyal to Charisius in everything as you have been, you know, in the past". Why, she's no mere courtesan nor is her course of action a merely ordinary one. But by her zeal she has actually discovered our child for us—

*Notes: l. 28) The traces of letters reported by Sudhaus in Q¹ No. 1 he expands, despite their cramped position, into *δίδωμι* [μα]ρτύρ[ων] followed by *ἐναντίον* which he brings down into this line. l. 29) Sudhaus changes HΔΕ to *ἤδη* to avoid aspirating the preceding τ and to eliminate the *ἡδε*. 33) *ἡμῖν εὖρε*. Sudh. 34) Suppl. Capps, now confirmed by J², for this and several of the others see Capps's edition. 35) Sudhaus is certain of the right leg of H.

Sudhaus (op. cit.) ingeniously restores the opening lines which contain, in his opinion, a statement made by Onesimus to Chaerestratus that Charisius has already set him free.

[ὁρᾷς μὲν ἔνδον ἀρτίως μ' ἀφ|ειμένον·
 [σοὶ δ', εἰς πόλιν γὰρ φῆς ἔλθαι, τ]|αύτη|[τ] [ἐγώ]
 Q¹ [νῦν παραδίδωμι μα]ρ[τ]ύρ[ων]|ἐναντίο[ν],
 Χαιρέστρατ'. ἡδ[ῆ] τὸ μετὰ τα[ῦ]τα σκεπτέ[ον]—

This may be correct in part—[ἀφ]ειμένον may imply it—but his inference from the crowded traces of letters in Q¹, No. 1, seems precarious and the change to *ἤδη* in the next line violent. Moreover, I cannot, as yet, believe that *σκεπτέον* can, with physical consistency, be brought down to Q¹ No. 2, tempting as is the union thus secured, of τα|ῦ|τα. His (1915) edition, not yet received, may give further elucidation.

(Charisius). You shall be free. Enough! Don't stand there looking on the ground! And first of all take her alone and then that dearest, sweetest friend of mine (i. e. Chaerestratus) and bid him—(End of Q¹).

Charisius is, perhaps, about to issue an order to request Chaerestratus to take Habrotonon back to her owner and to purchase her freedom, although certain expressions in fragment U, which comes a little later, may indicate that Charisius is still only half mollified.

The necessity for the strict privacy, implied in *κατὰ μόνας*, of Onesimus's interview with Habrotonon when turning her over to Chaerestratus is not entirely clear without the context but this interpretation seems, at least, to involve no absurdity. If indeed we could still have the choice, offered by J², between *αὐτόν* and *αὐτήν* a very clear and probable solution of the end of Q¹ may be obtained by reading:

*καὶ πρῶτον αὐτ[ὸ]ν κατὰ μόν[ας] Χαιρέστρατον,¹
τὸν φίλτατον καὶ τὸν γλυκύτατον ἐκκάλει.¹*

Charisius, namely, now relieved of his chief troubles, wishes to thank his friend for past services and to ask one more favor of him.

Secondly, as an alternative.

If it seems improbable that the words *†τα σκεπτέον|Χαιρέστραθ' . . . to . . . πιστός* are all quoted from Habrotonon, the dialogue may be assumed to go on between Chaerestratus and Onesimus, the word *Χαιρέστραθ'* being excluded from the quotation and taken as direct address interjected by Onesimus. The only further change in the supplements above offered would be to give the words of the new speaker, at line 33, to Chaerestratus instead of Charisius. *ἔσει* (suggested by Capps as given to Chaerestratus) would be appropriate, placed in the mouth of Charisius's friend, as a vicarious promise to Onesimus.

The other union of β² and Q¹, adopted by both Robert and Sudhaus, drops the last verse-end of β² one line further into Q¹. I also should prefer to do this if it can be shown that it does not conflict, as I believe that it does, with the arrangement of the corresponding lines on the reverse side of the leaf. It has the tempting advantage of utilizing the *τα* (β²

last line) and of placing σκεπτόν immediately before ὅπως διαμενείς. It leaves ἐναντίον isolated, indeed, in the previous line but offers a more likely combination, from the spacing, with the letters partially preserved in Q¹ No. 1. It excludes ἔφη, but otherwise would necessitate no change in the interpretations given above, i. e.

. ἐναντίον¹
 “Χαίρεσθραθ’,” ἦδε τὸ μετὰ τα¹υ|τα, “σκεπτό¹ρ¹
 ὅπως . .

The whole interpretation would be very different if no change of speaker were allowed and if Sudhaus's supplements for the verse-ends of β² are approximately right. Much depends on his change of ἦδε to ἦδη. The introduction of Sophrona at the end of Q¹, which is bound up with his interpretation, will not, I believe, find much support.* A pre-requisite, however, for the whole scheme is, I believe, a demonstration of the consistency between the position of the fragments on either side of the leaf.

Finally, if the fragments U^{1,2} were properly excluded from the combinations discussed above, some such arrangement as follows seems inevitable. After the end of Q† there would be, if we assign β² to the lower part of the next page, a lacuna of 10 lines in which U¹ might naturally come. In this, it may be, Charisius is still exhibiting some reluctance to forgiving and rewarding Habrotonon (ἐξαπατήσας ἐμὲ¹) and Onesimus is reminding him of her real services (ἀπέσωσε συν—).

Fragment β², too fragmentary for profitable discussion here, would then occupy lines 11–24 (or 25) leaving a lacuna at the bottom of the page of some 12 or 11 lines.

*Abundant inferential proof that Menander employed conventionalized type-names, such as Sophrona = *a nurse*, Chaerestratus = *a young man*, etc., etc., is given by Franz Poland: *Zur Charakteristik Menanders*, N. Jahrbücher (Nov., 1914), cf. especially p. 590, note 2.

† This new order, suggested last summer by Capps, is also, it may be inferred (from *Menanderstudien*, note on p. 32, cited above, p. 189) practically the same as that now adopted by Sudhaus in his new (1915) edition. [N. B. In this edition, received since this article went to press, Sudhaus merely prints U^{1,2} at the end of the play (ed. secunda, 1915, p. 32). Sudhaus would, however, renumber the pages as he argues (op. cit., p. 27 ff.) for some 1400 lines, instead of ca. 1000, for the whole play.]

At the top of the next page in the corresponding lacuna, would come U². Even in this position in the play Sudhaus would still exhibit his *περιδέραια*—the broken fragments of which he has ingeniously strung together—explaining (see Men. Stud., p. 22) that Syriscus, at this point, is demanding back his trinkets. In regard to this it may be remarked that it would be the *δακτύλιος*, if anything, that Syriscus would be reclaiming, if any one object is singled out. All the birth-tokens would belong to Pamphila and it would be in order, somewhere in the last act, for Syriscus to be rewarded conspicuously for his faithful and energetic care of the child and its interests.

After U² would come β⁴, corresponding to the position of β³ on the reverse side. Then a lacuna of some 11 lines at the bottom of the page before the continuous text is resumed on H³.

The first two lines of H³, before the new scene in which the angry Smicrines enters, show us, as it is generally supposed, Chaerestratus just departing with Habrotonon to carry out the agreeable commission of purchasing her well-earned freedom from her owner.

FRANCIS G. ALLINSON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

The Piscatory Eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro. Edited with Introduction and Notes by WILFRED P. MUSTARD. Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914. \$1.00.

Sannazaro has waited until now for an edition of his Latin eclogues with English notes and introduction. His work could have fallen into no more competent hands than those of Professor Mustard, well fitted for the task by his editing of Mantuan (1911) and his wide reading in the Neo-Latin and vernacular literatures of the Renaissance and in the ancient pastoral.

The text is based on that of the first edition of Sannazaro's Latin poems, printed at Naples during the author's lifetime in 1526. According to the colophon, the publisher reproduced "fideliter omnia ex archetypis Actii Synceri ipsius manuscriptis." This edition was copied the same year in Rome, Clement VII adding a prohibition against republishing the "divine poems" within the next two years. That could not affect Venice, where the first Aldine edition appeared in 1527, a second in 1533, and a third in 1535. It seems safe to assume that Sannazaro, who died in 1530, had not altered the text much, if at all, after the *editio princeps* in 1526. The latter is the basis of the present edition at any rate, Professor Mustard securing from the British Museum a rotograph reproduction of this rare book. Important variants from the later editions are mentioned in the notes. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized; a questionable substitution is that of *j* for the consonantal *i*.

Besides the five finished poems, there is included the fragment of an eclogue which first appeared in the Venice edition of 1535, but which must have been circulated before 1533, since Professor Mustard shows it is imitated in an eclogue of Berardino Rota. The text given here, considerably different from that in the Aldine edition, is taken from the 'autograph' in the Vatican library (Cod. Vat. Lat. 3361). Spellings like *furijs* and *parteis* and the erroneous reading *Zephyre* for *Zephyraeus*, in v. 19, are retained to represent exactly the character of the manuscript. Had a facsimile been given from Professor Mustard's photographs, the fragment might have been edited in the same fashion as the other eclogues. If the

quotation marks about 'autograph' imply a doubt, we may perhaps confirm it not only from the error in v. 19, but from vv. 2 and 3:

Quo passim uacuas liceat disponere nassas
Quo liceat trepidas nassis includere praedas,

which offer an apparent case of double recension. If this fact is not indicated by a note or signs in the manuscript, then the text is perhaps not an autograph but a copy made by some one else from the author's revised draft. However this may be, the version in the Vatican MS (V) is evidently a revised form of that in the Aldine edition (A). The changes in V all illustrate the poet's desire to transmute the usual and general into the rarer and specific. Thus medio . . . fluctu is replaced by liquido . . . fundo; horrisonum by undisonum; Veneris templum by Veneris scopulos. Part of a still earlier version than A is found in another place in the Vatican MS; Professor Mustard edits this too, and declares that it is in Sannazaro's own hand. We are grateful for this glimpse into the workshop of a poet.

It seems curious that Sannazaro should have made three versions of a fragment of an eclogue without finishing the piece. If the statement of Paolo Manuzio in the Venice edition of 1535 is credible, Sannazaro wrote ten eclogues before his departure for France (1501) and on his return (1504) found that "per incuriam suorum" some had been lost. To the five published in the *editio princeps* Manuzio added *fragmentum illud quod post Salices collocavimus*". But though Paolo Giovio also refers to the eclogues as youthful compositions, and a passage in Ecl. 2 (vv. 41-45) indicates that Pontano's death (1503) had occurred, yet the fourth poem, Professor Mustard shows, could not have been written before the death of Frederico II in 1504, and the fifth refers to the poet's sojourn in France as in the past. We may perhaps harmonize these contradictions by assuming that Sannazaro in the fashion of young bards wrote the ten traditional eclogues, of which the first, the second, and the fragment in its earliest form survived his kinsmen's negligence. On his return he added the third, the fourth and the fifth and revised the fragment in the form given in A. Then later, meaning to complete the quota, he proceeded to a fresh revision of the fragment, without finding time to finish it or to write the four remaining pieces. Perhaps it is not too rash to hope that since this later redaction of the fragment has been brought to light, some lucky searcher may find after all that Sannazaro wrote other eclogues in the closing years of his life.

Professor Mustard's edition, unfortunately, I believe, does not include the Salices, a charming poem which unites the grace of Catullus with the rapidity of Ovid and shows what can

be made out of an idea suggested in one of the best poems of Statius (*Silvae*, 2. 2. 100 ff.). This battle of Nymphs and Satyrs in a distinctly Neapolitan scene is rather an epyllion than a piscatory eclogue, yet pastoral touches abound. In the Aldine edition of 1527 and in the Paris edition of 1527 it is comprised with the eclogues under the title of *PISCATORIA*. The subscription *FINIS* appears after the *Salices* as it does after the *Lamentatio de Morte Christi*, which immediately precedes the *Piscatoria*, and after each main division in the volume. The intention of including the *Salices* with the *Eclogues* is, so far as I can judge from second-hand sources, apparent also in the Roman edition of 1526 and in the *editio princeps*. Indeed, while "Piscatory Eclogues" is too restrictive a title to take in the *Salices*, *Piscatoria* is not. Sannazaro may have intended a collection Theocritean rather than Virgilian in scope.

The introduction presents in concise form the life of Sannazaro and discusses the meaning of his Latin names, his claim of inventing the piscatorial eclogue, the date of the poems, their popularity and their influence on later literature. "Syn-cerus" would seem at once the nearest approach in Latin to Sannazaro and a symbol of the poet's gentle goodness, of which more than one contemporary spoke. "Actius" suggests Πᾶν ἄκτιος; he is a poeta litoralis rather than pastoralis. The point is made rather markedly by the juxtaposition of *acta* and *Acti* in the epigram of Marcantonio Flaminio which accompanies Sannazaro's portrait in the Aldine edition of 1527:

Quantum Virgilio debebit silva Maroni
et pastor, donec Musa Maronis erit,
tantum paene tibi debent piscator et acta,
Acti, divino proxime Virgilio.

Here is another indication that Sannazaro wrote piscatorial poems early, for he acquired his sobriquet not later than 1481. To illustrate the popularity of the eclogues, the editor makes a judicious selection from the testimonia amassed by Vlamingius (edition of 1728) and others, and adds many to these. The twenty-eight pages devoted to imitations are filled solidly with matters which only a scholar who had his Sannazaro virtually by heart could accumulate after a wide and prolonged course of reading. Professor Mustard has searched with sharp eye not only Neo-Latin but Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, German, and English writers down into the first third of the eighteenth century, when Sannazaro's star set for some time. There have been sporadic Italian and German translations in the nineteenth century, but nothing like an edition has appeared until now.

The notes include brief summaries of the different eclogues, explain historical allusions and suggest ancient models for inci-

dents and phrases. Here Theocritus, as is most important, is given his due. One never knows when to stop in the pastime of tracking the Muses to their sources, especially in view of Petrarch's indignation at being tracked. Here are a few suggestions on details, most of which the editor may have considered already. They are given as an earnest that the reviewer has read Sannazaro again, with the help of this excellent edition.

Ecl. 1, 2: *leves Thymnos* should not have surprised Scaliger, for the tunny, though not small in size, is nimble. Cf. Ovid, *Halieutica*, 98: *et pavidum magno fugientes agmine thunni*. Incidentally, Sannazaro is said to have brought from the north a manuscript of this poem of Ovid's. See the *Vita* by Volpi, in the edition of Vlamingius, 1728, p. 508.

1, 15: *Nescio quid queruli . . . mergi*. Cf. Virgil's crows, *Georg.* i, 412: *nescio quid . . . dulcedine læti*.

1, 21: *dolor improbus*. Cf. Virgil's use of *improbus*, e. g. *Georg.* i, 145; *labor improbus*.

1, 22: *in scopulos, in saxa*. 2, 69: *per saxa, per ignes*. The repetition of the preposition with asyndeton is Virgilian, and also Lucretian. Cf. *Lucret.* 6, 229; *per saxa, per aera*.

Ecl. 2, 13: *sopor suus*. Cf. Virgil, *Georg.* 4, 190.

Ecl. 3, 61: *Fallor an*. Cf. Ovid, *Am.* 3, 1, 34, etc.

Ecl. 4, 19: *Deduxi primus*. Cf. Horace, *Carm.* 3, 30, 13 f.

4, 20: *inexperta tentare pericula cymba*. This is the poet's frequent comparison of his far-reaching theme to the broad ocean (Virgil, *Georg.* 2, 41; Dante *Purg.*, 1, 1f.) applied cleverly, not to say humorously, to piscatorial needs.

4, 56 ff.: The Nereids to whose company the Neapolitan Nesis is admitted are Virgilian (*Georg.* 4, 336 ff.), but also Homeric (*Il.* 18, 38 ff.) and Hesiodic (*Theog.* 250 ff.), except Rhoe, who seems to be the poet's creation.

4, 67: *Read vincit not iungit* (Aldine ed. of 1535) *scopulos præruptaque saxa*. It is the victory of human cultivation over nature's steepes. Cf. Statius, *Silv.* 2, 2 (a poem that Sannazaro knew well), vv. 54-62, esp. 56 ff.: *domuit possessor et illum | formantem rupes expugnantemque secuta | gaudet humus*.

4, 91: *sed et omnis terra sepulcrum*. Cf. Lucretius 5, 259: *omniparens eadem rerum commune sepulcrum*, which line rather than that of Sannazaro may be the model for the passage in P. Lotichius Secundus quoted in the notes.

4, 94: *respondent æquora plausu*. Cf. Virgil, *Ecl.* 10, 8.

Ecl. 5, 26: *pedemque exuta sinistram*. "It is quite possible that both Virgil and Ovid really thought of the left foot as the one to be exposed in such circumstances, but it is hard to find any classical authority for this detail". Possibly Sannazaro had seen some ancient statue of an enchantress with the left foot exposed. Such is the case with the figures called

"Dido" mentioned by Heyne on Aen. 4, 518, and reproduced in Visconti, Museo Pio-Clementino II, tav. xl and tav B 10.

5, 100: The pastoral practice of inscribing poems on beech-trees deserves a reference to Virgil, Ecl. 5, 13; Calpurnius, Ecl. 1, 20 ff.; and for Hellenistic sources, Jacoby, Rhein. Mus. lv (1905); p. 58.

E. K. RAND.

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Beowulf. Edited, with introduction, bibliography, notes, glossary, and appendices. By W. J. SEDGEFIELD, Litt. D., Professor of English Language. Second edition, revised and partly rewritten. Manchester, at the University Press, 1913. Agents for the United States, Longmans, Green & Co.

Beowulf, with the Finnsburg Fragment. Edited by A. J. WYATT. New edition, revised, with introduction and notes, by R. W. CHAMBERS. Cambridge, at the University Press. New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1914.

Beowulfists are to be congratulated on the two handsome editions in which their favorite poem has recently appeared. Time was when it was hard to find *one* edition, and now we have *two*, unsurpassed.

On page XLVII of the bibliography in Professor Sedgefield's edition, I find my own humble effort characterized as "((prose). Boston, 1882; 4th edn., 1900)". Prose! It must be so. Alas! for all human effort! I might have at least received credit for having printed the *first* facsimile, though reduced, from the Zupitza autotypes, for copies of which—before Zupitza's edition was issued—I was indebted to the late Dr. Furnivall, a fact that has been stated in my first Preface of "August, 1882", and in every copy issued since. But it matters little who was the first to publish anything. It is only important to know who has done his work best, and I am willing to be judged by my "fellow Beowulfists". I can at least claim credit for having published the *first* Beowulf-bibliography, which has sometimes been used without acknowledgment, but after it was in print, the whole world was at liberty to use it, and to improve upon it, which I hope has been done.

The introduction of Professor Sedgefield's edition treats the MS. of the Poem, Text of the Present Edition, Dialect, Grammatical Forms, Syntax, Metre, Tone, Style, Vocabulary,

Analysis of Poem, Composition, Structure, Subject-matter: Historical, Legendary, Fabulous, Mythical, Origin, Authorship, Date, Relation to other Old English Poetry, with a full bibliography treating The MS., Editions, Translations, wherein my bantling appears after Kemble, Wackerbarth, Thorpe, Arnold, and Lumsden,—all followed by Selected Literature, Linguistic, Metre, Tone, Style, Vocabulary, Composition, Structure, and Miscellaneous. I am well aware that my Bibliography needs revision, but since it was compiled, the knowledge of the poem has so extended that each editor has made his own bibliography. After the text of Professor Sedgefield's edition there follows a notice of the Fight at Finnsburg (usually now appended to Beowulf), and Other O. E. Poems relating to the Germanic Heroic Age, as Widsith, Waldere, Deor's Lament, with a body of Notes of over 40 pages, a Glossary of 100 pages, Genealogical Tables, a List of Proper Names, and five Appendices, making 272 pages in all.

The Edition of Wyatt and Chambers, being Wyatt's well-known text, in a new edition, revised, with introduction and notes by R. W. Chambers. The Introduction includes sections on The Text of Beowulf, The Manuscript, Textual Emendation, Aim of the Present Edition, with articles on Text Restoration, Type, Hyphens and Punctuation, Notes, with mention of four translations, among which my own is conspicuous by its absence, eleven contributions to the study of the text being named, and about twenty articles in periodicals and reviews, with a note on the Glossary, and a mention of Cook's Concordance to Beowulf. The editor quotes a remark of Wyatt's that "a too elaborate glossary may rob the work of much of its educative value". I cannot agree with him, and I think that the first edition of Heyne was conspicuous by the excellence of its glossary. My translation was made with much thumbing of the glossaries of both Grein and Heyne; I wish some one would reprint Grein's Glossary, and I have been long waiting for the completion of the Bosworth-Toller Dictionary, for we need it *all the time*.

A very careful comparison of the texts of both Sedgefield and Wyatt and Chambers can alone determine which is best, and it should be made with the texts of both Grein and Heyne, for these are not yet antiquated, even if there are more recent editions.

The writer has in view the preparation of a *variorum* edition, but he wishes that some one else would make it, for he does not know when he will find time for it. It is, in his opinion, worth doing, and it would give useful employment to some one of the younger generation, among whom he can no longer consider

himself, seeing that it is now over thirty years since he first busied himself with the text and translation of "Beowulf". He does not regret the time spent on it, for he thinks that it has been well-spent, but he realizes that he is no longer as young as he once was, and he is very willing to give place to a younger man.

There are a few hints, however, which he might give to the prospective editor. He should read carefully *all* the articles on the subject in the philological journals. He should compare all the texts that have been published. He should base his text on the Zupitza autotypes, if he cannot get access to the unique manuscript, Vitellius A. XV. He should conscientiously weigh all the suggestions that have been made as to various readings, and he should decide for himself as to the *best* text, so that his work should not need to be done over again.

With a careful observance of these suggestions, we may soon have a *variorum* edition of Beowulf that will be welcomed by all engaged in the study of the poem, and that will serve as a *final* edition.

JAMES M. GARNETT.

RECENT WORKS ON ROMAN HISTORY AND PALAEOGRAPHY.

Der Staat der alten Italiker. Untersuchungen über die ursprüngliche Verfassung der Latiner, Osker, und Etrusker. By ARTHUR ROSENBERG. Berlin, 1913. Pp. 142.

Since the publication of Wilhelm Schulze's *Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen* in 1904 there have appeared a considerable number of books and articles on different phases of the early history of Italy. Of these books the largest number have dealt either with questions of constitutional development or have been studies of the names and functions of magistrates. Rosenberg's book belongs to the last category. It is divided into three sections: the first, under the title 'Die Magistratur im alten Italien', has, in 100 pages, 10 subsections devoted to the history of the earliest Oscan, Sabine, Umbrian, Etruscan, and Latin magistrates. This section is the important part of the book, section two, *Die Romanisierung der italischen Magistratur*, and section three, *Volksversammlung und Rat*, containing little either of importance or interest.

Rosenberg is a Tyrrhenophile, and with a certain justification, for he has made some new interpretations of Etruscan inscriptions which seem to be sound philologically, and which therefore are of much importance. His really good work in the Etruscan field must not be forgotten, although it has caused him to overemphasize the influence of Etruria and has led him to some questionable conclusions.

The author has brought to his task a very good linguistic and epigraphic equipment, but he would seem to have fallen short of his opportunities in two respects: first he needs the historical background of the movements and settlements of early peoples in Italy which the publications of several Italian archaeologists have made so clear, and second he sticks too close to his own interpretation of the inscriptions which he cites. It is not unjust to say that Rosenberg has overlooked or slighted books and articles in which many of his statements are found already either stated or refuted. There are several pages in Botsford's *Roman Assemblies* which Rosenberg could have read with profit. It has unfortunately come to be expected that a German author will be found to have consulted and referred only or overmuch to the writings of his own countrymen. But Rosenberg has clearly not erred in this respect. Kornemann (*Klio*, 14, 1914, 190-206: *Zur altitalischen Verfassungsgeschichte*) takes him most severely to task for not having noticed that almost all his material had been already published by Kornemann and Rostowzew either in Pauly-Wissowa or in *Klio*. In fact, Kornemann has dealt with Rosenberg even more severely than he deserves.

Rosenberg begins his book with a discussion of the office of aedile. The cradle of the aedileship he finds in Tusculum, and concludes his first subsection with the statement that the praetorship and aedileship are the typical magistracies of the older Latin cities. He then takes up the Oscan meddices (meddix tuticus and meddix minive) and reaches the conclusion that the fundamental difference between these magistrates on the one hand, and the Roman consuls, the Latin praetors, and the duovirs of the coloniae on the other, is that the meddices are not colleagues but that one has a major and the other a minor imperium. Next he finds that the *keenenzstur* (censorship) is probably the only common Italic institution and that the *Quinquennales* belong not to Rome but to Italy. In the Sabine country the author postulates an annual *octovirate* as the typical institution, from which came the later city magistrates, the *quattuorviri*. Little is said about the Umbrian *marones*.

'Die Magistrate der Etrusker' is the title of subsection 6. Here the author has done very brilliant work. He seems certainly to prove that in Etruria there was a double cursus

honorum, the *silæ* and *marunux* of the league, and the *zilax*, *marniu*, and *purðne* of the individual cities, that offices were annual and iterative, and that the idea of collegiate magistracy was unfamiliar. From Etruria he passes to Latium and notes that one group of Latin cities had a single magistrate, a dictator, and another group a pair of magistrates, the praetors. The author quotes from Mommsen's *Staatsrecht* the famous dictum that the Latin dictatorship was ordinary, the Roman extraordinary; the Latin a regular annual office, the Roman a half yearly one; the Latin dictator omnipotent in every sphere, the Roman dictator appointed to do one specific military service. Rosenberg goes further. He says that the Latin dictatorship was the natural substitution of a yearly office for a life-long one, that the Roman dictatorship was an attempt to remodel an institution so that it would not be dangerous, and that therefore the Roman dictator was later than the Latin. He then goes on and takes from Rome everything except the quaestorship; the names and functions of the magistrates, the ideas of collegiality and annual office-holding, even the idea of imperium, all are found to be Italic. He allows Rome one thing: aber der civis Romanus, der ganz freie Mann im festgegründeten Staat, ist sein geistiges Eigentum.

Kornemann takes no exception to the *cursus honorum* in Etruria; he does however deny that Rosenberg rightly identifies the head of the city *cursus*, the *zilax*, with *dictator*, and the *silæ* of the confederation, with *praetor*. The author seems also to have made a mistake in trying to minimize the importance of the *treviri*, who are found in more places than he has noticed, and his derivation of the *quattuorvirate* from the *octovirate* must certainly needs be *umgekehrt*.

Rosenberg, however, has gathered together in one place more material on the early Italic magistrates than has any one else, and despite his pro-Tuscan bias and the errors of judgment incident thereto, his book is valuable and most suggestively stimulating. Finally, however, it may be worthy of remark that the Italic peoples, yes even the cities of Latium, already had some magistrates and some constitutional usages before the Etruscans made themselves known. That the Etruscans already had or rapidly developed a civilization superior to that of the Italic peoples is true, and it must be true that the bordering Umbrians, Sabines, and Latins were certainly as much if not more impressed then by the conquering Etruscans, as the Romans some centuries later were impressed by the conquered Greeks. And in the study of the magistrates of any early people there is no better phrase to keep in mind than the one used about the Romans by Drake of Michigan, "a progressive subdivision of the magistracy."

La République romaine. Conflits politiques et sociaux. By G. BLOCH. Paris, 1913. Pp. 333.

To have persuaded Professor Bloch to write one of the volumes in their series is a triumph for the editors of the Bibliothèque de Philosophie scientifique. The subject of the Roman Republic, however, may have been a temptation to a man who not only was an authority in that field, but who also aspired to be of national service, for in the political and social conflicts which made and then unmade the Roman Republic there are many opportunities, in telling a true tale withal, to point a moral which should give pause to the reading and thinking members of a democracy.

Professor Bloch has written just what might be expected in such a book; a sober, sensible account of the Protean struggles of the Roman aristocracy to elude the tightening grip of the plebeians, of the decadence of the middle classes before the rising power of the city proletariat, and of the attempts to reform the state made by the successively more competent individuals, such as the idealist Tiberius Gracchus, the realist Sulla, and Augustus the opportunist. But Professor Bloch knows too much and is too conscientious to make a complete success of such a book. He compels himself to omit nothing, and therefore the perspective is lost in the details. Surely a man of his standing is entitled, if for no other reason than to vary the monotony, to make an occasional *ex cathedra* generalization.

La République romaine is a good, solid, valuable book, clear in its diction, dull in its dicta, but not without its brilliant phrases. It is perhaps not too much to say that Professor Bloch makes fairly definite statements about the origin of the clients, of the early Senate, and of the plebeians, which will probably gain neither universal approval nor acceptance. His statements about the early kingdom (p. 18 ff.) seem also to push rather hard the present state of knowledge for the sake of some clever antitheses. The early history of Rome has been amplified of late years considerably on the archaeological side, but little on the political side. Professor Bloch makes the same mistake that other historians have made in looking at a country through the magnifying glass of its deeds. The *vast* plain of Thessaly, the *vast* Attic plain, are two phrases often used, and here one finds the *vast* plain of Latium (p. 24). The writer has walked in one day the width of the vast plain of Latium, and within a few miles of its length also in a single day. Rather more apropos would be a comment on the vast amount the Romans accomplished on so small a plain. The author isolates the germ (*germe funeste*, p. 92) that destroyed the Roman Republic, and identifies it as that thing which convinced the

Roman soldiers that pillage was more lucrative than domestic occupations. The comment (p. 145) on the unique destiny of Rome cannot be too often repeated, namely, that it always remained a city and yet of all ancient cities was the only one to found an empire and to admit conquered peoples to participation in its civic rights.

Professor Bloch takes issue (p. 169 ff.) with the historians who say that the Roman Republic was Hellenized into an early grave. After citing the circle of Scipio Aemilianus as a shining example, he says that a higher and finer culture such as that of Greece ought not to be an evil; and while admitting that it was the late comedy and other samples of artistic decadence that influenced Rome, he implies that Rome ought to have known enough to choose the best rather than the worst of what Greece could offer. He inclines to the view that Rome lost its head with conquest, and that it was the irresistible opportunity to make money too fast that ruined it. This may be enough to put the author in the ranks of the economic interpreters of history.

'L'Etat romain était religieux, non théocratique' (p. 68) is a short, keen phrase; the author's definition (p. 96) of imperium as 'la plénitude de la puissance, politique, militaire, judiciaire', is satisfying; and his description (p. 240) of the Roman practice of 'following the leader' in comitial voting, 'cette espèce de fascination consacrée par l'usage', is delightful. The proletariat of Rome has been often qualified, not to say disqualified, by many objurgatives, but when the author speaks of their habits of 'fainéantise' he seems to have hit a most happy word, and lovers of the Black Knight in Ivanhoe will read into it a mighty power under a lazy appearance. However, when all is said, the reviewer rises from the perusal of Professor Bloch's *La République Romaine* enlightened, but not refreshed.

A Collotype Reproduction of that Portion of Cod. Paris 7989.

Commonly Called the Codex Traguriensis which Contains the Cena Trimalchionis of Petronius, Together with Four Poems Ascribed to Petronius in Cod. Leid. Voss. III. With Introduction and a Transcript by STEPHEN GASELEE. Cambridge Press, 1915.

The Cambridge Press has done a notable service in printing a photographic facsimile of part of the famous Paris manuscript 7989. The volume before us has, first, eighteen pages of introduction. Then come the photographic plates of the manuscript with a transcription opposite each plate, the pagina-

tion being that of the Paris Codex (206-229). Last, there are two pages with photographic facsimiles from the Codex Leidensis Vossianus 111, with a partial transcription.

Mr. Gaselee, who is the librarian of Magdalene College, says in his introduction: 'The transcript is printed opposite the plates, and follows the original as exactly as possible. I have chosen to expand the contractions, printing the letters supplied in italics, rather than to attempt to represent the contracting signs typographically. I am quite aware of the objections to this course: the choice between *n* and *m* is often arbitrary; the representation of diphthongs (particularly *æ*) introduces a type of spelling not in the mind of the scribe of the fifteenth century; it is sometimes difficult to say whether a mark above the line is a letter written small or a mark of contraction; in general, it will not be difficult to find several small inconsistencies. But I am inclined to think that inconsistencies equally great arise from the almost hopeless attempt to represent by type a great number of slightly varying lines and marks; and I am quite sure that the plan I have adopted facilitates reference, while the photographic facsimile opposite prevents these small disadvantages from being sources of error'.

In the opinion of the reviewer, Mr. Gaselee has done much needless work, and has neglected a great opportunity. With this splendid photographic facsimile just across the page, why is it necessary to give an exact transcription? A faithful modern text, with bracketed corrections of readings manifestly bad, and with notes applicable to Buecheler's variants and emendations (5th ed., Heraeus, 1912), would have been a contribution to scholarship more nearly equalling in importance the publication of this facsimile by the Cambridge Press. Mr. Gaselee has in the introduction a wealth of material, and he shows in handling it a critical acumen that would have justified the Cambridge Press in insisting upon a well edited modern text.

In spite, however, of the editor's frankness about inconsistencies, as quoted above, it would not be right to allow his transcript to go entirely unchallenged. His method of using italics for marks above the line and for contractions has nothing to commend it. Neither is *ij* an exact transcript of *ii*, when the second *i* is prolonged a little below the line. The use of capitals is not always exact, as will appear by comparison of *hec* (*Hæc*), l. 35, p. 208, with *hilaesque*, l. 38, p. 209, and *hec* (*Hæc*), l. 3, p. 212. There is a mistake in l. 23, p. 208: <esse: bene laudationem>. The manuscript has a period after *esse* (*eē*), and a mark (*l*) after *bene*, corresponding to the same mark on the margin in front of XXXV.

There are two things in the introduction particularly worthy of note. Mr. Gaselee supplements (p. 9) a suggestion made in the *Classical Review* (XXII, 178) by Professor Clark with

the conjecture that the three citations made by John of Salisbury from the *Cena* help to prove that the original of the Codex Traguriensis was in England for some time during the 12th century. In Excursus II (pp. 17-18) on the reading, 208, 30: *in quo cornua erant* (not read by Buecheler, XXXV, 4), the editor makes a very reasonable defense of his suggestion that Petronius wrote: super Scorpionem locustam marinam, super Sagittarium oclopectam, super Capricornum capri cornua.

Every addition to our palaeographical material such as this Cambridge Press publication is welcomed with delight, and rightly so. It may seem somewhat churlish to find fault with an editor who does well what he announces clearly he has set out to do. But dittography is a palaeographical sin.

RALPH V. D. MAGOFFIN.

REPORTS.

REVUE DE PHILOLOGIE, Vols. XXXVI and XXXVII.

Pp. 5-29. Paul Lejay. Dix mois d'ennui. A study of Virgil, Ecl. IV 60-61. Virgil says 'decem menses' because he is thinking, not of the child's birth, but of his earliest smile. Cp. Pliny, N. H. VII 2, 'at hercules risus praecox ille et celerimus ante quadragesimum diem nulli datur'. To add 40 days to the normal period of gestation (280 days) makes more than ten months ($10 \times 30 + 20$)—but a poet may speak in round numbers. <Cp. Hieron. Ep. 21, 2, 5, 'decem mensum fastidia sustineret.>

P. 29. Michel Bréal. L'exclamation *Malum*! This is an accusative neuter which answers the question *quo*; cp. 'Abi in malam rem!' 'Va-t-en à la male heure!' *eis ðλεθρον*. *Mālum* (with *a* long) is a synonym of *mollities*. It means the softening or rotting of vegetables. Compare the use of 'La peste!' in the French comic poets.

Pp. 30-34. Charles Picard. Le décret sur la constitution de l'oligarchie à Thasos (412/11 av. J.-C.). A new study of the inscription (I. G. XII 8) on the original stone.

Pp. 35-47. Louis Havet. Textual notes on the Aeneid. In IX 160 omit the last two words and leave the line incomplete: 'cura datur Messapo et moenia'. In IX 161 read *Rutulo*, and insert 163 before 161. In IX 229 read *nixi* (for *adnixi*). In XI 503 omit *et* (after *audeo*).

Pp. 48-77. W. M. Calder. Inscriptions d'Iconium (found in 1910). Text and comment.

Pp. 80-129. Philippe Fabia. La journée du 15 janvier 69 à Rome. A detailed study of the memorable day on which Rome saw the fall of Galba and the accession of Otho. The accounts given by Tacitus, Plutarch and Suetonius are independent of one another, but are all derived from the same source.

Pp. 130-131. Th. Reinach. A propos du miroir Schlumberger. The first line of the inscription is, *αι λειαν[ε Λ]αδα μηνύου[σι]*.

Pp. 132-133. Paul Collinet. Σχολαστικὸς φόρου Θηβαῖδος. In this expression, in a London papyrus, *φόρος* is the Latin word *forum*.

Pp. 135-140. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 140-147. A. Cartault. Notes explicatives sur Tibulle et Sulpicia. Reply to an article by F. Jacoby, *Rheinisches Museum* LXIV-LXV (A. J. P. XXXII 348). Elegy IV 8 refers to the birthday of Cerinthus. In IV 10, 1 *multum* modifies *securus*. In line 7 read *credam*. In IV 6, 20 read 'hic idem vobis iam vetus *exstet* amor'.

Pp. 148-178. Alfred Jacob. *Curae Strabonianae*. Textual notes, with complete collations of ACs for Book IV.

Pp. 179-189. Georges Wormser. Tacite et Quintilien. The *Institutio Oratoria* appeared in 94; the *Dialogus* of Tacitus must have been begun in 95, and published at the end of 96. Asper holds that oratory was never so flourishing as in his own day. Messala-Quintilian praises the orators of former times, and hopes that men may return to their methods and recover their eloquence. Maternus-Tacitus is pessimistic: the classical reaction will all be in vain. Aper is refuted by Messala, and he in turn by Maternus.

Pp. 190-191. D. Serruys. Stobée, Floril. III 29, 86 et III 36, 14^a.

Pp. 192-193. L. Havet. *Forsit* was really a *πολλάκις εἰρημένον*. It occurs in Horace, Sat. I 6, 49; it should be restored in Terence, Eun. 197, Andr. 957, and perhaps in Horace, Od. I 28, 31.

Pp. 193-195. L. Havet. La forme de *funus* dans Lucain. The manuscript confusion of *foedus* and *funus* (IV 232, X 373, I 429) suggests that Lucan used an archaic form *foenus*.

P. 195. L. Havet. Isidore, Etymol. 2, 21, 43. For *efon* read *ἐφ' ἑν*.

Pp. 196-201. P. Collomp. *Per omnia elementa* (un détail de l'initiation isiaque). This phrase in Apuleius, *Metam.* XI 23, refers to a liturgical representation of the purificatory journey of the soul through the astral zones.

Pp. 201-202. P. Lejay. L'ascension à travers les cieux dans Eusèbe de Césarée (*Hist. eccl.* X iv, 15). A footnote to the preceding article.

Pp. 203-208. J. Vendryes. Le langage des *Defixionum tabellae* de Johns Hopkins University. Notes on the curse-tablets published by W. Sherwood Fox, in a supplement to the *American Journal of Philology*, Vol. XXXIII (1912). The deponent form *polliciarus*, the dative *me*, the nominative plural *quas*, suggest the influence of the Marsian dialect.

Pp. 209-212. René Waltz. Le lieu de la scène dans le *Satiricon*. Bücheler inferred, from Sidon. *Apoll.* XXIII 155-

157 and Serv. ad Aen. III 57, that in a lost part of the Satiricon the adventures of Encolpius were represented as taking place at Marseilles. This view has been commonly accepted, but it rests on no good ground.

P 212. B. Haussoullier. Ad O. G. I. S, I 228, 8.

Pp. 213-238. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 243-263. P. Lejay. Les origines d'une préposition latine *Absque*. In Plautus and Terence *absque ted esset* is a coordinate form of the conditional proposition and, usually, a parenthesis (like Virgil's *sineret dolor*, Aen. VI 31). The conditional sense is not implied in *absque*, or in one of its elements, but in the form of the verb. In *absque* we have the preposition *abs* and the *que* of coordination. In later times (from Fronto on) *absque* was used as a preposition. M. Lejay adds a note on '*quod* conditionnel'.

Pp. 264-278. L. Méridier. *ἤχος*. A careful study of the Greek texts where this word occurs seems to show that it referred, not to color, but to sound or movement.

Pp. 279-280. L. Havet. Horace, Od. I, 27, 19. Proposes, '*Quanta laboras scis Charybdi*'? ("Te doutes-tu bien . . .").

Pp. 280-283. L. Havet. Lucain, 6, 337-338. This passage looks like a reminiscence of Virgil, G. 4, 425-7. It may be paraphrased: "Quant aux feux du milieu du ciel (*les ardeurs de midi*), et quant à l'amorce <encore> solstitiale de la dévorante période léonine (*les ardeurs du plein été*), l'Othrys couronné de bois en préserve le pays".

Pp. 284-296. Maurice Brillant. Inscription de Tomes. A new study of an inscription already published by Mommsen and by Cagnat. It belongs to the reign of Antoninus Pius, and shows the existence of a college of Alexandrian merchants in the city of Ovid's exile.

Pp. 297-298. H. Lebègue. Sénèque, Epistt. ad Lucilium, ed. Otto Hense, Teubner, 1898. Ep. XII 5, read 'in extrema *tegula*'. Ep. LIII 6, read 'et *varos* fecit dextros pedes', or '*varosque* fecit dextros pedes'. Ep. LX 2, read *frumentum*, instead of *instrumentum*.

Pp. 299-308. L. Delaruelle. Observations sur Cicéron. Ac. I 17, change *heredem* to *heredes*, and transpose the words 'Speusippum sororis filium', to follow 'reliquisset'. Ac. II 11, read 'sed utrumque *leviter*'. Ac. II 69, for *paenitebat* read *pudebat*. Ac. II 81, read 'lumen *non* putas'. N. D. II 49, 124. 'Legi etiam scriptum', etc. Omit *scriptum*. N. D. III 50 fin., read 'cum quidam ei molestius <ferenti> . . . confirmaret'. N. D. III 62, read 'Iam vero quid <quod> vos', etc.

Pp. 309-310. L. Delaruelle. Virgile, Aen. VIII 101. For *urbi* read *ripae*.

Pp. 311-354. Bulletin bibliographique.

Revue des comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique. 96 pp. Comptes rendus parus en 1911.

Revue des revues et publications d'académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. 222 pp. Fascicules publiés en 1911.

Vol. XXXVII (1913).

Pp. 5-7. L. Havet. Notes on the ancient lives of Virgil. In the Vita Donatiana, 292 Brummer, read 'cum *non* id ipsum *praestarit*'. *Praestavi* for *praestiti* is common in late Latin. Here it means 'promise'. In Focas, 74, read 'via tuta per *umbras*'. In Philargyrius, 19 Br., omit *et*; in 88, read 'crebro pronuntiarentur'; in 157, omit *scientiae*; in 163, read 'rediit unde'.

Pp. 7-18. L. Havet. Horatiana. In C. 1, 7, 23 read *populna*. In C. 1, 28, 19 Horace probably wrote 'senum iuvenum' (asyndeton). In the second Epode, transpose lines 15-16, to come before 11. In Epod. 15, 7 read 'lupus *in*', and mark a lacuna of two lines. In Epod. 17, 39 read 'iuencos centum'. In the sixteenth Epode, lines 49-50 and 61-62 are a case of double recension. Lines 61-62 should be omitted; 49-50 should be retained, in their present position. In C. S. 26, Bentley's conjecture is good: 'quod, semel dictum, stabilis *per aevum*'. Compare the *per* of the next line, in precisely the same position.

Pp. 19-46. P. Collomp. Une source de Clément d'Alexandrie et les homélies pseudo-clémentines. The writer hints at certain 'Pythagorean' doctrines in Philo.

Pp. 47-52. J. Marouzeau. Ce que valent les manuscrits des *Dialogi* de Sénèque. Textual notes. The 'deteriores' deserve more attention than they have received.

Pp. 53-61. Philippe Fabia. L'ambassade d'Othon aux Vitelliens (Tacite, Hist. I. 74). It is unlikely that Otho's commissioners went as far as Lyons. Perhaps they were stopped, by order of Valens, soon after they crossed the frontier.

Pp. 62-69. Auguste Diès. Platonica. In Theaetetus, 167 B, read: ἄλλ' οἶμαι πονηρᾷ ψυχῆς ἔξει δοξάζοντα συγγενῇ αὐτῆς χρηστῇ ἐποίησε δοξάσαι ἕτερα τοιαῦτα, ἃ δὴ τινες τὰ φαντάσματα ὑπὸ ἀπειρίας ἀληθῆ καλοῦσιν. The latter part of this section furnishes a good parallel to Symposium, 186 E, 187 A (the comparison of medicine with agriculture).

Pp. 70-76. L. Bayard. Note sur une inscription chrétienne et sur des passages de saint Cyprien. A study of the "Magus puer" inscription of the Lateran Museum. In the third line read: 'quam stabilis tibi haec vita est' ("Que ta nouvelle vie est stable!"). In the last line, for *struat* read *statuat*. The inscription is of no value in determining the text of St. Cyprian.

Pp. 77-94. Charles Picard. Les inscriptions du théâtre d'Éphèse et le culte d'Artémis Ephesia. Notes on the inscriptions published by R. Heberdey in the second volume of *Forschungen in Ephesos*. The first one (which belongs to the early part of the third century B. C.) attests the financial rôle of the 'Essenes'. The tenth mentions Ephesian *θεωποι* (who probably announced the festivals of Artemis). The twentieth refers to the temple of Artemis Soteira founded by Lysimachus.

Pp. 95-109. A. Bourgery. Notes critiques sur la texte de Sénèque (Dial. III 12, 5; IV 1, 1; IV 29, 2; VI 3, 1; VI 19, 3; IX 5, 5; X 14, 4; Ep. 26, 8; 53, 9-10; 109, 6; N. Q. III 11, 4; III 16, 5; IV 5, 1; Dial. II 11, 3; VI 9, 5; VI 16, 7; VI 23, 5; VIII 2, 2; IX 9, 1; XI 5, 3; XII 11, 6; XII 12, 2; Ep. 19, 6; Ben. I 1, 1; Clem. I 3, 1; N. Q. I 16, 5).

Pp. 110-111. B. Haussoullier. Ad BCH XXXVI (1912), n. 9-11. Inscriptions de Salymbria.

Pp. 112-120. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 121-131. F. Préchac. Quel fut le maître de philosophie de Trébatius? In Cic. ad Fam. VII 12, 1, for *Zeius* read *Velleius*.

Pp. 131-132. L. Havet. La note L dans Varron, *Rerum rust. libri*. The L is a corruption of Z (an abbreviation of some form of *ζῆτιν*).

Pp. 133-142. Paul Collart. Nonnos epigrammatiste. Text and translation of some of the 'epigrams' in the *Dionysiaca* (XV 298-302, XXXIV 292-296, XLII 459-467, X 280-286, XXIX 39-44, II 629-630, XI 475-6, XV 361-2, XVII 313-4, XXXVII 101-2, XLVI 318-9, IV 238-46, VII 117-128, IX 149-54, XVII 74-80).

Pp. 142-144. Paul Collart. Anthologie Palatine, IX, 198. This epigram alludes to the *Dionysiaca*.

Pp. 145-161. L. Delaruelle. Les procédés de rédaction de Tite-Live étudiés dans une de ses narrations. A study of IV 17-19, with a guess at the material on which the passage was based. The most obvious thing about Livy's method is that he connects the data which earlier historians had set down

without much attempt at coordination. His own additions are not mere gratuitous invention; they bring out something which is implied in the original narrative, and help to render it more intelligible. He tries to give each personage a distinct personality, and tries to make him act or speak in a way which is appropriate to his character or his situation.

Pp. 162-182. Paul Vallette. Phénix de Colophon et la poésie cynique. A criticism of G. A. Gerhard's book (1909). Phoenix cannot be called an apostle of Cynicism. There is nothing specifically or exclusively Cynic in the fragments which have been preserved.

Pp. 183-190. D. Serruys. A propos de Phénix de Colophon. A criticism of the preceding article by Paul Vallette. The fragments represent a modified form of Cynicism, such, for example, as is found in the so-called Letters of Heraclitus (Epistolographi Graeci, ed. Hercher, pp. 280-288).

P. 191. L. Havet. Plaute, Asinaria 540-542. The writer quotes a 'parallel' in Balzac's Médecin de Campagne—which is merely a description of a pet lamb.

Pp. 192-206. Auguste Diès. Note sur l' 'Ελένης ἐγκώμιον de Gorgias. In § 12 we may read: Τίς οὖν αἰτία κωλύει καὶ τὴν 'Ελένην ἀνυμνῶνς ἐλθεῖν ὁμοίως ἂν συναινοῦσαν ὥσπερ εἰ διὰ θηρίον βίαι ἡρπάσθη;

Pp. 207-234. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 241-250. Charles Joret. La *lappa* chez Plîme et ses équivalents chez Théophraste et chez Dioscoride. The *lappa* of Pliny is the burdock (*Arctium Lappa*).

Pp. 250-251. J. E. Harry. Euripide, Iphigénie à Aulis, 1192-93. Read: τίς δὲ καὶ προβλέψεται | παίδων σ' ἐὰν αὐτῶν πρόθυμ' ἕνα κτάνης;

Pp. 252-253. L. Havet. Tibulle I 10, 11. For *vulgi* read the vocative *Valgi* (C. Valgius Rufus).

Pp. 254-257. René Pichon. Quelques textes relatifs à l'histoire de l'Atellane. Interpretation of a famous passage in Livy (VII 4), 'quae inde exodia postea appellata consertaque fabellis potissimum atellanis sunt'. *Fabellis* is probably ablative: 'ces lazzi furent appelés exodes et cousus ensemble à l'aide de contes, principalement des contes d'Atella'. Interpretation of Juvenal, VII 71, 'Urbicus exodio risum movet atellanae | gestibus Autonoes'. *Atellanae* is probably an adjective qualifying *Autonoes*: 'Urbicus, dans un exode, provoque le rire en faisant les gestes d'une Autonoe d'Atella'.

Pp. 258-261. René Pichon. Notes sur quelques passages du *de Vita beata* de Sénèque (IV 4; VII 1; XIII 2, 3; XXV 2; XXVII 4). In XXV 2 read *amminiculum*, not *amiculum*.

Pp. 262-270. T. Walek. Inscription inédite de Delphes. Traité d'alliance entre les Étoliens et les Béotiens. A fragmentary inscription which apparently refers to the year 292 B. C.

Pp. 271-287. Bulletin bibliographique.

Pp. 289-331. W. H. Buckler. Monuments de Thyatire. Text and comment on twenty-one inscriptions from Ak-hissar (Thyatira). One of them shows that about 25 A. D. there were at least three gymnasiums in the place. Another illustrates the importance of the guild of dyers.

Pp. 332-334. P. Roussel. La vente du droit de cité (Note sur une inscription d'Ephèse). The first of the inscriptions published in R. Heberdey's *Forschungen in Ephesos* indicates that at the beginning of the third century the city was forced by its financial position to sell its civil and political rights.

Pp. 335-336. Bulletin bibliographique.

Revue des comptes rendus d'ouvrages relatifs à l'antiquité classique. 108 pp. Comptes rendus parus en 1912.

Revue des revues et publications d'académies relatives à l'antiquité classique. 202 pp. Fascicules publiés en 1912.

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Janvier.

A. Jeanroy. Le débat du clerc et de la damoiselle, poème inédit du XIV^e siècle. 17 pages. Twenty-five years ago G. Paris called attention to this unpublished poem, and requested M. Jeanroy to edit it. But the latter did not carry out the wish of the master until a later and garbled version had been unearthed in that strange compilation known as the *Jardin de Plaisance*. After giving a critical edition of the text, a somewhat similar poem of the early sixteenth century is published in a long note.

Arthur Långfors. Notice du manuscrit français 17068 de la Bibliothèque nationale. 11 pages. The larger portion of this manuscript contains a collection of exempla similar to the *Cy nous dit*. This is here passed over without any detailed description. The last few leaves of the paper volume contain a number of short poems and prose selections, which are the subject of especial study and which are in many instances published in extenso.

E. Philipon. *Suffixes romans d'origine pré-latine*. 30 pages.
 1. Suffixe -ardo-. This suffix appears to have been unusually fertile in forming proper names of persons, rivers, mountains and places in Upper Italy, France and Spain prior to the advent of the Latin language. A detailed etymological study of many of these names is made, accompanied by extensive bibliographical footnotes. 2. Suffixe -aldo-. This suffix is much rarer than the preceding form, but it occurs over much the same territory as the other, and it is similarly used.

Antoine Thomas. *Variétés étimologiques*. 30 pages. The etymologies of nineteen words and groups of words are here studied in detail. They belong to French, Provençal and other Romance linguistic domains.

Mélanges. Giulio Bertoni, *Il Lucidario italiano*. J. Druon, *La Vie de sainte Christine de Gautier de Coinci*. G. Huet, *Deux personnages arturiens*. M. R., *Pour le commentaire de Villon, Montpipeau et Rueil* (Test. 1671-2). L. Spitzer, *Corrections au Conte d'amour catalan*.

Comptes rendus. Edmond Faral, *Recherches sur les sources latines des contes et romans courtois du moyen âge* (M. Wilmotte). J. Loth, *Contributions à l'étude des Romans de la Table Ronde* (A. Smirnov). Gertrude Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt, a study of the sources of the romance* (Ferdinand Lot: "Félicitons-la d'avoir poursuivi sa tâche jusqu'au bout avec une prudence, une rigueur de méthode, une force de logique qui font de son livre la contribution la plus scientifique qu'ait apportée la jeune école américaine à l'étude de notre littérature médiévale").

Périodiques. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, CXXVIII (Arthur Långfors). *Jahresbericht des Instituts für rumänische Sprache zu Leipzig*, XIX-XX (M. R.). *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXVI^e-XXVIII^e année (G. Cohen: mentions publications of C. Carrol (!) Marden, Fr. Le Jau Frost, T. Atkinson Jenkins, F. M. Josselyn, and E. S. Sheldon).

Chronique. P. Studer has recently been made Professor of Romance Languages at Oxford. Publications annoncées. Three new editions of old French literary works. Collections et publications en cours. Four new volumes of the *Classiques français du moyen âge* have appeared. Analysis and review of the *Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, 21-28a, with notes by L. Foulet.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 14 titles. *Gramática historica de la lengua castellana* por Federico Hanssen ("Édition espagnole de la Spanische Grammatik auf historischer Grund-

lage"). Gédéon Huet, Saint Julien l'Hospitalier (A. Långfors: "l'article de M. Huet... marque un progrès très net dans l'histoire de la légende de saint Julien"). Ruggero Palmieri, Saggio sulla metrica del Canzoniere di Chiaro Davanzati (A. Jeanroy).

Avril.

J. Anglade. *Nostradamica*. 6 pages. II. Deux lettres adressées à Jehan de Nostredame. Only one letter written by this author is known to be extant; while two others addressed to him by one of his friends writing in Italian are herewith published. III. Pietro della Rovere, Piemontese. Sundry notes on this personage are here appended.

Giulio Bertoni. Il "Pianto" provenzale in morte di Re Manfredi. 10 pages. Manfred was a favorite with the Provençal poets, and after his untimely death in 1266 he became a sort of legendary hero. No general study of these poems has, however, yet been made, although it would appear to be an attractive field for investigation. One of these poems is here published in a critical edition. It is to be considered anonymous in spite of the fact that it has sometimes been attributed to Aimeric de Peguilhan.

L. Constans. Une traduction française des Héroïdes d'Ovide au XIII^e siècle. 22 pages. Ovid's treatises on love and his *Metamorphoses* were great favorites in the Middle Ages not only with the clerics but also with the laity. The *Heroides*, however, met with less favor, and hence the author of the present article has thought it worth while to give some account of fourteen prose versions of certain of these letters which occur more especially in three Old French manuscripts. After an investigation of the generally awkward manner in which these amatory epistles have been introduced into his narrative by the mediæval chronicler, the author proceeds to investigate the probable date of the collection. In an appendix he compares the Old French translations here studied with certain Old Italian versions published by other scholars.

Edmond Faral. Une source latine de l'histoire d'Alexandre. La lettre sur les merveilles de l'Inde. 17 pages. The history of Alexander the Great was a great favorite with mediæval writers, and by degrees they inserted in it more and more of the marvelous in recounting his exploits in the East. Some of these tales appear to have been derived from a Latin work of the ninth century which M. Omont has published under the title *Lettre à l'empereur Adrien sur les merveilles de l'Asie*. But further investigations have shown that this text is closely related to the *Epistola Premonis regis ad Trajanum impera-*

torem formerly preserved in a manuscript at Strassburg and in the well-known *Otia imperialia* of Gervase of Tilbury.

Arthur Långfors. *Le dit des hérauts* par Henri de Laon. 10 pages. This short poem had never before been published in its entirety, although its existence had long been known. The author is otherwise unknown, albeit the single manuscript which contains his poem has belonged to the royal library since 1373, when it appears in the inventory drawn up by Gilles Mallet.

Amos Parducci. *Le Mystère de Suzanne et la décoration de quelques livres d'heures imprimés*. 12 pages. Towards the end of the fifteenth century and during the first years of the sixteenth the numerous editions of Books of Hours were richly ornamented with woodcuts. The legend of Suzanne was a favorite subject, and it is here shown that the popular *Mystère de Suzanne* must have been the immediate source used.

Mélanges. C. de Boer, *Le "Lai de Tisbé" et le Tristan de Thomas*. P. Dorveaux, *Anc. prov. Notz ysserca, Not ycherca*, etc. A. Jeanroy, *Sur la version provençale de Barlaam et Josaphat* (éd. E. Heuckenkamp). Leo Spitzer et A. Jeanroy, *Corrections à Yder* (éd. H. Gelzer, *Ges. f. roman. Lit.*, XXXI). A. Thomas, *Fragmant de l'Erec de Crétien de Troies*. A. Thomas, *Sur la patrie de l'Escoufle*.

Comptes rendus. Pierre Champion, *François Villon, sa vie et son temps* (Lucien Foulet). Maurice Grammont, *Le vers français, ses moyens d'expression, son harmonie*, 2^e éd. (Georges Millardet). W. Kaufmann, *Die gallo-romanischen Bezeichnungen für den Begriff "Wald"* (Hans Maver). Ezio Levi, *Cantilene e ballate dei sec. XIII e XIV dai "Memoriali" di Bologna* (Giulio Bertoni). Angelico Prati, *Ricerche di toponomastica trentina* (J. Jud). O. H. Prior, *L'Image du monde de maître Gossouin* (Edmond Faral).

Périodiques. *Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen*, t. CXXIX-CXXX (Arthur Långfors). *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, t. XLIII-LVIII (A. Linden: "J. E. Shaw, *Il titolo del Decameron*. S. *essaie d'expliquer le 'senza titolo' du Decameron comme 'senza iscrizione titolare'*"). *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXIX^e-XXX^e année (G. Cohen: "John D. Fitz-Gerald, *Versification of the Cuaderna via as found in Berceo's Vida de Santo Domingo de Silos*—Ad. Zauner: *un des plus importants travaux parus dans ces dernières années sur l'ancienne métrique espagnole*; *El libro de los Gatos*: a text with introduction and notes by George T. Northup—Ad. Zauner: *excellente édition de cet ancien texte dont le titre singulier résulterait d'une erreur de lecture, 'gatos' pour*

'quentos'; Fr. Bliss Luquiens, *The reconstruction of the original Chanson de Roland*—E. Stengel répond aux critiques que l'auteur adresse à sa reconstitution du Roland; Dante Alighieri, *La Divina Commedia* ed. and annotated by C. H. Grandgent, I, *Inferno*—K. Vossler: la première édition américaine de la D. C., avec un commentaire sobre et au courant de la science."). Le moyen âge, 8^e-9^e année, 2^e série, t. I-IV (H. Lemaitre: "W.-H. Schofield, *Studies on the li Beaus Desconus*—F. Lot: le grand tort de M. Sch. a été de vouloir retrouver Perceval sous le Beau Desconus . . . C'est, je le crois, s'illusionner; Gilles de Rome, *Li Livres du gouvernement des rois*, publ. by S. P. Molenaer—J. Couraye du Parc: il manque un glossaire; *Lois de Guillaume le Conquérant en français et en latin*, p. p. J.-E. Matzke, avec préface de C. Bémont—L. Levillain."). *Revue de phonétique*, t. II. *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*, XXXVII, 1-3 (Mario Roques).

Chronique. Obituary notice of Paul Heyse (by P. M.). Collections and publications en cours. Collection folklorique de l'Académie roumaine, IX-XVIII. Atlas linguistique de la Corse.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 16 titles. Herbert Douglas Austin, *Accredited citations in Ristoro d'Arezzo, Composizione del mondo*, a study of sources (A. Jeanroy: "mémoire d'une érudition très profonde et très spéciale"). *The Oxford Book of Spanish Verse*, chosen by James Fitzmaurice-Kelly.

Juillet.

Albert Counson. *Francorchamps et la Francorum semita*. 14 pages. The curious-looking name of this village in Belgium near the Prussian frontier has attracted the attention of many scholars in times past. As early as 1130 the name is found in a Latin chart, and frequently thereafter in similar documents. After the manner of M. Bédier the author of this article then proceeds to prove that the place in question was named after the French pilgrim road which led through this region from one monastery to another in mediæval times.

C. de Boer. *Guillaume de Machaut et l'Ovide moralisé*. 18 pages. It has been the fashion to suppose that Guillaume de Machaut borrowed many of his stories directly from Ovid; but of late scholars have inclined rather to the opinion that he took them from the mediæval Ovide moralisé. This latter hypothesis is now proven to be true by the citation of numerous parallel passages.

Edmond Faral. *Une source latine de l'histoire d'Alexandre la Lettre sur les merveilles de l'Inde (suite)*. 18 pages. In this article the relations existing between the various works

cited are discussed at some length. Many amusing traditions are cited by way of comparison, with the final result that the ultimate source is found in Greece. Additional light is thus thrown on the literary channels by which Oriental traditions were transmitted to the West during the Middle Ages.

C. Salvioni. *Centuria di note etimologiche e lessicali*. 32 pages. The first half of this article is herewith presented to the reader. These numerous etymologies are chiefly confined to the Italian field with only an occasional excursus into other Romance territory.

Jessie L. Weston. *Notes on the Grail Romances*. 24 pages. 1. *Sone de Nansai, Parzival and Perlesvaus*. This is a lengthy and wearisome romance and from a literary point of view the poem is not of first-rate importance, yet it contains several striking features in connection with the Arthurian cycle which make it worthy of attention at the hand of scholars. 2. *The Perlesvaus and the Histoire de Fulk Fitz-Warin*. A Shropshire *Blanche-Launde* and a Northumbrian *Blanche Lande* vie with each other as the probable seat of a certain Arthurian tradition, and the conclusion here reached is that the author of the *Perlesvaus* was utilizing a genuine tradition originally located in the wild Northumbrian Moorland, but which, through a similarity of place-names, had been transferred to the Welsh Border.

Mélanges. Giulio Bertoni, *Fragment d'un manuscrit du Chevalier au lion*. Léopold Constans, *L'Entrée d'Espagne et les legendes troyennes*. Jean Haust, *Notes étymologiques*. Antoine Thomas, *Fragment d'un manuscrit du Roman de Troie*.

Comptes rendus. J. Anglade, *Les Poésies de Peire Vidal* (A. Jeanroy). Charles B. Lewis, *Die altfranzösischen Prosa-versionen des Appolonius-Romans nach allen bekannten Handschriften* (E. Faral). E. Niestroy, *Der Trobador Pistoleta* (A. Jeanroy). F. Naudieth, *Der Trobador Guillem Magret* (Leo Spitzer). Carlo Salvioni, *Note di lingua sarda; Bricciche sarde* (J. Jud).

Périodiques. *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, t. LIX-LXII (A. Jeanroy). *Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie*, XXXI^e-XXXIII^e année (G. Cohen: Aurelio M. Espinosa, *Studies in new mexican Spanish*—Ad. Zauner, "contribution méritoire"; William A. Nitze, *The Fisher King in the Grail Romances*—Leo Jordan, "des rapprochements assez convaincants"; John E. Matzke, *Les oeuvres de Simund de Freine*—J. Vising, "bonne édition"; Barry Cerf, *The Franco-Italian Chevalerie Ogier*, "soigneuse édi-

tion"; William A. Nitze, The sister's son and the conte del graal—W. Golther, "ingénieux mais pas décisif").

Chronique. Publication annoncée. Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 16 titles. Edmund G. Gardner, Dante and the Mystics. A.-L. Terracher, La tradition manuscrite de la "Chevalerie Vivien" (M. R.: "un mémoire excellent par l'ingéniosité de la méthode et la rigueur de l'exécution").

Octobre.

Louis Brandin. Traduction française en vers des Sortes apostolorum. 14 pages. The Imperial Library of Vienna contains a thirteenth century French manuscript having a translation in the Namur dialect of the Sortes apostolorum. The French and Latin texts are here published in parallel columns.

E. Philipon. Les parlers de la comté de Bourgogne aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles. 65 pages. In this linguistic investigation no attention is paid to literary monuments written in the dialect, but documents found in the archives at Besançon and at Dijon form the sole basis for study. Thirty-five of these documents are herewith published, and a long list of others consulted is likewise given.

C. Salvioni. Centuria di note etimologiche e lessicali (séquito). 28 pages. In the second half of the article the author proceeds on similar lines to the first.

Mélanges. Giulio Bertoni, Un nuovo trovatore italiano: Girardo Cavallazzi. Antoine Thomas, Peire Vidal an Tère Sainte.

Comptes rendus. I. C. Lecompte, Richeut, Old French poem of the twelfth century (Lucien Foulet, A. Jeanroy, Mario Roques: "édition très supérieure"). M. L. Wagner, Aggiunte e Rettifiche al vocabolario dello Spano di un ignoto Bonorvese (J. Jud). P. E. Guarnerio, Di alcune Aggiunte e Rettifiche al Vocabolario sardo dello Spano di un anonimo Bonorvese recentemente messe in luce (J. Jud).

Périodiques. Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen, t. CXXXI (A. Långfors). Neuphilologische Mitteilungen, 1913 (L. Foulet). Revista de filología española, I, 1 (M. R.: "Cette nouvelle revue, dont nous sommes heureux d'annoncer le premier fascicule, paraîtra par numéros trimestriels d'une centaine de pages; R. Schevill, Ovid and the Renaissance in Spain—A. G. Solalinde"). Revista Lusitana, t. IX-XIV (A. B.). Revue de philologie française et de lit-

térature, t. XXVII (H. Yvon, M. R.). Studj romanzi, IV (Giulio Bertoni). Zeitschrift für romanische philologie, XXXVII, 4-6 (Mario Roques, L. F.).

Chronique. Obituary notices of Frédéric Mistral and Hermann Suchier (by P. M.: "Pour G. Paris et moi, il était un véritable ami"). "Notre collaborateur, M. Maurice Wilmotte, professeur à l'Université de Liège, a été appelé à donner son enseignement à la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Bordeaux pendant la durée des hostilités." Collections et publications en cours.

Comptes rendus sommaires. 17 titles. C. H. Grandgent, Introduzione allo studio del latino volgare, traduzione dall'inglese di N. Maccarone con prefazione di E. G. Parodi. Obras completas de Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, La Galatea, edición publicada por Rodolfo Schevill y Adolfo Bonilla.

GEORGE C. KEIDEL.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

BRIEF MENTION.

Those who are wedded to Hellas, not satisfied with the 'two hearts beating each to each' of the 'Meeting at Night', are feeling more and more the need of a wider world. The office of an interpreter is a high office and ought not to be left to amateurs imperfectly acquainted with the language of those whom they interpret. Despite an eminent Platonist, whose own authority I always treat with great consideration, I find it hard to yield to the charm of Pater's Plato and Platonism (A. J. P. XV 93). ἀκολουθεῖν with the accusative is too much for my schoolmasterly soul, though lapses almost as bad are to be found in the writings of those who sit in Aristarchus' seat. Conspicuous among the qualified interpreters of things Greek to those who know no Greek is Wilamowitz, a dominant figure wherever he takes his stand, who proclaims the gospel of Hellenism to throngs of eager listeners, not ten per cent of whom can construe a Greek sentence. Another shining example is Schwartz, whose 'Charakterköpfe' (A. J. P. XXVII 483) has generated other 'Charakterköpfe'. But it is not often that a man of GILBERT MURRAY's acknowledged competence undertakes the task of making a great poet known to them that are without. Professor MURRAY is not only an editor whose critical work has been favoured and furthered by the great Berlin scholar, who has been in the forefront of Euripidean study for more than a generation. He is a peerless translator of Euripides, if transference is translation (A. J. P. XXXI 359), and in his version and thanks to his version Euripides to-day holds the English and American stage. Master of a graceful and winning style, an apostle of Hellenism who has done so much to awaken in the wider public an interest in the problems of Greek literature, no one could be better equipped than GILBERT MURRAY for the preparation of the volume that bears the title *Euripides and his Age in Holt's Home University Library*. Qualifications like these entitle even his popular work to the consideration of all Hellenists, and in any case, *Brief Mention* is a law unto itself. Now, it so happens that Euripides lies in the track of this, my last year's work as a teacher. It is my Aristophanes year, and Euripides is no more to be evaded than the Peloponnesian War (A. J. P. XXXVI 10). No one can understand Aristophanes without studying Euripides. A man's enmities are as important for the appreciation of his work in life as his friendships, if not more important. 'Dearest foe', we say, and 'pet aversion'.

The very peculiarities of the objects of our ridicule are catching, and this is one meaning of the *εὐριπιδαριστοφανίζων* of Kratinos (A. J. P. XXXII 237). *Euripides and his Age* means really Aristophanes and his age, for the essential Aristophanes ends with the Frogs.

Now, I am not going to make the mistake I made last time and dish up a lot of warmed over phrases about Euripides, as I did about Thukydides. There is material enough, Heaven knows. Nestle, who wrote the article about Thukydides which I summarized in the last number, has written a whole book entitled 'Euripides, der Dichter der griechischen Aufklärung', not the worst of the batch (A. J. P. XXVII 110). There is Verrall, the vivacious, and Decharme, the delightful. But being something of a phrasemaker myself, though chiefly in the syntactical line, I have a profound distrust of phrasemakers, and in talking to my students about the three great tragic poets I am in the habit of discarding epigrammatic devices and expounding those poor creatures, Dio Chrysostomos and Philostratos. For Euripides I bid my novices read Nauck and the proof-texts. It is all there, in the lines or between the lines. Latin is a wonderful corrective, a potent charm against the enticements of superfine diction (A. J. P. XXIX 501), and Robinson Ellis's wise words in his encomium of that old-fashioned vehicle are well worth perpending (A. J. P. XXX 360).

Or else I bid the youngsters study the chapter of Tycho Mommsen on the language of Euripides. No better introduction to the blend in Euripidean style, in which one recognizes the mingled blood of the *κάπηλος*, Mnesarchos, and the aristocratic *λαχανόπωλις*, Kleito. Mnesarchos, it is reported, was a Boeotian who changed his name to Mnesarchides when he got up in the world. It was then, doubtless, that he married an Athenian lady, Kleito, very much as the 'stone-scraper' Sokrates married Xanthippe, a kinswoman of Perikles. Kleito and Xanthippe may have belonged to the same social sphere. The Boeotian business seems to be borne out by Euripides' fondness for *-ειος* (A. J. P. XXXI 360), quite as cogent a proof as the Lokrian *τε* in Plato's *Timaeus* (Pindar O. 9, 43; cf. Shorey, A. J. P. IX 410 footn.); and the greengrocer story reminds one of the decayed gentlewoman in Hawthorne's *House of the Seven Gables*. It looks very much as if Mne-

sarchos-Mnesarchides had redeemed the poor girl from the wretched trade of herb-selling, and this explains for the first time how Euripides was able to buy books. Of course, the gossips of Athens never forgot the low estate to which the girl of aristocratic lineage had been reduced. Orange-girl, flower-girl, *marchande des quatre saisons* (Jules Lemaitre's equivalent for *λαχανόπωλις*) such occupations stick in the modern memory. To be sure, Professor MURRAY discards all these idle tales, but there are those who shake their heads and say there may be something in them after all, as there are those who maintain that there may be something in the story of Aspasia's callets in connexion with the origin of the Peloponnesian War, as set forth in the *Acharnians*. But years ago Wilamowitz shewed in his 'Thukydides-legende' that the traditional details of Thukydides' career are mere inferences drawn from the historian's own writings, and it may be maintained, and has been maintained, that we have the same right to draw inferences in the case of Euripides' mother, if not the same cart-rope with which to draw them. Aristophanes' chervil is simply an outgrowth from the poet's own kitchen-garden.

The other story that he was born on the night of the battle of Salamis is evidently a synchronistic tale, only four years out, like Anno Domini. What matters it now? It helps the boys to remember, and it is delightfully symbolical of the poet with his tempest-tossed soul. Why not carry the thing out? Wilamowitz calls attention to the contrast between the hoplite, Aischylos, and the cavalier, Sophokles. Why not put Euripides in the navy? Dissertation after dissertation has been written on the rôle of the sea in the tragic poets, and Euripides is notoriously fond of the sea in his imagery. Both Sophokles and Euripides shew up well in the chariot line, as in the *Electra* of the one, the *Hippolytos* of the other; but there seems to be a professional touch in the famous scene of *Iphigeneia* among the *Taurians* (1327 foll.). However, a poet is of all trades, and it is only in nautical novels that sailors garnish their speech with the lingo of their calling. Aischines was a gallant soldier, but there is no decided military cast in his language, whereas Demosthenes, evidently a frail and nervous man, is a regular sport in his illustrations (A. J. P. XXXIV 368), and Pindar, who has been called a landlubber, though in my judgment unjustly, is as breezy as the islander, Bakchylides (A. J. P. XVIII 493), and makes a cryptic reference to seasickness (N. 6, 57).

But whether on land or sea, Euripides must have borne arms, and Professor MURRAY has done well to emphasize the fact, which has a special point at this time, that all the dramatic poets fought for their country, so that many of their plays were produced when they were off duty; and he pauses to remark on 'the gulf that lies between the life of an ancient poet and his modern descendants'. 'It is comparatively rare for any of them to face deadly dangers, to stand against men who mean to kill him and beside men for whom he is ready to die'. Never have I had such a disillusionment as when I read not long ago the life of Ernst Moritz Arndt (A. J. P. XX 460), the flaming patriot-poet, the sturdy old professor who used to break the ice in the Rhine for his daily bath. I should not have admired him so much in my student days, if I had known that he was not one of the glorious band of scholars who went forth to fight for the liberation of Germany—Boeckh, Welcker, Reisig, Lachmann, classicists all. But after forty years of service Euripides had his discharge, and Professor MURRAY waxes melancholy as he says: 'The men of sixty (GILBERT MURRAY will be sixty next year)—the men of sixty are now officially *Gerontes*, 'old men': They are off hard work, and to be at the end of hard work is perilously near being at the end of life'. 'Perilously', quoth a. Take a lesson, ye faint of heart, from Walter Savage Landor, who wrote 'Last Fruit off an Old Tree', and yet was spared to yield more fruit. And as for the end—

Death stands above me, whispering low
I know not what into my ear;
Of his strange language all I know
Is, there is not a word of fear.

Euripides had a great deal to do after 424. According to the metricians he became frolicsome in the matter of verse, and in other respects let himself go, as one is apt to do when one's reputation is made; but Professor MURRAY sees in the wistful chorus of the Herakles a praise of youth, which he regards as significant. By the way, it is the same chorus (637 foll.) that one of my preceptors, Bernays, drew on Wilamowitz, then in the 'Gelbschnabel' stage, when the future author of the *Analecta* dared to talk about Euripides in the then still fashionable Schlegelian vein (A. J. P. XXXIII 241).

In *Euripides and his Age*, as in his edition, Professor MURRAY naturally follows the chronological order as he understands it, though in the edition for convenience of reference

I have dared to prefer Nauck's alphabetical arrangement. So Freeman was theoretically right, when he emitted his growl at the editors of Pindar for not printing the epinikia in chronological order (A. J. P. XII 521), though there the problem is complicated and the result artistically of less importance than might be supposed (A. J. P. XXI 471). In Aristophanes the matter is simple, and the gain undeniable. Oddly enough, in following the chronological order of the plays of Euripides, Professor MURRAY has upset the accepted chronology by putting the *Andromeda* and the *Birds* in the same year (412). 'The gayest, sweetest and most irresponsible of all Aristophanes' plays' he says, <the *Birds*> 'was written just after the news of the final disaster in Sicily, when ruin stared Athens in the face'. Professor MURRAY is often as gay as Aristophanes himself. He is, as I have called him, the Ariel of Greek scholars, but one would not like to class him with Tennyson's 'irresponsible reviewers', whose up-to-date style cannot be expected to be up-to-dates. Similar lapses, if this is a lapse and not a new discovery, have been recorded in the *Journal*. Rhetorical parallels are often fatal to chronology, and I read many years ago an American boast that the victors of Waterloo were foiled by the cotton-bales of New Orleans and the rifles of Jackson's backwoodsmen.

But this disjointed chat about Euripides and his interpreter might go on forever, and I decline to comment on the origin of tragedy. Professor MURRAY, who expounds the orthodox view, relegates Ridgeway's fascinating theory (A. J. P. XXXII 210) to a corner of a footnote. Being under the spell of Jane Harrison,—as who is not?—he sends the capricious goat and the goat's capricious interpreters into the wilderness of silence, and gives Frazer's 'Cornspirit' a place by the side of Dionysos, for which perhaps he has Euripidean warrant (Bacch. 205 foll.). Still, I like the old notion that Aischylos wrote his tragedies under the influence of the chief representative of Dionysos. 'Cornspirit' suggests not Aischylos, but John Barleycorn and Burns, to say nothing of the 'moon-shiners'. As for Euripides, the Rationalist, in English, German, or French, I cannot be tempted to discuss the question here, in spite of Professor MURRAY's attempt to solve that problem of perennial interest—the Riddle of the Bacchae (A. J. P. XXX 227). A remarkable *Apologia* is presented by Professor MURRAY—a far-fetched *Apologia*, it seems to me, when he undertakes to defend the use of rhyme by the analogy of Euripides' use of metres. Rhyme he regards as a modern equivalent of

tragic metres, for, in contravention of most metricians, he maintains that Euripides handled his metres with severe exactness. I am not proof against the seductions of rhyme. I have been a rhymester from my cradle, but as a theorist I agree with Verlaine (A. J. P. XXXI 358):

Oh! qui dira les torts de la Rime?
Un enfant sourd ou un nègre fou
Nous a forgé ce bijou d'un sou
Qui sonne creux et faux sous la lime.

And the following translation of Verlaine will justify my theory:

Oh! what of the sins in which Rhyme abounds?
A child that was deaf and a mad Hottentot,
This tuppenny jewel for us hath wrought,
Hollow and false 'neath the file it sounds.

But in all my recalcitrant reading of translations, I have never met any parallel to this specimen from Headlam's much admired Agamemnon:

Now is here the tenth year
Since Priam's great accusing peer
Prince Menelaus,—and
Prince Agamemnon—brothers twain
And by divine right both to reign
Fast-coupled, one joint rank to share
Of throne and sceptre—since that pair
Launched from Argive land
A thousand ships in battle-train
By troops of Argos manned.

Such a feat of rhyme belongs to Rostand's Chantecler, in which, for instance, one line ends with 'perdu' and the next with 'du'. It is entirely out of place in a rendering of the anapaests of Aischylos.

One great trouble is the finding of English metres that will produce an analogous effect to the Greek (cf. A. J. P. XIII 517). The familiar substitution of the iambic pentapody for the iambic trimeter has a measure of justification in the monosyllabic character of the English language (A. J. P. XXXIII 229); and in rendering the elegiac distichs I am often tempted, despite Shakespeare's jest and Dr. Watts's earnest, to make use of the English iambic dipody, which, like the Greek distich, is inscriptional.



In his rendering of Sappho's famous verses, beginning *κατθανούσα δὲ κείσεται πότα*, Cory uses the trochaic tripod catalectic with the sombre effect the same metre has, So. O. R. 1208: *ὦ μέγας λιμὴν κτέ.*

Woman dead, lie there;
No record of thee
Shall there ever be,
Since thou dost not share
Roses in Pieria grown.
In the deathful cave,
With the feeble troop
Of the folk that droop,
Lurk and flit and crave,
Woman severed and far-flown.

But Cory's verse does not reproduce the wail one hears in the Greater Asclepiadean (A. J. P. XVI 394), especially if the choriamb be read logaoedically with prolonged last syllable. And though I myself have had something to say in favor of staccato verses (A. J. P. XXX 356), still the Asclepiadean is capable of naturalization, and ought to be naturalized. One version I have quoted from Professor Shorey's Horace. Even the following attempt, which precedes Professor Shorey's by many years, comes nearer than Cory's to the peculiar effect of the Greek verse, which is full of memories and of sighs:

When thou'rt dead, thou shalt be merely a corse, never a thought
of thee
Shall be then or again. Never a lot, never a part be thine
In Pieria's rose. Viewless shalt be hidden in Hades' house,
Roaming midst the ghosts, shadowy wraith, flitting away, away.

But unless I keep myself well in hand I shall next be discussing the relations of Aristophanes' lyric to Euripides' lyric, a fascinating theme, and none the less fascinating because I should be considered incompetent to handle it; and so leaving Euripides for his critic, I will pass over to a point of Aristophanic interpretation.

In the latest *Jahresbericht* on Aristophanes (1911) KÖRTE empties the vials of his wrath, or rather the *κάκοςμος οὐράνη* of Aischylos, upon the head of Graves for undertaking to expurgate, or, as KÖRTE would call it, emasculate the Acharnians of Aristophanes. Those who are too dainty to read Aristophanes entire, he says, ought to let him alone, and the German scholar proceeds to specify some of the fatal omissions—as, for instance, that part of the Megarian scene which has given rise to two English sayings, 'buying a pig in a poke', and 'taking one's pigs to a bad market', both used regularly of women. To be sure, there are those who translate *Χοιρίλη* 'Piggie'

without any mental reserve, and the joke in Sokrates' fictive wife *Μυρτώ* is also hidden from Philistine eyes. And yet, as KÖRTE points out and as I have pointed out more than once (e. g. A. J. P. XXI 230), through carelessness or ignorance superfine editors have allowed several things to stand in the Aristophanic text that are as improper as anything they have excised. Now, as the study of Aristophanes is absolutely necessary for the appreciation of Attic idiom, what Musurus calls the savour of Attic thyme must be inhaled in spite of the whiff that comes now and then from the rolling-mill of the beetle. And as Greek does not blush, the awkwardness of expounding Aristophanes to mixed classes of men and women may be obviated and has been obviated by referring the sex of which La Fontaine says, 'ses oreilles sont chastes', to the scholiast, though Rutherford insists that one great fault of the scholiast lies in smelling mice—the rat is not antique—where there are no mice to smell. 'Nonsense and nastiness', quoth Rutherford, 'generated from silly and undisciplined minds' (A. J. P. XXVII 486). The scholiast has, for instance, as Mazon laments, utterly spoiled for the serious student the passage in the Peace (557 ff.) that is so often cited by those who extol Aristophanes' love of nature, forgetful of his mocking spirit (A. J. P. XXVII 354). No vegetable is safe from the *εἰρηνος βάσις* of the scholiast.

There's not a bonie flower that springs
By fountain, shaw or green;
There's not a bonie bird that sings
But minds him <of the obscene.>

One recalls the folksong: *ποῦ μοι τὰ ῥόδα; ποῦ μοι τὰ ἴα; ποῦ μοι τὰ καλὰ σέλινα;* (A. J. P. XXII 471). It is sad to reflect that the scholiast must have turned Browning's head, as he turned Rutherford's stomach, for unfortunately Browning prided himself on being a man of the world as well as a poet, and nothing is more distasteful to those who are not bond slaves to his genius than his 'knowingness'. He poses over and over again as one who is up to snuff, as one who knows what's what. But the pedant spoils the poet, and while Browning tries to shew that he knows what's what he ruins a beautiful poem by shewing that he does not know what's t—t (A. J. P. XXXII 241). The blunder was duly set forth in the public press years ago, but Pippa passes it on to boys and girls, together with 'owls and bats'. *ψωλοὶ πεδίωνδε* is one of Browning's Aristophanic favorites, but despite my polite concession, he did not understand it. Cf. Van Leeuwen on Av. 507 (A. J. P. XXXI 489). A jolly companion, by the way, is the Dutch editor, but I cannot forgive him for importing into Aristophanes (Eccl. 622) a Latin version of the *Türkenlied*, which every German student knows by heart,

under the pretext that it was a story told him by a 'grandaevus collega'. Some of the sniffs of the scholiasts, as I have just intimated, are ineffectual, and even when they are on the right track, they are often at fault like the hounds in Xenophon's *Kynegetikos*: *μανικῶς περιφερόμεναι περὶ τὰ ἵχνη ὑλακτοῦσι*. So in a famous passage of the Knights, which might have furnished the text of Professor Peppler's paper on -ικός (A. J. P. XXXI 428-444), a paper received with signal favor by Aristophanic scholars. The string of -ικός's ascribed to Phaiax is followed by the mocking line (1381):

οὐκουν καταδακτυλικὸς σὺ τοῦ λαλητικοῦ;

on which the comment of the scholiast is: *ἀντὶ τοῦ συνουσιαστικὸς κατὰ τοῦ δακτυλίου τοῦ πρωκτοῦ. τοῦ λαλητικοῦ δὲ τῶν λαλούντων ταῦτα, τῶν περὶ Κλεισθένη καὶ Στράτωνα*. Now, *τοῦ λαλητικοῦ* does not stand for *τῶν λαλούντων*. The substantive to be supplied is *πρωκτοῦ*, as readily supplied as with the article, Av. 443; and the *proctus* as Rutherford would say (A. J. P. XIX 347) is abundantly recognized as an organ of speech in literature, the most notorious passage being *Frogs* 238: *κᾶτ' αὐτίκ' ἐγκύψας ἐρεῖ, βρεκεκεκεξ κοᾶξ κοᾶξ*. If Mehler had had this passage in mind, he would not have undertaken to emend *λαλῆσαι* in *Kratinos*' *Ἀρχίλοχοι* fr. 3: *οὐ μέντοι παρὰ κωφὸν ὁ τυφλὸς εἶοικε λαλῆσαι* (A. J. P. I 177). Comp. the riddle in *Eubulus* (3, 254, M.), *ἔστι λαλῶν ἄγλωσσος*, to which the answer is, *πρωκτὸς μὲν οὗτος*. This riddle, by the way, bears a speaking likeness to the riddle of the 'montre à répétition', which I heard propounded at the Théâtre Séraphin in the Palais Royal sixty-two years ago. There are other passages in *Aristophanes* where scholiasts ancient and modern seem to have gone wrong so far. Starkie translates *καταγιγαρτίσαι* (Ach. 263) on the basis of *τρυγῆσαι*, whereas *γίγαρτον* is plainly an equivalent of *κόκκος* in the secondary meaning of that word. But there is no episcopal palace or deanery to be won as in the eighteenth century by unveiling the improprieties of *Aristophanes*.

My sexual system of the cases—if I dare call anything mine—adumbrated in previous numbers of the *Journal* (XXXV 109, XXXVI 109) has so far provoked no public comment. *Brief Mention*, which holds so much of my maturest thought, is regularly passed over by foreign journals as trivial, incomprehensible, untranslatable. One convert I have made, but his adhesion is accompanied with a remonstrance. 'If *ὀρθότης* is the characteristic of the nominative, how', he asks in despair, 'am I to explain to the girls of my class the *nominativus pendens*

of Aischylos and Philostratos?' 'A potiori fit nominatio'. 'Ορθότης is typical. There were two kinds of Herm, but one always thinks of the energetic kind. The squeamish narrators of the story of the Hermokopidae follow Thukydides' version of the affair, and do not tell wherein the mutilation consisted. Thukydides uses τὰ πρόσωπα in what may be called the 'police reports' sense as in the phrase 'exposure of the person.' Mr. William Marshall, who made a gallant fight some years ago for Anglo-Saxonizing the English vocabulary (Hellas and Hesperia, p. 61), proposed as an equivalent for the meaningless 'person' the word 'outstandingness', which would answer only too well for Mr. Browning's euphemism—'homelier symbol of asserted sense' (A. J. P. XXXI 489). The familiar designation, so common in Aristophanes, was beneath the dignity of Mr. Lamb's Clio Enthroned, whereas the Authorized Version of the Bible does not hesitate to declare in unblushing Anglo-Saxon the whole counsel of the Scriptures in passages that are veiled in a decent Q'ri by the Massorets.

Of course, there are those who will regard the whole so-called system as an unworthy fling at other systems equally untenable, or may maintain that I have plunged into a well, hoping that Truth may be at the bottom of it. But it is unfair to me, unfair to the system, to neglect the phenomenon of sex in the formation of language. I dare not pursue the analogies of the outer world. I might simply betray my ignorance, and I remember with a shiver how I was saved from a gross mistake by a Magnus Apollo of the biological department (A. J. P. XXXIII 449). Language cometh up as a flower, and the structure of the flower, the phanerogamous flower, always reminds me of the structure of the noun. Style and stigma are genitive and dative. The stamen is the nominative, and the multitudinous stamens recall the old order of polyandry, which survived long in Sparta, survives to a considerable extent to-day. The accusative is the seed, and it is precisely the accusative that survives in language. From that point of view the genitive gains immensely in importance. Poor 'Jenny's case' (see Rossetti on Shakespeare) may be the head of the corner. Instead of being a protracted nominative, the genitive may be the original form, and the nominative a sham genitive. Everything in nature points to the view that the Eternal Feminine is a backward as well as a forward eternity. Woman is the type and man the variation. We men smite upon our breasts, and in so doing proclaim our lack of development. I have repeatedly insisted that the designation *κτητική* is the best name for the genitive. The oldest

function survives longest, and the English language has characteristically held on to the primitive use. Who owns the child but the mother? There is a perfect consensus of authorities in this, from the prig, Telemachus to that bombard, Falstaff. Ownership is better than possession, but we must be content to let the father have some part in it, though the name *πατρική* is clearly a usurpation. It ought to be *μητρική*. The figure of Chiron is a significant survival of early society. He was the son of his mother, and bore a metronymic and not a patronymic. And Pindar's Ninth Olympian, which deals with the beginnings of society, with Deukalion (who is Zeus) and Pyrrha (a she-Apollo), bears witness to the early domination of the sex, as we still call it. Matriarchy was the original order, and we are fast returning to it.

The Franco-Prussian War made a deep cleft in my life. Nearly half that life lies beyond 1870. The world has never been the same to me since then. I shall never cease to mourn for the Germany of my young manhood; and I gave expression to that feeling in a long passage of my *Essays and Studies* (p. 53)—a passage that dates from 1878:

Since the late war with France it is no secret that the land of scholars has lost much of its attraction in the eyes of scholars, because it has become so strong, so despotic. 'Brutal' is a hard word, but the type of German materialism is the most brutal of all. In old times we might laugh at the provincialisms, the pettinesses, the local patriotisms, the narrower fatherlands, the kinglets and the princelets with their select society of subjects, the minuscule aulic councillors of pocket-handkerchief dukedoms, the upper-court-chimney-sweepers of a microscopic Transparency, the cab-load which constituted the contingent of this or that impotent potentate to the federal army; but the life of those days had a charm which the new life has not.

And then I proceeded to quote from a lecture to the same effect by Du Bois-Reymond, and added: 'And this is but one voice among many voices, which are inexpressibly sad to any one who, like the writer, owes all the best impulses of his intellectual life to the contact with German ideals'. This same strain is heard again and again far down the years, and some ten years or so ago Theodor Gomperz, in his eulogy of Mommsen, told us of the bitterness the great historian tasted in the cup of victory (A. J. P. XXV 114). But time works wonders—*χρόνος γὰρ εὐμαρῆς θεός*,—and those who have kept in view the progress of philological science and classical study have watched with deep interest the weaving of new and closer ties between the two countries. No more ready pupils than the

French, and little more than a year ago I reported the words of Masqueray, so generous, so free from any tang of chauvinism (A. J. P. XXXV 110). It was a gallant surrender to the supremacy of Germany in Greek scholarship. But in this Professors' War, as it has been called, professors are the torch-bearers in another sense than the Platonic. The world is given over to hatred. Righteous wrath I understand, for I have felt it, feel it still. It is a force for good. But no 'Berserkerwuth'. What has become of that wonderful lay sermon, a sermon preached by Goethe, the guide of my youth? It begins with 'Willst du dir ein hübsch Leben zimmern, Musst um's Vergangene dich nicht bekümmern'. The penultimate verse runs: 'Besonders keinen Menschen hassen.' Years ago John Morley was so much impressed with the wisdom of the lines that he translated them into English verse, and the lesson was not lost upon him, for as Lord Morley he left the cabinet rather than join in the declaration of war against Germany. To me one of the most pathetic figures in England in this day of wrath is Lord Haldane. Fortunately, if there is any such word as 'fortunately' left, we Americans are free from one bias. No charge more commonly bandied to and fro than the charge of envy, which takes the meanest of all forms—'commercial envy', that envy which a leading school tells us was at the bottom of the Peloponnesian War (A. J. P. XXVIII 356). 'Envy takes its stand outside the divine dance.' If there is ever to be peace—it seems unlikely in my brief time—that freedom from envy may give the American scholar a chance for mediation. I am not preaching an Eirenikon. It is too high a mission for frivolous *Brief Mention*. But it is hard to keep the war out of these pages when every exchange is full of the war spirit. Allusion there must be, for the conflict is part of our life. But a German journal cannot discuss even the name of the Peloponnesian War without bringing in the great struggle that is going on now, and Professor RIDGEWAY in his *Presidential Address* to the *Classical Association* lays part of the blame for what he calls the German Kataphronesis of England on the subserviency of English scholars to German authority.

As for that matter, if English scholars were better acquainted with the German language than most of them are, if more of them had been trained in German schools, as have so many of our leading American scholars, there would be less of the subserviency of which Professor RIDGEWAY complains, of which Freeman in his time complained. He who has profited by his German training, who has learned the secret of German method,

of German exhaustiveness, is armed by German 'Wissenschaft' against German 'Allesbesserwissenschaft'. It is the old story, τοῖς αὐτοῦ πτεροῖς. True, the points of my shafts have often failed to reach their mark because so few German critics are possessed of a knowledge of idiomatic English, or if that is too bold a word for an American, the kind of English in which I indulge; and German misinterpretation of American utterances would furnish a comic afterplay more suited to the character of *Brief Mention* than the grave reflexions to which I have given expression.

A curious and instructive example of the way in which one research leads to another is furnished by the preface to EDUARD HERMANN'S *Nebensätze in den griechischen Dialektinschriften* (Teubner). Beginning with a study of the division of syllables in inscriptions, the author was led to explore the field of dependent sentences, and when that job was finished, he came to the conviction that a proper understanding of inscriptional phenomena could not be attained without a general survey of the usage in the literary monuments. For that part of the treatise he is dependent on the labours of others, and after the familiar arrogant fashion of German scholars, he has neglected all work that has been done outside the Fatherland. The book is dedicated to Delbrück. Brugmann has set him a better example. Of course the provincialism has impaired the value of his summary. Weber's excellent monograph needs corrections at sundry points, as I indicated years and years ago (A. J. P. IV 416 foll.; VI 53 foll.). The redoubtable Stahl has blundered over and over again (A. J. P. XXIX 257 foll.; 389 foll.; XXX 1 foll.). A man who for instance does not know a negative sentence when he sees it (A. J. P. XXXI 493), ought not to be followed blindly (comp. Stahl, p. 467, with A. J. P. II (1881) 469); and in his treatment of the sentences of limit Fuchs has been almost criminally careless (A. J. P. XXV 109, 231). All this part of the book must be used with due caution.

E. W. F.: All classical philologists must be aware how they are wooed from time to time by the professors of linguistics, nor do onsets lack contrariwise. A most obvious common interest lies in definition, a point that Skutsch was fain to press. Hirt, on the other hand, in the preface to his grammar, modestly suggests that the gymnasia would do better by Greek, if they ceased to afflict students with a modicum of

Xenophon and Homer and taught instead his handbook. Meanwhile, interpretative definition makes little headway. Consult Liddell and Scott and all the current etymological lexica and it still remains unclear how *στάσις* came to mean 'sedition' or something like. I think of *στάσις* as the 'party of stayers' (Republicans) as opposed to *βάσις*, the 'party of leavers' (Progressives), particularly if *βασι-λεύς* was the 'gang-leader' (Cl. Qt. 5, 119). Not infrequently may the philologists feel that the light of the etymologists leaves them in darkness, wherefore the greater need of trimming their own lamps. Take the case of *βλάσφημος*. In the course of the second edition of the Grundriss Brugmann accepted, after Wackernagel, 1st, **βλαπο-φᾶμος*; 2d, after Schulze, **μλαθο-φᾶμος* (: Skr. *mṛdhrā vāc-as* 'mala-fantes'); 3d *mls-* : *μέλε-σ[σ]ος* 'vanus'—but why not *μέλεφος*, like *ἐλεφος*?—: Lith. *mėlas* 'mendacium'. A 4th prius **βλαδο-* (: *βλαδά*, glossed by *μωρά* etc.) was set up by Fick (B B. 28, 98). Boisacq (Dict. Etym.) elects no. 3 (consuetudo more) and says of the others—with some *blague*, but without giving reasons—"sont à écarter". Meantime (alas!), Brugmann-Thumb, without being entirely positive, and without mention of Cl. Rev. 18, 308¹, throws back to **βλαπο-φᾶμος*.

The definition of *mṛdhrā-vāc-as* by 'mordentia vociferantes' would seem to exclude no. 2. No. 4 comes not into the purview of the Grecian because *βλαδά* is not a literary word, but the Grecian might ask himself whether *μέλεος* does not in fact mean 'errans, loafing' (see Cl. Qt. 3, 272) and belong with *μέλλει* 'is going to, intends; [saunters], delays': *ἐμολε* 'went' (originally, like *went*, of winding, turning, dilatory motion; cf. *μέλος* 'joint, limb; turn of a song' [verse], with cognates meaning 'vertebra').—The Latinist to whom *in-gens* suggests 'uncouth' or 'ungeschlacht' may interest himself to determine the structural correlation of *-gent-* to *gnosco* or *gigno*; but one who feels *ingens* as 'mighty' (*mächtig*) will see, in spite of Boisacq's objections (p. 617²), that to *ingens*, as compared with *magnus* 'μέγας', has been allocated that sphere of usage in which *μέγα* = 'nimium', cf. L. and Sc. s. v. ii, [1-]5; Capelle-Seiler 2b (especially *μέγα ἔργον* = monstrous deed). Skr. *māh-* and Av. *mazant-* are rendered in the appropriate lexica by 'gewaltig', while Monier Williams renders *māhant* by 'big, huge', i. e. *ingens*. Instead of being appalled before the phonetic laws—which (as some one has remarked) are about as difficult <and nearly as invariable> as the multiplication table—the philologist should claim his judicial rights over definition, in regard to which the judgment of the phonetic or morphological "expert" is often grievously at fault, and more often negligently inert.

W. P. M.: ENRICO COCCHIA. *Introduzione storica allo studio della letteratura italiana* (Bari: Laterza, 1915. 381 pp. L. 5.00). If there is one group of scholars who might seem to have a special right to speak upon questions of Latin literature, it is the classical scholars of Italy. They have "some rights of memory in this kingdom". This is a sober study of the descent of the Romans, their language, character and religion. It attempts to set forth the complex heredity of the people and of their literature, and to discuss some of the "determining facts of existence which constituted the Roman environment". Professor COCCHIA protests against Mommsen's dictum, "The Greeks and Germans alone possess a fountain of song that wells up spontaneously; from the golden vase of the Muses only a few drops have fallen on the green soil of Italy". And he even dissents from Skutsch's view that Greek and German are the two most poetic languages the world has known. He rejects the theory of a "Kelto-Italic" period which preceded the invasion of the peninsula by the ancestors of the Italic tribes. And he protests against the modern fancy of a "Keltic note" in Virgil. As for this "Keltic note", it might be easier to form some opinion, if one knew just what those who dilate upon it really mean by the phrase. Even Matthew Arnold could say of one of his performances, in a letter written May 24, 1866: "a lecture on Celtic poetry, of which, as the *Saturday Review* truly says, I know nothing".

Another book which should be promptly noticed in these pages is *A Short History of Classical Scholarship* by Sir JOHN EDWIN SANDYS (Cambridge: At the University Press, 1915. 455 pp. Price 7 sh. 6). It is on the same subject as the author's monumental *History of Classical Scholarship* (1903-8), and it surveys the same wide field; but the treatment of the theme has been kept within a more moderate compass. The abridgment is very skilfully made, and in its new form the work may be heartily commended to all classical students, and even to the general reader. On p. 199 it is stated that the first edition of Theocritus (1-18) was printed at Milan c. 1493. The editors of Theocritus regularly refer this edition to 1480 or 1481. And on the same page the first edition of Philostratus should probably be referred to 1502, not 1504.

G. M. B.: In the deservedly complimentary notice of Dr. VON NEGELEIN'S *Traumschlüssel* (A. J. P. XXXVI 116) the reviewer F. E. has expressed his regret that the author did not add 'an alphabetical index to the first lines of the stanzas

contained in the book', and in so doing cites a verse for which he says he could find no parallel in VON NEGELEIN's collection :

devo dvijo gurur gāvaḥ pitaro līṅginas tathā
yad vadanti vacaḥ svapne tat tathāiva vinirdiṣet.

This verse, he goes on to say, is the only verse that is definitely stated to be a quotation from 'a book of dreams' (svapnādhyāya). But svapnādhyāya is not a 'book of dreams', but a 'chapter on dreams' which forms a usual part of an astrological text-book. The svapnādhyāya *par excellence* is the sixty-eighth Pariṣiṣṭa of the Atharva Veda; and there the verse stands with slight variants :

2. 35 f. dāivatāni dvijā gāvaḥ pitaro līṅgino grahāḥ
yad vadanti naraṁ svapne tat tathāiva vinirdiṣet,

in a context in which the meaning of vinirdiṣet ought not to be misunderstood. It is, therefore, to be assumed that VON NEGELEIN has not passed it over. The word under which to look is obviously *līṅgin*, where reference is made to I 107, in the commentary to which are cited (p. 112) some ten close parallels. The same passage would have been found under *go*, *pitar*, *vad*; more can hardly be demanded of an index.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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I.—THE HINDU BEAST FABLE IN THE LIGHT OF RECENT STUDIES.

PART II.

(In this article the following abbreviations are used of Pañcatantra versions: Tantr., the Tantrākhyāyika.—Pa. or Pahl., the Pahlavi translation.—Syr., the Old Syriac.—Brh., the (lost) version of the north-western Bṛhatkathā (archetype of Som. and Kṣem.).—Som., Somadeva.—Kṣem., Kṣemendra.—n-w, the archetype of SP., ʾ and Hit.—SP., Southern Pañcatantra.—ʾ, Nepalese Pañcatantra.—Hit., Hitopadeṣa.—Simpl., textus simplicior.—Pūrṇ., Pūrṇabhadra.)

In the first part of this article (A. J. P. XXXVI. 44 ff.) I described the relationship of the different Pañc. versions in so far as it seems to me determinable at present. Most of the facts as therein stated have been worked out and proved by Hertel. I now face the more unwelcome task of discussing some alleged facts of the same sort which I hold that Hertel has failed to prove. This task, however distasteful, seems to me necessary. For Hertel admits not the slightest question of any part of his "genealogical table" ("Stammbaum") of the Pañc. versions (Pañc., p. 426); he regards every part of it as absolutely and irrefutably proved, and draws sweeping and important conclusions from it. And in fact, as he rightly says (Pañc., p. 428), no real counter-argument has as yet been presented. Various scholars have expressed doubts about the "Stammbaum"; no one has seriously tried to refute any of

Hertel's arguments in support of it. It is high time that this be done. For some of the points in question are of prime importance, for the proper judging not only of the relationship of the Pañc. versions, but of Hindu literary tradition as a whole.

The trouble with Hertel's "Stammbaum" seems to me to be that it tries to prove too much. Not content with bringing out the many interesting facts to which I have already referred, it undertakes to go farther and establish things which are quite incapable of proof in the present state of our knowledge. The reputation of all of Hertel's work has suffered, unjustly but quite naturally, on this account. Some scholars, seeing the subjectivity and unreliability of many of his arguments, have been inclined to assume that all his assertions about the Pañcatantra versions rest on equally uncertain grounds.

I have tried to apply the acid test to all of Hertel's "Stammbaum", with a view to removing the bad and making the good (which includes the greater part of the "Stammbaum") all the more certain. I was somewhat surprised at the ease with which, as it seems to me, the separation can be made. When carefully analyzed, there is amazingly little sound evidence for several of Hertel's allegations—considering the comparative certainty of some of his other conclusions.

The three specific points which I shall try to show are unproved, and probably unprovable, are the following. I. The archetype "t", containing alleged corruptions found in all existent versions. II. The archetype "K", from which H. thinks all versions except the Tantr. are descended. III. The archetype "N-W", from which he thinks Pahl., n-w, and Simpl. are descended.

All of these hypothetical archetypes seem to me mythical. I think there is no closer connexion between Pahl., Som., n-w and Simpl. than between any one of them and the Tantr. In fact, I have evidence which at least *tends* to show that Tantr. is related to Pahl., and also to n-w and to Simpl., more closely than any two of these latter versions are related to each other. In my careful study of the verses of Book I, I found very few cases of agreement between n-w, Simpl. and Pahl., or any two of them, as against the Tantr., but a considerable number of

agreements between each one of them and Tantr. as against the others.¹

I. The very first assumption in Hertel's Stammbaum seems to me highly dubious; I mean, his assumption of an early archetype "t", which stood between the Urpañcatantra ("T") and all existing versions, and in which Hertel thinks he can point out certain very definite corruptions. He claims to have done this "in für jeden Philologen einwandfreier Weise" (Pañc., p. 443). I cannot let this statement pass unchallenged. Consider what the claim means: it means that Hertel undertakes to establish definite faults in, and to *emend*, a purely hypothetical archetype of *all* existing Pañcatantra versions—an archetype which (together with its uncorrupted original) must have been lost without trace since before the 6th century A. D., according to his theory. "A large order!" Still, I should not wish to deny the possibility of such a thing. But a careful consideration of Hertel's arguments² leaves me with the impression that the thing is a myth. Certainly it seems to me that these arguments totally fail to prove his point.

They relate to six passages in which Hertel thinks he can show that all existing versions go back to a corrupt original.³

¹ For instance, as to the mere occurrence or non-occurrence of particular verses in Book I. There are 7 vss. found in Tantr. and n-w only, 32 found only in Tantr., n-w and the Jaina recensions (Simpl., Pūrṇ.). There are 10 found in Tantr. and Pahl. only, 22 only in Tantr., Pahl. and the Jaina rec. There are 8 found only in Tantr. and Simpl. (or in Tantr., Simpl. and Pūrṇ.). There are, on the other hand, no verses found exclusively in Pahl. and either or both of the Jaina recensions; none found exclusively in Pahl., n-w and a Jaina recension; not more than 3 (of which 2 are doubtful) found only in Pahl. and n-w; and only 2 found exclusively in n-w and either or both of the Jaina recensions. Do not these facts in themselves make it seem doubtful whether Hertel is right in making Pahl., n-w and Simpl. very intimately related, and only much more remotely connected with Tantr.?

² Tantrākhyāyika, (Einleitung zur) Uebersetzung, I. 34 ff.

³ Incidentally, by what right are all these "corruptions" corrected in Hertel's edition of the Tantrākhyāyika? Since his theory is that the corruptions go back to the *archetype* thereof, why try to make the Tantrākhyāyika text seem better than it really was? Hertel shows no such favor to the Southern Pañcatantra; in his text of it he prints not only all the corruptions of its archetype, but many that were certainly not in it, being found only in manuscripts of the inferior subrecension β.

In case one version or another has the "correct" reading, then he calls it a "glückliche Besserung" (so in his very first instance, to be mentioned in a moment). I am constrained to say that his argumentation on this point seems almost wholly subjective, and of the thinnest sort; its strength is in inverse ratio to the vigor and positiveness with which it is put forward. All six cases concern very trivial matters; generally a slight change in, or omission of, a single word. (Scarcely sufficient evidence, as to mere bulk, to justify such sweeping conclusions!) I cannot here take them all up; two must serve for all. I choose the very first two instances given by Hertel; I presume, from his putting them in that position, that he regards them as at least as strong as any. In this I agree with him; the others are no stronger.

His second instance (which we shall consider first) does not seem, in fact, to show any corruption in the supposed archetype "t" at all, according to Hertel's own statement of the case. His opinion that it does so seems to be merely due to lack of clarity of thought. Hertel maintains that in Tantrākhyāyika II. 87 the "original" reading was *yasyānubandhāt*, which Pūrṇabhadra has, for the Tantr. MSS. *yasyānubandhaḥ*; but that the "original" order of the two half-verses was that of the Tantr. (they are transposed in Pūrṇabhadra).¹ In other words, of these two points on which Tantr. and Pūrṇ. differ in the reading of this verse, H. thinks that the Tantr. preserves the original reading in one, Pūrṇ. in the other. It appears that if Hertel had thought the matter out logically, he would have seen that according to his own statement, there is no single feature of the "original" reading that is not correctly preserved in *some* version; none of the individual corruptions can therefore go back to a corrupt archetype of *all* the versions. The "original" reading must, if his argumentation is otherwise correct, have been found in the intermediate archetype "t" (supposing that there ever was such a thing), as well as in the Urpañcatantra. If

¹ The Southern Pañcatantra has what Hertel considers the corruptions of both Tantr. and Pūrṇ. in this verse. The verse does not occur in Simpl. or in Pahl., which Hertel strangely thinks is a sign that it was corrupt in their original. But both Simpl. and Pahl., especially the latter, omit many verses of the original whose readings are open to no suspicion of corruption.

not, then one or the other of the later versions must have changed back secondarily to the original reading; and H. does not claim, apparently, that this was the case.

Hertel's first instance requires more careful consideration. In Tantr. "A 149" (shortly after the verse II. 32) all Hertel's MSS. read *pratyarthito* 'ham bhavatā, "I have been challenged (or, opposed) by your worship". Hertel emends *pratyarthito* to *pratyāyito*, "I have been convinced (persuaded, made confident) by your worship". The Pahlavi must have read something like "requested" for the word in question, which, as H. says, seems to indicate a Sanskrit *prārthito* or the like, unless the Pahlavi translator took *pratyarthito* (wrongly) in the sense of *prārthito*. In the textus simplicior and in Somadeva the passage is wholly changed.

On the other hand, Pūrṇabhadra has *pratyāyito*. So have recensions α , β and γ of the Southern Pañcatantra (recension δ , evidently by corruption, *pratyācvasito*). In the Nepalese verse-collection the passage, being prose, is not found. The Hitopadeṣa has *āpyāyito*.

Now Hertel says: *pratyāyito* (which he puts by emendation in Tantr., and believes to have been the Urpañcatantra reading) is evidently the reading of the Southern Pañcatantra archetype. "Trotzdem wird sie der Quelle desselben—n-w—abzusprechen sein". Why? Because the Hitopadeṣa has the reading *āpyāyito*, which "kommt in seinen Schriftzügen den anderen Lesarten so nahe, dass man wird annehmen müssen, es sei aus einer Korruptel¹ (!!) hervorgegangen, die Nārāyaṇa konjekturell besserte". This hypothetical (or imaginary) "Korruptel", Hertel tacitly assumes, must have been in "n-w",² the original of both SP. and Hit., and consequently it must have been changed back again to the right reading in SP. Thus by piling sand on sand Hertel arrives at this con-

¹Why may it not be itself a "Korruptel", or a deliberate or accidental change of some sort, from *pratyāyito*—which is the reading of SP. (Hit.'s closest relative), and which in its "Schriftzügen" comes closer to *āpyāyito* than the reading of the word found in any other version? Does Hertel mean to maintain that wherever Nārāyaṇa has departed from his original, that original must have been corrupt?

²Why, by the way, if the Hit. must be supposed to go back to a corruption at all, may not that corruption have crept in first in "n-w", the intermediate stage between "n-w" and Hit.?

clusion: the corrupt reading *pratyarthito* was found in "t", from which all existing Pañc. versions are descended. It was taken over thence into the Tantrākhyāyika, and into the Sanskrit original of the Pahlavi (unless it read *prārthito* instead). This corruption was still found in "n-w", the common original of SP. and Hit. The SP. redactor "happily" corrected it to *pratyāyito* (which the Ur-ur-pañcatantra, back behind "t", once had); and the redactor of the Hit. made an attempt in the same direction, and got as close as *āpyāyito*. Finally, Pūrṇabhadra (whose tradition, according to Hertel, is in no way related to that of SP.) also hit upon the same very "happy correction" of his (necessarily corrupt, though unknown) original, and reads *pratyāyito*.

To me the following theory seems to explain the facts as stated much better. The original reading of the Urpañcatantra was *pratyāyito*; and if there was any such intermediate codex as "t", it likewise read *pratyāyito*. (I agree with Hertel that the sense of the passage requires this.) In the Tantrākhyāyika, or at least in the few MSS. of it we know, this is corrupted to *pratyarthito*. In the original of the Pahlavi it probably became *prārthito* (whether independently of the Tantrākhyāyika corruption, or whether they both go back to a common original—a corrupt intermediate "t¹" of their own, if you like—must be left in abeyance). In the original of SP. and Hit., on the other hand, as well as in the source used by Pūrṇabhadra at this point,¹ the original reading *pratyāyito* was preserved unchanged. The Hit. reading *āpyāyito* is surely much closer "in seinen Schriftzügen" to *pratyāyito* than to *pratyarthito*, and the inference to me seems obvious that it goes back to the former, and was introduced by Nārāyaṇa or by his hypothetical immediate predecessor "n-w²"—whether you call it a "konjekturelle Besserung" or simply a change, deliberate or accidental. Why chase all round Robin Hood's barn and assume an old corruption, only in order to assume again a ("happy" indeed!)

¹ It seems to me quite conceivable that Pūrṇ. got the reading from a MS. of Tantrākhyāyika which antedated the corruption found in all our MSS. The number of MSS. of Tantr. now known is very small, and really smaller than it sounds, since Hertel has shown that some of them are only modern copies of one of the older ones. H. has also shown that Pūrṇ. made extensive use of a Tantr. codex.

correction of that corruption—a restoration of the original reading, and that too in *two independent versions* (SP. and Purn., both of which have the correct reading *pratyāyito*)?

II. A much more important statement of Hertel's "Stammbaum" is that all the older versions except the Tantr.—to wit, the Pahl., Brh., n-w, and Simpl., with Pūrṇ. except where the latter borrowed from Tantr.—go back to a common archetype, which Hertel calls "K", distinguishing the Tantr. archetype as "Ś". If true, this would obviously be of great importance in judging all variations between the several versions, and in reconstructing the Urpañc. Of course, the only way in which such a proposition could be proved is by showing common *changes* or *corruptions* in all these versions, as against the correct or original readings of Tantr. No amount of agreements in correct and original readings of these "K" versions, as opposed to corruptions in the Tantr., could have any bearing on the question. Furthermore, it must be shown in each case that *the same* change or corruption lies at the bottom of the text of all the "K" versions.

Hertel apparently recognizes this principle, and in fact undertakes to show in a few individual cases (he enumerates only four in his first statement of the case, Tantr. Uebers. I. 28 ff.) that all the "K" versions go back to a single corruption, while Tantr. in each case preserves the original. He thinks that he thereby proves absolutely the reality of his "K" archetype. I cannot agree with him, for two reasons. First, the cases he mentions are individually inconclusive. Secondly, they are too few in number to prove the point, even if they were individually sound.

In the first place, as to the few particular instances in which Hertel thinks the "K" versions go back to a common corruption, while the Tantr. preserves the original reading, I think that they all permit, and some of them demand, different interpretations. They can hardly be said even to *tend* to prove his point.

(a) One of them, to which Hertel pays a great deal of attention, occurs in the story of the Monkey and the Crocodile, the frame-story of Book IV. (Of this story, in all important versions, H. gives an interesting and valuable com-

parative translation, in parallel columns, Tantr. Uebers. I. 70 ff.) Those who do not know the story (which is a very wide-spread one) may easily locate it in any Pañcatantra translation. The point which concerns us here is that in all the versions except the Tantr. the treacherous crocodile is represented as inviting his unsuspecting friend, the monkey, to get on his back and visit *his own house*, meaning by this trick to compass his death.

Now, says Hertel (l. c., p. 89), in the Tantr. the crocodile does not make this "absurd proposal" that the monkey should visit his own house—"das liegt ja im Wasser";¹ instead, he proposes to take the monkey, on his own back, over to a lovely island, where the monkey may enjoy all sorts of sensual delights (Tantr. A 286).

Just in this difference lies the point which Hertel finds so important. For later, when the monkey discovers the crocodile's trick, he is represented (in all versions) as bewailing his own *love of pleasure*, which had enticed him ("in spite of his age") into agreeing to the suggestion of his false friend. Hertel thinks this is inconsistent with the account in the other texts: "in allen (anderen Versionen überlistet) der Śiśumāra (crocodile) den Affen nicht durch die Aussicht auf sinnliche Vergnügungen mit jungen Äffinnen, sondern durch eine Einladung in sein Haus". The "junge Äffinnen", it should be said, appear even in Tantr. only through an emendation of Hertel's; the emendation is, however, a very attractive one, and probably the original contained something of the sort.

But it seems to me that Hertel attaches insufficient importance to the references which even the other ("K") versions contain to sensual delights as a motive for the trip to the island. (Cf. the Pahl. and Simpl. readings parallel with Tantr. A 286, Hertel, l. c., p. 84, 85.) In the Pahl. (and seemingly in Simpl., though its account is compressed) the invitation to visit the crocodile's home is *coupled with* a promise of various sensual (not, indeed, sexual) joys.² So

¹ But in Simpl. and Pahl. the crocodile distinctly tells the monkey that his house is *on the island*. This may have been a lie, but the monkey could hardly be expected to know it. So the proposal is not at all "absurd".

² SP., Som. and Kṣem. have lost this entire paragraph in their very abbreviated versions.

that Hertel's sentence quoted above, while literally true, is unintentionally misleading; the other versions *do* motivate the seduction of the monkey *in part* "durch die Aussicht auf sinnliche Vergnügungen". That the original made it specifically *sexual* pleasures I am inclined to believe with Hertel; this feature of the original is indicated by the later *dénouement* in several versions (including SP.), although at the point we are now considering it does not come out clearly in any (not even in Tantr., unless by the grace of Hertel's emendation).

But this is a matter of minor importance. The fact remains that in all the versions but Tantr. the crocodile invites the monkey *to his own house*, promising as an added inducement various sensual delights on the island where he says his home is. In the Tantr. (A 286) where the crocodile first speaks of the island with its sensual delights, there is indeed nothing said about the crocodile's *home* being there. And in all the conversation between the two, as reported in the Tantr., the crocodile never mentions his house. He merely expresses his sorrow¹ at never having made any return for the favors shown him by the monkey (A 281 f., Hertel, l. c., 81-83).

But note the monkey's strange reply to this expression of regret! I quote the monkey's words (Tantr. A 284, Hertel, l. c. 83): "And as for your saying, 'I have never invited you *to come to my house*, to meet my wife, and to eat from my dish', what difference does that make? Such is the friendship only of common people!"

Now according to the Tantr.'s text as it stands, the crocodile had not said anything of the sort at all! Just therein, according to Hertel, lies the great superiority of the Tantr.'s text over the other—"corrupt"—versions, and the striking proof that all the others go back to a single corrupt archetype "K"!

It seems evident that in his haste and enthusiasm Hertel quite overlooked these significant words of the monkey's. They seem to me to show that the archetype of the Tantr. must have agreed essentially with the other versions. The monkey is represented as quoting the crocodile's very words, which consist precisely in that invitation to his hearth

¹ A frivolous query: Is this the origin of "crocodile tears"?

and home which Hertel thinks cannot have been in the original.

Instead of proving that the other recensions go back to a corrupt archetype, this example proves that the Tantr. is corrupt at this point. Its version is glaringly inconsistent with itself. Somehow or other it has lost from its text the preceding words of the crocodile, containing the suggestion that the monkey come to his house, which alone make the words of the monkey in A 284 intelligible.

The Jātaka versions of the fable (Jāt. 208, 342) say nothing about any invitation to the crocodile's house, and of this Hertel makes much, claiming it as a confirmation of what he takes to be the original form of the story. But in the Jātakas the story is otherwise changed in such a way that it would have been rank absurdity to keep the incident of the invitation. The monkey and the crocodile are not friends, nor even acquaintances, in the Jāt. story, and it would have been absurd—not to say suspicious—if the crocodile had invited the monkey to his house. The Jātakas are characteristically intent on the moral lesson—the dangers of sensuality—and leave out all the rest of the story.

(b) Hertel refers (Tantr. Uebers. I. 31 f.) to the introduction to his SP. (p. LXIII ff.) for another instance which he thinks points to a corrupt archetype ("K") from which all versions except the Tantr. are descended.

This concerns the strophe SP. II. 41 = ν I. 47 = Hit. I. 129 Pet. = Tantr. II. 90 = Pūrṇ. II. 116. This stanza contains two words in which Tantr. differs from the consensus of Pūrṇ. and the descendants of n-w (that is, SP., ν and Hit.). Hertel thinks that the Tantr. reading for both these words is clearly the original, and consequently that the other versions all point to a corrupt archetype.

In the first place, this strophe is not found in Pahl., Som., Kṣem. or Simpl., so that it is surely somewhat rash to say that it proves a corruption in an archetype to which all these versions go back. The most that it could prove would be a corruption in some common archetype of n-w and Pūrṇ., where alone the verse is found (outside of Tantr.). But it does not prove even that.

I will quote the Sanskrit text indicated for the common archetype of n-w and Pūrṇ. and assumed by Hertel as the reading of his postulated "K":

*na svalpam apy adhyavasāyabhīroḥ karoti vijñānavidhir
guṇam hi
andhasya kim hastatalasthito 'pi nivartayaty artham iha
pradīpaḥ.*

There are minor variations which do not concern us; thus Pūrṇ. reads *nivartayed* in d for *nivartayaty*, Hit. and v read *prakāṣayaty*, and most MSS. of SP. *sandarṣayaty*, for the same word; but the best MS. of SP. points to an archetype agreeing with Tantr. as to this word.

Now the Tantr. text agrees almost wholly with the above, but reads *avyavasāyabhīroḥ* in a, and *āndhyam* for *artham* in d. These readings Hertel thinks are original, and he infers that n-w and Pūrṇ. go back to a common corrupt archetype. Decidedly a *nonsequitur*, for H. himself says (Pañc., p. 76) that Pūrṇ. used "several Pañc. versions which are unknown to us" (I should add, "and probably other sources, including oral *geflügelte Wörter*, not attached to any literary work, many of which he incorporated among his verses"). It is, then, quite conceivable that Pūrṇ.'s reading of this stanza may have been taken as a whole from Tantr., or from some source having the Tantr. reading, but Pūrṇ. may have changed these two words into accord with another version of the stanza which he knew from another source. So Pūrṇ. affords very slight evidence as to the supposed archetype "K", and there is left only n-w; the "corruption" then, if it be a corruption, may have come in with n-w.

But is the reading of n-w and Pūrṇ. a corruption? It means: "The acquisition of knowledge does not confer the least advantage (*guṇa*—superior quality, superiority) upon a man who is afraid to take a firm stand (*adhyavasāya*, rendered *utsāha* in some Hindu lexicons, see BR.). If a lamp is placed right in the hands of a blind man, what advantage (*artha*) does it bring to him here?" Every Sanskrit word is here rendered in accordance with well-recognized meanings, and it seems to me to make excellent sense.

The Tantr. version means, according to Hertel: "The acquisition of knowledge does not give the least advantage (*Vorzug*) to a man who is irresolute and timid. Is the blindness of a blind man removed here by a torch, which he holds in his hand?" H.'s translation also makes good sense, though I cannot see that it is any better than the sense yielded by the other reading. The verb *nivartayaty* has to be taken in the sense of "remove", instead of "confer"; strange to say, both are well-attested meanings of the word. H. claims—rightly, it seems—that "remove" is the commoner meaning. If so, it would suggest to my mind not that it was the original meaning in this place, but rather if anything the reverse (the *lectio difficilior* is, other things being equal, more apt to be original). And the reading *āndhyam* for *artham*—with the word *andhasya* in the preceding pada—sounds like a secondary rather than a primary reading. Is not the following at least as likely a theory as Hertel's? The Uṛpañcatantra read in pada d *nivartayaty artham*, "confers advantage". The Tantr. redactor was more familiar with *ni-vartayati* in the sense of "remove"; the word *artham* as written in the Çāradā alphabet is (as H. observes) easily confused with **antham*, which—under the psychological suggestion of the word *andha* in the preceding pada—naturally suggested *āndhyam*, "blindness", as the thing which the lamp would not "remove". So arose Tantr.'s reading. I do not say, Hertel-wise, that this is the only conceivable explanation of the variation in pada d; I do submit that it is at least as likely as H.'s contrary explanation (personally it seems to me much more likely), and therefore that "völlige Sicherheit" can hardly be claimed for Hertel's opinion.

Similarly as to the other variation in this verse, that of pada a, in which Tantr. has *avyavasāyabhiroh* for *adhyava*° of the others. Hertel must of course take the Tantr. reading as an adjectival dvandva compound, "irresolute and fearful". He thinks this makes much better sense than "afraid to take a firm stand" or "to make a firm resolve". *Geschmacksache*; if Hertel likes it better, we must allow him his preference. To me the other meaning seems quite as sensible, and it accords better, if anything, with Sanskrit usage. I am suspicious of "adjectival dvandvas" both members of which are

supposed to apply to the same individual.¹ Such forms are in any case not common except with color-adjectives. But let that pass; it too may be called "subjective". What I want to emphasize is that Hertel's purely subjective liking for one variant as against the other can hardly be considered proof that the one was original. Others, of whom I am one, happen to like the other better. Hertel does not deny that the other makes sense. His attempt to make it seem poor sense seems to me unsuccessful.

Hertel points out that the variant is a graphic one; *vya* and *dhya* are closely similar in the Çāradā alphabet. Since he assumes *vya* as the original, he infers that the *dhya* of n-w and Pūrṇ. must go back to an archetype written in Çāradā, though (I believe) none of their existent MSS. are written in that alphabet. This is a theory; it is a *fact* that all our MSS. of the Tantr. are written in Çāradā. It seems that it would be more *naheliegend* to assume that our Tantr. MSS. have corrupted an original *dhya*, written in Çāradā characters, to *vya*.

On this point again I do not claim that the explanation I offer is the only conceivable one. I merely maintain that it is quite as likely to be true as Hertel's, and therefore that Hertel is deceived in thinking that his is the only conceivable one.

My argument on this verse contains three points. (1) The verse is not found in Pahl., Som., Kṣem., or Simpl., all of which H. assumes to be derived from "K", and therefore—being based only on n-w and Pūrṇ.—the verse offers no reliable evidence for "K". (2) It does not even offer reliable evidence for a hypothetical archetype of n-w and Pūrṇ. alone, since it is easily conceivable that Pūrṇ. got his readings for the verse from a source dependent on n-w or from a source outside the Pañc. circle. (The verse is of the sort which might be used anywhere at all.) (3) Most important of all: the reading of n-w and Pūrṇ. is more likely to be the Urpañc. reading than that of Tantr.

¹The Hindus—rightly, it seems to me—treat such forms as *kar-madhārayas* (e. g. "irresolutely fearful"); Delbrück, AIS., p. 73, takes the same view, but the high authority of Wackernagel is on the other side (A-I. Gram. II. 1, Section 74 a).

If I am right in any one of these three contentions, then another of Hertel's "proofs" for "K" has been shown to be a mere subjective impression, and an improbable one.

(c) Another passage—and one which Hertel considers his most powerful argument for the "corrupt archetype K"—is discussed in his Pañc., p. 440 ff. (cf. further Tantr. Uebers. I. 28 ff., 158). It concerns a supposed lacuna which he thinks he can establish in "K" in the story corresponding to Tantr. II. 2. The *Kathāsamgraha* or catch-verse to this fable reads in Tantr. thus:

*nākasmāc Chāṇḍilī mātā vikrīṇāti tilāis tilān
luñcitāñl luñcitāir eva kāryam atra bhaviṣyati.*

That is: "Not without reason does Mother Čāṇḍilī offer to sell sesame for sesame, huskt for likewise huskt; there is surely something in that ('a nigger in the woodpile')."

In the prose text of the story, according to Tantr., Čāṇḍilī sends a boy to exchange some huskt white sesame, which had become defiled, for black sesame, insisting that it should be likewise huskt. She thus hopes, by emphasizing the equality of the bargain, to escape the natural suspicion that there was something wrong with her sesame.

In most of the other recensions the catch-verse is changed in such a way as to eliminate the demand for huskt sesame in exchange for huskt. Only in one MS. of Simpl., and in certain descendants of Simpl., do the words *luñcitāñl luñcitāir* (or equivalent), "huskt for huskt", occur in the verse. I think Hertel is probably right in maintaining that this is the original reading of the verse; the other versions are then corrupted (or at least changed) at this point. Nevertheless they cannot go back to a corrupt archetype. "K", if there ever was a K, must have had the original reading (as in Tantr.) at this point; this is shown by Simpl., and is admitted by Hertel. All the offshoots of K, then, except some texts of Simpl., have become *independently* corrupted in this verse, according to Hertel himself.

But, says Hertel, all the "K" versions (except Brh., cf. below) in the prose text of the story say that Čāṇḍilī tried to exchange her huskt sesame for *unhuskt*. This is true even of the one MS. of Simpl. which in its catch-verse speaks of

"huskt for huskt". In this MS., then, the prose is inconsistent with the verse; and in all the "K" versions except B_{rh}. the prose is inconsistent with the assumed original form of the verse (though not with the verse as read in these versions themselves).

So far I can find no fault with Hertel's reasoning. I agree with him that the evidence seems to indicate a departure from the original point of the story in most of the versions. And the departure is in all of them the same as to general sense, though not as to verbiage; this would scarcely be expected in the prose. I should further admit that if a *very large number* of cases could be found in which the so-called "K" versions similarly agree in readings which can be shown to be secondary or corrupt, as against the Tantr., then there would be reason for assuming Hertel's "K" archetype. But since this is the only case in which it seems to me that Hertel has made such a thing appear even plausible, and since equally or even more plausible cases could be made out for "corrupt archetypes" of any two Pañc. versions you could name (see below, p. 275 ff.), I do not admit that this single instance proves anything; nor would any two or three, or even ten or a dozen similar instances prove anything. For anything like proof we must expect cases which are either much more numerous, or much more compelling—preferably both. On the contrary, in view of all our present knowledge it seems to me much more likely that the change—or corruption, if you like—came in independently in all the "descendants of K". In any case, I think that there is no reason of weight for assuming that precisely a "lacuna" is indicated in "K" at this point, as Hertel does. On the contrary, as I shall show in a moment, I think that the occurrence of an identical proper name in both Tantr. and SP. at the place of the supposed lacuna shows that there was none.

That the same corruption could occur independently in many versions is admitted by Hertel, both for the catch-verse of this very fable, and in other connexions; thus in his Tantr. Uebers. II. 17, note 1, he assumes for the original Pañc. a passage which is found *only in Tantr. and Hit.* Here then is a "lacuna" which has crept in independently in all of the "K" versions which have the assumed corruption in the

sesame story. Why then should H. assume that in the sesame story this precisely similar corruption (for so it is, according to his theory—a lacuna) proves a corrupt archetype?

His arguments for this assumption seem to me both subjective and flimsy, and beside the point. Thus, he says the story as told in Tantr. is much more clever; no one, he says, could possibly have been deceived by an offer to exchange huskt for unhuskt sesame. Even if this were admitted, it would have no bearing on the question. Whether stupid or clever, the alteration in the story must have been made at least once; why may it not have been made three times? Moreover I do not find the "K" form of the story so inconceivably stupid. A closely analogous motive occurs in the familiar story of Aladdin in the Arabian Nights ("Tausend und Eine Nacht"); the offer of "new lamps for old" worked successfully there. Evidently to the oriental mind, at least, this idea was not too stupid to pass in a story. It seems to me that there are in the Tantr. itself much more stupid and banal stories than the "K" version of this story. The latter seems to me, in fact, a more natural turn for the story to take than the almost *too* clever version of the Tantr. I can very easily understand the repeated change, in several (three) versions independently, from the very *recherché* to the more simple trick. The change, furthermore, may easily have been a mere verbal slip; it may have arisen simply from a mistaken assumption of an *a*-privative in *sandhi* (*luñcita* : *aluñcita*). We do not know what the original text of the Pañc. was at this point.

It should further be emphasized that both Som. and Ksem. (descendants of "K", according to Hertel) say nothing about either huskt or unhuskt sesame. Their accounts of the story are, as usual, abbreviated. Som.'s version, in fact, is so brief that it does not bring out clearly the point of the story. Hertel's theory—more ingenious than probable—is that Som. still shows in his text the "lacuna" which he assumes for "K" at this point, and which he thinks has been "falsely restored" in the other versions. He does not say how he interprets Ksem.'s version, which summarizes, though briefly, the part of the story omitted in Som., and which goes back to the same immediate original with Som.

But Som. and Ksem. are frequently so abbreviated that

even important points of the story are obscured or omitted; this by no means indicates a lacuna in their original. SP. contains, in the part of the story omitted in Som. and therefore, apparently, in the supposed "lacuna" of "K", the proper name Kāmandaki, which is found at this point in Tantr. and could scarcely have been supplied from the imagination of the SP. redactor. This militates against the assumption of a lacuna between SP. and the common archetype of it and Tantr. And in general the versions of SP., Pahl. and Simpl. agree quite as closely as usual with the version of Tantr. throughout this story. The only variation of any consequence is the change of *huskt* to *unhuskt*; this, as I have indicated, may rest on a very slight verbal misunderstanding, and in any case much more serious variations than this occur repeatedly in all of these versions individually. That in this particular case the same corruption should have occurred in all three is indeed worth noting, but need not prove anything except that the corruption was a very easy and natural one. Even Hertel admits, as I have said, similar independent but identical changes for these versions at other points.

Recapitulating, my position is that Hertel's theory of the passage, while abstractly not impossible, is certainly not definitely proved—to put it very mildly. Another theory seems at least as liable to be correct (much more liable, in my opinion), namely, that the change of the word "*huskt*" to "*unhuskt*" in the prose story occurred independently in the texts (or the archetypes) of Pahl., n-w and Simpl.—exactly as, according to Hertel's own admission, this same change did occur independently in the catch-verse of the story.

(d) The only other case for the "archetype K" mentioned in Hertel Tantr. Uebers. I. 28 ff. is the verse Tantr. II. 25 (l. c., p. 32, note 1), in which he claims that all "K" versions read *sutaptam* wrongly for *ataptam* of Tantr. (A more lengthy discussion of this WZKM. 25. 13 ff.) The Tantr. stanza means: "With an enemy one should not ally himself, not even by a very intimate alliance. Water, even though not heated (or, punningly, "not injured"), puts out fire". The other versions, reading *su-* for *a-*, mean: "... Water, even if it be heated hot (i. e. even if its nature be changed so as to be as close to the nature of fire as possible), still puts out fire".

This seems to me to make as good sense, and to be as suitable to the context, as the Tantr. reading. Even if it is a secondary reading (which I am far from admitting), it depends on a very slight verbal change, which is furthermore suggested by the most natural meaning of the root *tap* in such a connexion. Water is very frequently "heated"; it is hard to conceive of its being "injured". It is only through the *double entente* in the word *a-taptam* that the Tantr. has any meaning at all. Therefore it would be easy to suppose that the corruption—if it be one—occurred independently in several versions, which failed to see the rather *recherché* meaning of the reading with *ataptam*, and thought they saw a chance to make the verse sensible. And in fact, the "K" reading is quite as good, and quite as apt to be the original Pañc. reading, as the other; in my opinion, more so.

(e) In WZKM. 25. 9 ff. Hertel adds another passage which he thinks points to a corrupt archetype "K". This is Tantr. I. 19, in which Tantr. reads *dhūrtam tam*, while the "K" versions have *dhunvantam*. The two readings are easily confused in the Ārādā alphabet, and the most natural supposition would be that the variant or corruption came in in the one version of the Pañc. whose MSS. are written in that alphabet—namely, Tantr. Of course, Hertel assumes the opposite.—He translates *dhūrtam* "verschlagen", "cunning", which must be taken (as the context shows) in a good sense, "clever". But *dhūrta* seems always to be used pejoratively; it means "a sly rascal, a cheat". This does not at all fit the verse; the reading *dhunvantam* does fit it.—Hertel (l. c., p. 11) refers to the reading *dhūnvantam* of some SP. MSS., and says that the "false" *ū* points to the *ū* of *dhūrtam*. The *ū* is not at all false; the root *dhū* is a well-recognized by-form of *dhū*, and the present *dhūnoti* is found both in the Veda and in Classical Sanskrit; see BR., and Whitney's "Roots, Verb-Forms", etc., s. v.¹

¹On p. 18 of WZKM. 25 I note what seems to me an astonishing remark from a scholar so familiar with the habits of Indian MSS. as Hertel is. "The reading of the majority of the MSS., FOEI, is perfectly comprehensible; therefore the reading of HM cannot be a correction of that of FOEI (!). Graphically, also, the reading of HM cannot be explained from that of FOEI. So there must have been

III. So much for Hertel's arguments about his archetype "K". On equally weak, or even weaker, grounds rests his assumption that Pahl., n-w (SP., v, Hit.) and Simpl. (with Pūrṇ.) go back to a nearer archetype, which he calls "N-W", a descendant of "K" of which Som. and Kṣem. are independent. So far as I can see, his reasons for this are just two. One is that in the sesame-story above mentioned (p. 266 ff.) those versions seem to him to have "restored" in a similar way the "lacuna" of "K", which Hertel thinks is still found in Som. This restoration, he says, must go back to an archetype of these versions. As I have already indicated, the lacuna and its restoration seem to me alike imaginary.

The only other attempt to prove the reality of "N-W" which I am able to find in Hertel's writings is that treated in Tantr. Uebers. I. 32 f. (cf. also SP. Einl. XXXVI ff.), the story of the brahman and the rogues (Tantr. III. 5). It is necessary here again to distinguish between what Hertel has a sound philological basis for asserting, and what he merely conjectures on purely subjective grounds; unfortunately he states both things with equal assurance. In the text of SP. (or at least in an archetype of all of Hertel's MSS. thereof except possibly T and X, both secondary MSS.) there was a lacuna in this story. I do not see how anyone could doubt this, after inspecting the table of the MS. readings on SP. Einl. XXXIX, and comparing the text, p. 47, with the critical notes thereto, p. 104. The point is almost superficially obvious; in a large group of MSS. the gap is still there. But in extending this lacuna back to a hypothetical common archetype of SP., Simpl. and Pahl. it seems to me that Hertel again

some special reason for the change . . .". A most amazing proposition, that there must be some "special reason" for every little variation introduced by a stupid, slovenly Hindu copyist. The change in question, for which Hertel thinks a "special reason" must be sought, is a shift between the syllables *ti* and *tya*. I am sure that Hertel knows as well as I do that much more serious changes occur constantly in Hindu MSS. without any "special reason" except the carelessness and ignorance of copyists. I only mention this remark—which I am sure Hertel would not defend in cold blood—to show how he is liable to be entirely carried away by the desire to prove a point, so that he momentarily fails to see the most commonplace things in their true light.

becomes subjective and wholly inconclusive. That Pahl. and the Jaina recensions speak of only three rogues,¹ while Tantr. and Som. speak of six (who however appear in three groups—first one, then two, then three), is surely no matter for surprise, and scarcely even calls for comment. In Tantr. and Som. first one rogue speaks to the brahman, then two, then three. The brahman is only addressed three times; why (say the later redactors) should there be more than three speakers? The climactic arrangement of the numbers is exactly the sort of trifling detail which we find later redactors constantly altering, either carelessly, or deliberately (because there seemed to be no reason for it). The only reason, indeed, which Hertel can think of for its being used in the original is that perhaps the author wanted to give examples of parallel Sanskrit forms in the singular, dual and plural. The passages as given in Pahl. and Simpl. are just as well and as fully told as in Tantr. Nor do they differ from Tantr. any more than usual, if as much. It seems scarcely believable that the trifling change about the numbers should seem to Hertel to indicate a "lacuna" in the archetype of these versions; yet such appears to be his argument. If there were marked variations—especially absurd or inconsistent ones—in the story, as there are in the individual MSS. of SP., whose text actually has a plain gap in many MSS., then indeed something of the sort might be assumed with more speciousness; although I have indicated above the danger of basing arguments on even such grounds.

I have tried to show that the arguments advanced by Hertel in support of his "K" and "N-W" are individually inconclusive. It seems to me that they are open to this more general criticism: the number of instances he adduces is too small to prove anything anyhow. Even if it were true that in these few

¹ In Old Syriac there are four; but the Arabic and its descendants make it clear that Pahl. had three. The slight variations in the number which appear in descendants of Pahl. show how absurd it is for Hertel to make so much of this infinitesimal point. Some of the descendants of the Arabic even have only two rogues. Yet we *know* that Syr., as well as Arab. and all its descendants, came from one single text—Pahl.—not from several "archetypes"—and that *that* text had some perfectly definite number here—whether four, three or two. Yet its descendants vary.

instances the Tantr. alone has the original reading (and there is only one instance in which there is good reason to assume this) and even if the other versions did presuppose an identical corruption, it is quite possible to believe (as I have already hinted) that these few changes crept in independently in the different "K" or "N-W" versions. My experience with the same problem—which confronted me in dealing with the interrelation of the versions of the Vikramacarita—leads me to the conviction that the problem is far from being so simple as H. seems to conceive it. Hindu literary tradition is such a terribly complicated matter, that in no work of the size of the Pañc. or the Vikramacarita could interrelationship be decided by any three or four, or half a dozen, cases of agreement or disagreement in detail—however striking. By such arguments the close connexion of any two different recensions of any Hindu work could be proven. When my "composite outline" of the four principal Vikr. recensions is published,¹ it will show at a glance the truth of my statement. This "composite outline" summarizes the entire work in all versions, and shows that each version agrees with every other version in a certain number of corruptions or changes, as well as in original readings. I can also show that the same holds good of the Pañc. versions. A few examples will be given in a moment.

But genetic relationship must rest on much broader considerations than this: on sweeping and extensive changes from the original plan of the work as a whole, or on extensive and far-reaching verbal agreements, or on a *very large* number of common corruptions or changes in detail. On such broad and sound considerations Hertel bases his statement, for instance, that SP., v and Hit. are closely related, and that the latter two are closer to each other than to SP.; also, that Pūrṇ. used both Simpl. and a Tantr. codex for his new version. But up to this time Hertel has produced no proof of *this* sort for his archetypes "K" or "N-W". Until he does so he ought not,

¹ My two-volume work containing a complete text and translation of the main versions of Vikr. in horizontally parallel sections, with introduction, critical apparatus etc., has been in the hands of the printer for nearly two years; the delay has been in no way my fault, and has been much more deeply deplored by me than it could have been by anyone else.

it seems to me, to claim that these hypotheses represent anything more than his personal opinion and impression. As such they are certainly entitled to respectful consideration, although after a careful study of them I have been forced to disagree. But certainly they cannot properly be used as established facts in demolishing his critics (as Hertel does use them repeatedly; see for instance ZDMG. 68. 66).

Now in order to show that such cases as Hertel uses to prove his archetypes "K" and "N-W" may be found to establish archetypes for any two recensions—or even sub-recensions—of the Pañc., and thus to furnish a *reductio ad absurdum* of his argument, let me tabulate a few striking cases of variant readings, all taken from the verses of Book I of the Pañc., which I have carefully studied from Hertel's very useful tables of correspondences.¹ It will appear from these materials that, by picking out here and there a few verbal correspondences or common variations, such as Hertel uses to establish his "K", it would be possible to prove that Tantr. α and SP. α go back to a common archetype different from Tantr. β and SP. β, or that Tantr. and ν are similarly con-

¹ Tantr. Uebers. I. 100 ff., Pañc. 78 ff. I have discovered a number of errors (some of them, I presume, misprints) in these tables. In the first-mentioned correct as follows: p. 100, opposite Śār. I. 2, insert in Pa. column "Syr. Schulthess p. 1, l. 21 ff."; p. 104, opposite Śār. (Hertel's abbreviation for Tantr.) 65, read Pa. 57 for 55; opposite Śār. 128, insert Kṣem. 82 cd, 83 ab; below SP. 63 insert 64 (= Pūrṇ. 230) with dashes in all the other columns; Śār. 73 corresponds to SP. 66, ν 49. Pa. 51, and Som. 119 as well as to SP. 65 etc. (cf. my remarks below. p. 278); opposite Śār. 78 insert Pa. A 37 (?); p. 105, opposite Śār. 92, insert Pa. A 55, end; p. 106, opposite SP. 106, read Pa. 76 a instead of A 65; p. 107, opposite Śār. 126, read Pa. 81 instead of 79; p. 109, opposite Śār. 168, in Kṣem. column delete ab.—In the second-mentioned table (Pañc. 78 ff.) correct as follows: p. 78, read Śār. Kathāmukha 3 instead of 1 (opposite Pūrṇ. Simpl. 1); read Simpl. Kathāmukha 6 for 7; opposite Śār. I. 1 insert Simpl. 1; opposite Śār. 22 insert Simpl. 63; p. 79, the Simpl. references opposite Pūrṇ. 219 really correspond to Pūrṇ. 220 (which is omitted by mistake) and Simpl. II. 157 should be read for II. 160; Śār. 73 = Pūrṇ. 232 ab and 233 cd (cf. above, and p. 278 below); footnote 8, read 280 for 278; p. 80, below Pūrṇ. (Story) XIV, insert as follows: Śār. 120 = Pūrṇ. 310, Śār. 122 = Pūrṇ. 311 = Simpl. 308, Śār. 124 = Pūrṇ. 312 = Simpl. 309; also, below Śār. (Story) XIV insert as follows: Śār. 161 = Pūrṇ. 384 = Simpl. 394, Śār. 162-3 = Pūrṇ. 385-6.—Furthermore: Pūrṇ. 404 = 409, Simpl. 409 = 414.

nected, etc. Since of course we know that these conclusions would be unwarranted, I think it is thereby proved that Hertel's method of proving his archetypes "K" and "N-W" is unsafe and unscientific.

(a) Tantr. I. 5 = SP. I. 7 = *v* II. 4 = Pa. I. 2 = Pūrṇ. I. 8 = Simpl. I. 21. (Correspondents in Bṛh. furnish no evidence on our point; neither does Pa.) In pada c, Tantr. text (with *a*) reads *sa naro nihataṣ ṣete*; SP. text, and *v*, *sa bhūmāu nihataḥ ṣete*. The reading of Simpl. and Pūrṇ., *sa eva nidhanam yāti*, would seem at first sight like a secondary change. But looking at the variants of Tantr. and SP., we find that Tantr. *β* reads *sa naraḥ pralayam yāti*; and the MS. of SP. which Hertel considers on the whole the most original, viz. K, reads *sa eva nilayam yāti*, which looks like a cross between Tantr. *β* and Simpl.-Pūrṇ., while three MSS. of SP. *β* read exactly as Simpl.-Pūrṇ. Now try to construct archetypes, Hertel-fashion, for these readings, and what do we get? On the one hand—

Tantr. <i>α</i> :	<i>sa naro nihataṣ ṣete</i>
SP. (most MSS.) and <i>v</i> :	<i>sa bhūmāu nihataḥ ṣete</i>

On the other hand—

SP. <i>β</i> 3 MSS., Simpl., Pūrṇ.:	<i>sa eva nidhanam yāti</i>
SP. <i>α</i> 1 old MS.:	<i>sa eva nilayam yāti</i>
Tantr. <i>β</i> :	<i>sa naraḥ pralayam yāti</i>

Apparently, therefore, Tantr. *α*, *v* and most SP. MSS. go back to one "archetype", while Simpl., Pūrṇ., one SP. *α* MS. and 3 SP. *β* MSS. go back to another, which is also the principal basis of Tantr. *β*, though that has taken the word *naraḥ* from the other!

In particular, the ending *niyataḥ ṣete* is found in good descendants of both Hertel's "K" and his "Ś"; likewise, the ending *yāti* (for *ṣete*) preceded by an accusative. What becomes of the "archetypes K and Ś"? How did each of them read here? "Fortunate restoration" will hardly serve to explain such a change as this. It must be due to the floating and indefinite character of the Hindu literary tradition, which refuses to be run into theoretical molds to the extent that Hertel tries to do so.

(b) Tantr. I. 10 = SP. I. 13 = ν II. 9 = Simpl. I. 24. Pada d: Tantr. α and most SP. MSS. read *cirāya*; Tantr. β , Simpl., ν and two MSS. of SP. α read *ciram ca* (one SP. α MS. *cireṇa*). What did "K" read?

(c) Tantr. I. 59 = SP. I. 50 = ν II. 36 = Pūrṇ. I. 159 = Simpl. I. 207 = Kṣem. I. 28 cd, 29 ab. Padas cd: Tantr. α and β , and SP. in all MSS. recorded by Hertel read *kāki* (SP. β *kākaḥ*) *kanakasūtreṇa kṛṣṇasarpam amārayat*. But ν (the closest relative of SP.) reads, with Pūrṇ. and Simpl., in d *kṛṣṇasarpō nipātitaḥ* (in c Pūrṇ. and Simpl. read *kākyā*, ν *kākikanaka*^o). The reading of ν , Simpl. and Pūrṇ. seems to be confirmed by Kṣem., which according to Hertel used only Tantr. β besides its main source Brh. (a descendant of "K"); Kṣem. I. 29 ab reads *ṣṛūyate kṛṣṇasarpō hi dhiyā kākyā nipātitaḥ*. What becomes of Hertel's archetype "K" at this point? Did it agree with ν , Simpl., Pūrṇ. and Kṣem., or with SP., the antiquity of whose reading is vouched for by Tantr.? Can Hertel possibly maintain that SP.'s reading is a "happy restoration"?!

(d) Tantr. I. 60 = SP. I. 51 = ν II. 37 = Pūrṇ. I. 165 = Simpl. I. 210. Pada c: all MSS. of SP. read *kaṣcin*; so likewise Simpl. and Pūrṇ., apparently establishing the reading of "K". But ν reads *paṣcān*, with Tantr. Apparently, then, ν would belong to "Ś", the archetype of Tantr. Or is this again a "fortunate restoration"?

(e) Tantr. I. 64 = SP. I. 56 = ν II. 41 = Pūrṇ. I. 221. In pada a: Tantr. α and SP. α read *abhyucchrīte*, Tantr. β , SP. β and Pūrṇ. *atyucchrīte*. It would appear, then, that Tantr. α and SP. α form one archetype, as against Tantr. β and SP. β .

(f) Tantr. I. 81 = SP. I. 73 = ν II. 54 = Pūrṇ. I. 251. Pada a: Tantr. α has *kuṣalān*, β *kuṣalo* (Hertel's text '*kuṣalān*'); SP. Pūrṇ. *vyasanān* (so establishing "K"'s reading), but ν *kuṣalā* (with Tantr.!).

(g) Tantr. I. 105 = SP. I. 92 = ν II. 71 = Pūrṇ. I. 245. Pada b: SP. β , ν and Pūrṇ. read *kamalaropanam*; SP. α with Tantr. '*bjamavarop*^o'. What did "K" read?—The last parts of padas b and c, as read in Tantr. and SP., are transposed in ν and in Pūrṇ. What was their order in "K"?

(h) Tantr. I. 153 = SP. I. 132 = ν II. 106 = Pūrṇ. I. 373. Pada a: Tantr. α , SP. α and ν read *kaluṣeṇa*; Tantr. β , SP. β

and Pūrṇ. *kapaṭena*. (Hertel follows Tantr. α in his text of Tantr., but SP. β in his text of SP.)

(i) Tantr. I. 155 = SP. I. 133 = ν II. 107 = Pūrṇ. I. 375. Pada c: Tantr. α with ν *ṣaṣāṇkasya*; Tantr. β with SP. and Pūrṇ. *saṣāṇkasya*. Hertel thinks the reading of Tantr. α is the original, and that of ν a "fortunate correction". The meaning of the verse is dubious; I am not satisfied with Hertel's interpretation.

(k) Tantr. I. 158 = SP. I. 136 = ν II. 109 = Pūrṇ. I. 381. Pada b: SP. and Pūrṇ. have *tam anuv°*, Tantr. and ν *samanuv°*.—Pada d: Tantr. Pūrṇ. *bhavaty āmalakīphalam*. The reading which would be indicated for "n-w", by the general consensus of the SP. α MSS. and ν, is *jāyate* (or with ν *jāyetām*) *kaṇṭakam phalam*. Nevertheless SP. β (a secondary recension) reads exactly as Tantr. Pūrṇ., except *āmalakam* for °*kī*. Apparently SP. β, Tantr. and Pūrṇ. go back to a different "archetype" from SP. α and ν. The variants are of a sort which could not possibly depend on a "fortunate restoration".

(l) Tantr. I. 169 = SP. I. 143 = ν II. 116 = Pa. I. 103 = Pūrṇ. I. 396. Pada c: SP. β alone reads *sneho*, "affection", for *guhyaṁ*, "a secret", of all other Sanskrit versions, including SP. α and ν. But Pa. translates a Sanskrit word which must have been *sneho* or a synonym thereof, and cannot have been *guhyaṁ*: "die Freundschaft bis zu den Verleumdern" (Schulthess). Apparently, then, SP. β and Pa. go back to one "archetype", while SP. α, ν, Tantr., etc., go back to another.

(m) Tantr. I. 174 = SP. I. 145 = ν II. 118 = Pa. I. 106 = Pūrṇ. I. 403. (Cf. Hertel SP. LVI f.) In pada c: Tantr. α and apparently (so Hertel) SP.'s archetype (with MS. K) read *anugamyō* (most SP. MSS. have unimportant corruptions). But Tantr. β and Pūrṇ. have *anukampyō*, to which the corrupt text of ν (—*kampo*—) evidently goes back. Here then we have Tantr. β, Pūrṇ. and ν forming one group, Tantr. α and SP. another.—The lengths to which Hertel allows his preconceived theories to carry him are indicated by his discussion of pada b (l. c., LVII). Here nearly all MSS. of SP., including K, the best MS. of all, and B, another MS. of the α recension, read *bhāvyaṁ*, which the meter requires.

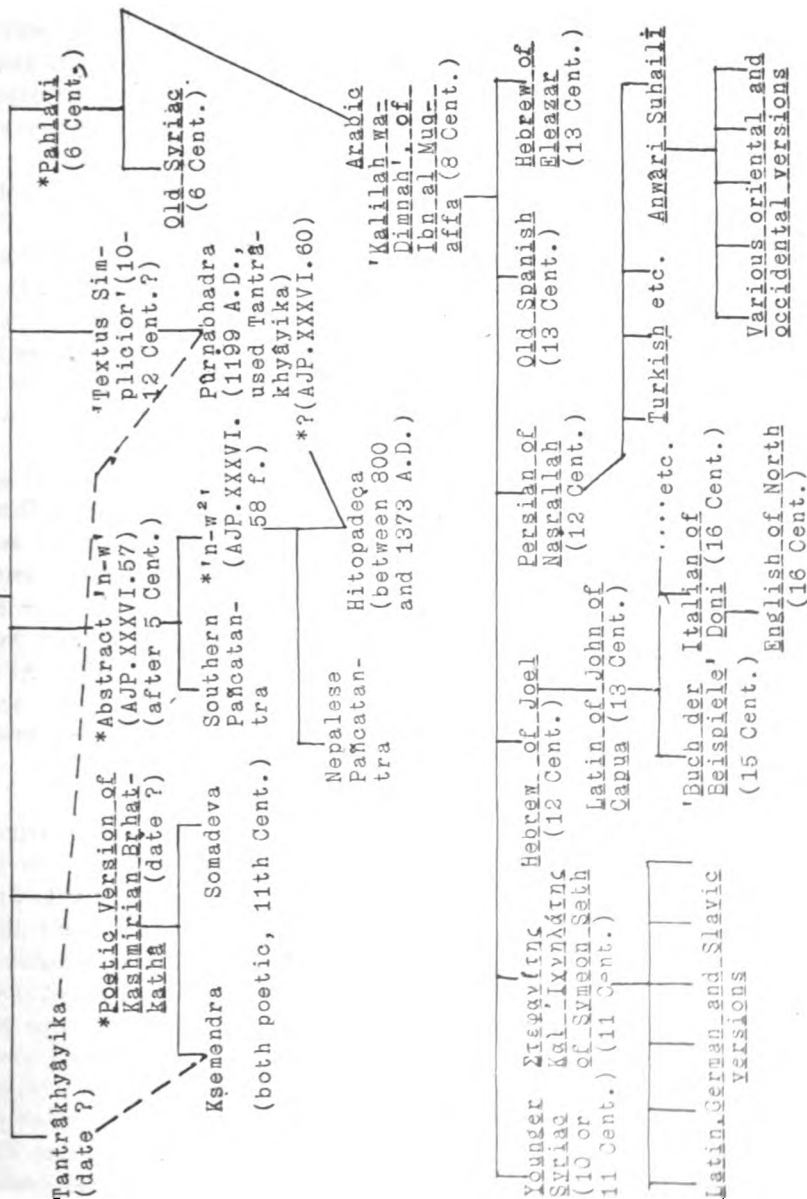
A few *a* MSS. read *bhavitavyam*, an obvious and metrically impossible corruption. Hertel finds the evidence of these few corrupt MSS. enough to *absolutely establish* the corruption *bhavitavyam* for the SP. archetype—apparently for no other reason than that the Tantr. MSS. have the same corruption, and Hertel feels the need of making SP. at least as corrupt as the Tantr.!

I have chosen only the most clear and striking cases of this sort which I have discovered in the verses of Book I. The same sort of thing occurs repeatedly in smaller variations which could more easily have arisen independently; that is why I have not recorded them—although they include a considerable number of much more marked and important variations than some on which Hertel lays great weight, and in which he sees a deep significance (cf. WZKM. 25. 16 ff., and my comments, above, p. 270 n. 1).

(In Tantr. I. 73 is a clear corruption which Hertel has failed to perceive. It contains fragments of two verses found entire in the other recensions—SP., *v*, Pa., Pūrṇ. and even Som.; SP. I. 65 = *v* II. 48 = Pa. I. 50 = Pūrṇ. I. 232, clearly reproduced by Som. 60. 119, while SP. I. 66 = *v* II. 49 = Pa. I. 51 = Pūrṇ. I. 233, clearly reproduced by Som. 60. 121. Now Tantr. I. 73 ab is SP. I. 65 ab, while Tantr. I. 73 cd is SP. I. 66 cd. Padas cd of SP. I. 65 and ab of SP. I. 66 are accidentally omitted in Tantr. Correct Hertel's statement under Tantr. I. 73 on p. 104 of Tantr. Uebers. I.)

I hope to have shown that there is a total lack of definite proof for Hertel's archetypes "K" and "N-W". On the contrary, as I have hinted, it seems to me that Pahl., Brh., Simpl. and n-w are each more closely related to Tantr. than to each other. At present I do not think it is possible to determine more narrowly the relationship of these versions. But in determining the Urpañcatantra version at any one particular point, I hold—in direct opposition to Hertel, whose views rest on the assumed stability of his "K" and "N-W" archetypes—that the agreement of any two or three of the older versions establishes a *prima facie* probability that they contain the original reading—*provided* that the corresponding texts of the other recensions show no agreement among them-

*THE ORIGINAL PĀNCATANTRA
(ca. 200 A.D.?)



*In these recent versions, Translations into other languages than Sanskrit are underscored. ---

selves. *Nota bene*: a *prima facie* probability only; and *only* in case the disagreeing versions are divergent among themselves. Many of Hertel's reconstructions of the Urpañc. are vitiated by his unwarranted assumption that the evidence of Tantr. alone is of at least equal weight with the united evidence of *all* the other versions; nay, he sometimes thinks Tantr. α alone can outweigh Tantr. β with all the other versions, since he believes that Tantr. β is contaminated from a "K" codex. I believe that Tantr. α and β together are of not much, if any, more weight in determining the original Pañcatantra than any other of the older versions.

My opinion of the relation of the older Pañcatantra versions is indicated in tabular form by the following "genealogical table", which I would substitute for Hertel's "Stammbaum" in so far as it is inconsistent therewith. Of course it should be understood that my table is only tentative. Especially is this true on the negative side. That is, I regard it as quite possible that closer relations may yet be proved to exist between some versions, between which the table indicates no closer relation, simply because no such relation has yet been *proved*. The relations indicated positively by my table I regard as so well established that it is unlikely that future investigations will upset them.

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II.—THE -σσ- FORMS IN HOMER.

As is no doubt well known to all who have looked closely into Homer, the scansion of the two epics is graded in a rather curious way. The metre of the speeches¹ is much less exact than that of the narrative proper; and the speeches of B² etc. and of the Odyssey go farther in this way than do the speeches of the Iliad³. The narrative of the Iliad⁴ is stricter than the narrative of B² etc. or of the Odyssey; and within the Iliad itself the strictest scansion is given by the *ἀριστεία* in Λ. The next best is Π; Ε and Ρ, while excellent in parts, do not approach these two. Tested metrically, the books ΝΞΟ are remarkably lawless; in narrative this style is a new departure, analogous to *ικλμ* in the speeches. In the rest of the Iliad⁵ (taken in bulk) the narrative, though showing a downward tendency, still differs from the Odyssey.

Among the changes in the verse, four stand out most clearly. The lines are such that they need to be recited faster; verse-pause becomes conventional, not functional; ictus is less emphasised; and there is a growing disregard of gratuitous spondees. The last point is illustrated by the distribution of the temporal augment and of scansions like *καλ|ός* etc.; it can be seen too, though perhaps not so clearly, in the handling of the -σσ- forms which arise from dentals and are preceded by a short vowel. Let us first look at the gratuitous spondees (within the line) given by this kind of -σσ- in *arsti*:

(a) Narrative—

νείκεσσε Γ 38, Δ 336, 368, Ζ 325, Η 161, Ω 29, ρ 215, 374;
ὤπλισσε Λ 741.

ἀάσατο Λ 340, ἡγάσσατο Γ 181; λήισατο Ξ 28, ὠπλίσατο
Λ 86, β 20; ? ἐρρύσατο α 6, ἐφράσσατο Ω 352.

¹ See Cl. Q. 1908, April, pp. 94 seqq., and 1912, Jan. and April; and Am. Journ. of Phil. 1913, pp. 43 seqq.

² The books Β 484-end, Θ, Ι, Κ, Ψ, and Ω are tabled apart as "B² etc."; the rest of the Iliad is called "the Iliad without B² etc." or for short "the Iliad³".

συμφράσσατο A 537, ο 202, φράσσατο Ψ 453; πρόσσθεν Ψ 533.

έρύσσαι Φ 175? όπίσσω Φ 30? νεμέσσα φ 147.

τανύσσειν τ' σ 92; έρίσσειαν O 284, νεμέσσηθεν B 223, α 119;

έρύσσασθαι Φ 176, φ 125, μαχέσσασθαι O 633 (P 604).

μέλλον άπέσσεισθαι P 278; έσσεισθ' O 613; (έννυσθαι ξ 522).

ώμων μεσσηγύς E 41, 57; Θ 259, A 448, II 807, χ 93;

μεσσηγύς E 769, Z 4, Θ 46, N 33, Ψ 521, Ω 78, δ 845, ο 528, χ 341, 459. άνδρων τρεσάντων Ξ 522.

περί μέσσω N 534; μέσσος Γ 78=H 56, H 277, 384=417, ε 487, θ 66=473; (A 167, II 412=Y 387, 475).

δσσος B 845, P 261, η 108; τόσσος Γ 12, A 430, M 338, Ξ 150, Ψ 522, 847.

κύσσαι ω 236; ζέσσην Σ 349; τρέσσαι (-αν) δ' N 515, ζ 138; (είσω H 270, η 13, θ 290),

(b) Speeches—

ξείνισσε Γ 207, τ 194, ω 271; (έ)ξείνισσε Γ 232, ω 266, 288; ξείνισσε Z 174.

άάσσατο T 95? ήράσσατο Y 223, λ 238, ώμόςσαμεν Y 313; ληίσσατο α 398, ώπλίσσατο ι 291, 311, 344, κ 116.

? έρρύσατο Y 194, έφράσσατο δ 529, συμφράσσατο A 540, δ 462; αιδέσσεται X 419, ξ 388, θαυμάσσεται Σ 467.

ιλάσσομ' γ 419, ληίσσομαι Ψ 357, ξεινίσσομεν η 190, όρμίσσομεν Ξ 77, πεμπάσσεται δ 412, τοξάσσεται χ 72;

φράσσομαι ε 188, ω 217, έπιφράσσειτ' ο 444, συμφράσσομαι I 374.

όπίσσω Γ 160, και έλάσση E 236, έρύσσης E 110, λοέσσας Ψ 282;

λοέσσαι τε τ 320, έρίσσειε Γ 223, ο 321, τ 286, έρύσσωσ' ρ 479.

νεμεσσητόν Γ 410, I 523, Ξ 336, T 182, Ω 463, χ 59, 489; νεμεσσηθείς O 211, 227; μαχεσσαίμην N 118;

άρεσσάσθω θ 396; άνύσσεισθαι π 373, έρύσσασθαι Σ 174, μαχέσσασθαι (E 483, β 245), σ 39, όνόσσεισθαι ε 379, (άνδρ' άπαρέσσαισθαι T 183); έφέσσεισθαι I 455, άπέσσεισθαι σ 146, άπέσσονται υ 155;

δάσσασθαι υ 216, έσπονται Z 353, X 255, 266 (?), 489, λ 137, ψ 284, έσσεισθαι Z 339, M 324, χάσσασθαι M 172, (ίσασιν Ψ 312, β 283); μεσσηγύς η 195, χ 442; ποσσημαρ Ω 657.

ἐν μέσῳ μ 20; μέσος Γ 416, λ 157, μ 80, 93, 443.
 ὁσος Α 186, Ζ 454, Κ (214), 418, Λ 657, Ρ 23, Ξ 94,
 (Τ 230), Φ 488, Ω 544, η 68, θ 222, κ 45, λ 329, 518,
 (ξ 93, π 122, τ 130), χ 168; τόσος Χ 423, α 248,
 ι 243, 265, μ 123, ρ 407; τοσσοῖδ' Ξ 94, Υ 357 ? 359 ?
 (εἶσω Σ 282, κ 91).
 ἔσσω -ει π 79, ρ 550, ε 57, φ 339, ἔσσαι ξ 154, ἔσας ξ 396.
 ζέσσειν κ 360.

In narrative the most surprising instance is νείκεσσε which even in the speeches has no true parallel (ξέινισσε is legitimised by the ξ-); it is interesting that except in Ω 29 the word comes only in speech-introductions, and has, except in ρ 374 (and χ 225), a metrical concurrent in ἐνένηπε. So too in late narrative ὠπλίσσε replaces ἐκύκησε (Λ 678).

The types λήσασατο and (within the line) φράσασατο seem peculiar to late work; the simile in Λ 84-90 is in all points Odyssean. As can be seen from the table, the use is characteristic of the speeches, where there are 24 or 26 examples; γ 419, λ 238, and ο 444 are the most extreme cases. The scansion ἡγάσασατο (Γ 181) probably stands alone in narrative; Λ 340 looks like a hybrid from (φυγέμεν) καὶ ἀάσασατο (κηρὶ πεδηθείς) and ἀάσασατο δὲ (μέγα θυμῷ).

Words like ὀπίσω hardly ever take middle ictus except at the end of the line. In narrative there is no clear exception until φ 147; in Φ 175 παχείη χειρὶ ἐρύσσαι will go in, and in Φ 30 χείρας ὀπίσσω is possible (cf. εἶσω Π 340). Even in the speeches bacchiacs of this kind nearly always close the verse; there are only four clear exceptions, of which Ε 110 and Ε 236 are the most puzzling, since ἐρύσσαι ὀξύν and ἐλάση τ' ἐριαύχενας would *a priori* seem to be the natural scansions.

A form such as τανύσειε is obviously preferable to τανύσσειε which creates a spondee and also gives a half-open antispast. The artificial ictus is found only once in narrative (σ 92) and five times in the speeches; τ 320 shows that the scansion was at last naturalised, and in ρ 479 we actually get a shifted example. When the forms end with a true open syllable, as in ὀνόσαιο or ἐρύσσασα, they never take artificial ictus. Closed antispasts occur thrice in narrative and seven times in the speeches, and infinitives like ἐρύσσασθαι must also be added.

Of these there are in narrative perhaps 3; in Φ 176=φ 125 it is a puzzle why *λilaióμevos épúσasθai* was not preferred. In the speeches there are 7 instances (beside υ 155); in this as in many other points the speeches of the *Odyssey* go to the greatest extreme.

Infinitives like *ἔσσεισθαι* or *χάσσεσθαι* seem to have only one certain instance in narrative; in the speeches there are four, beside 6 occurrences of *ἔσσονται*. The similar scansion *μεσσηγύς* is regular only in such a phrase as *ᾠμων μεσσηγύς*, where *ᾠμοι* and *μεσσηγύς* together must give one spondee, but did not originally give two (*ᾠμόφι μεσσ.*). The remaining trisyllable is legitimised by the *τρ-* (*τρεσσάντων ἀνέρων* would be quite regular).

The scansion of *ὅσος* is complicated by the fact that time, measure etc. were originally thrown into a primitive kind of generalising clause. Owing to the special sense, the subordinating words which introduced such clauses needed correction with *τε*—at least it is a curious thing that in narrative the instances of *ὥς* introducing a comparison are either shifts from the back-leaning *ὥς* (ε 371, ζ 20) or else metrical replacements of *ὥς τε* etc.; thus, *ὥς δέ=ὥς τε*, and *ὥς δ' ὅτε* may be a hybrid from *ὥς δ' ὅτε τε* and *ἥύτε*. Since generalising *τε* must not stand before any other particle, similes or other clauses of the kind cannot easily be brought in with *δέ* or *γάρ* when relatives are used—*ὥς τε δέ* gives the wrong order (*ὥς τε γάρ* only in a speech, B 289) and *ὥς δέ τε* gives the wrong sense. So clauses of this kind must either be brought in with asyndeton, just as we see the *ἥύτε* similes in the text, or else some special device must be employed to get the conjunction before the corrected subordinant. This is done by *ὥς δ' ὅτε τε* (written as *ὥς δ' ὁπότε*, *ὥς δ' ὅταν*, etc.) or by *οἱ δ' (τοὺς δ') ὥς τ'* etc.; the frequency of the latter has been shown by Professor Gildersleeve, and illustrates very well the point suggested here. Further, a generalising clause ought to precede its apodosis, so that the short scansion *ὅσων τ'* could only have been obtained by holding back the sense-pause and asyndeton to the weak caesura. Spondaic *ὅσων τ'* was therefore always probable, and seems at last to have become normal—E 770, (860), Ξ 148, Π 589, Ψ 517, (845), Ω 317, ε 249, (484), θ 124.

Beside *ὅσος* the one other common spondaic form is *μέσσος*. If *μέσατος* is possible, the early examples are easy to explain

(καὶ μέσατον πεδίων, etc.), as is also the frequency of μέσ|ος which with other examples of -σ| - must now be considered:

(a) Narrative:

μέσ|ος Γ 266, 341, Δ 79, 212, Κ 265, Λ 172, 413, Μ 209,
Ο 357, 635, Ξ 507, 569, Τ 77, 249, Υ 15, Ω 162, Β 150,
δ 844, ε 326, σ 89, ω 441.

type ὀχλίσσειαν Β 282, Δ 498, Κ 571, Μ 448, Ο 575, Τ 385
Χ 404, Ψ 55, ν 184, π 459, σ 94, τ 391;

φράσσαντο Ο 671, φ 222; πρόσσω Ξ 250, ω 452.

other words κάπνισσαν Β 399, (καὶ δ' εἰς' Γ 382), παρέτ-
ρεσαν δέ Ε 295, ἀόλλισσαν Ζ 287, ? ἀήθεσσον Κ 493.

μεσσηγύ Λ 573=Ο 316, ἀκοντίσσαι Ν 559, 585, Π 359,
ποσσι κραιπνοῖσι Ψ 749, μέσσαυλον Ω 29.

ἐφοπλίσσαι τ 419, δάσαντό τε τ 423, νείκεσεν δ' χ 225.

ὄσ|ος Β 681, Κ 351, Ο 673 ἡδ' ὄσσοι, ε 400? τόσ|ος
Ξ 396, 398, Ξ 378, Ω 230, χ 145.

also ἔσσ^ο|αντο Ξ 350, ρ' ἔσσαντο Ξ 383, ω 467, 500; εἵρυσ-
σέν τε Γ 373=Ξ 165; στήθεσιν Α 189, σπέσει . . .

(Thus—σπέσει α 15 ε 155, ψ 335.)

(-εσ|ι Α 162, Μ 382, Π 704, [Ρ 396?], [δ 116?], ν 432).

(b) Speeches:

μέσ|ος Γ 69, 90, Ζ 181, Ν 312, Τ 173, Υ 245, Ψ 241,
δ 281, 413.

type ὀχλίσειε Α 216, Δ 324, Ε 216, Ζ 270, Η 449, Θ 143,
Ι 426, Ν 741, Π 545, 559, Ρ 327, Ξ 276, Τ 26, Χ 489,
Ω 263, 567, Β 295, δ 535, (ε 122 ἡγάασθε), ζ 57, 69, η
306, ι 242, λ 411, ρ 268, χ 78, 134, ψ 188, ω 360.

φράσσονται Β 367, φράσσαντο κ 453, ω 391, σπάσασθε χ
74; σβέσσαι Ι 678, Π 621; πρόσσω Α 343, Γ 109, Δ 615.

other words αἰκέσει Β 264, Μεσσηίδος Ζ 457, αἰδεσσαι
Ι 640, ἔσσεσθαι Ο 292, ξ 176, π 311, (Δ 444? Χ 332?)
χάσονται Ν 153, μεσσηγύ Υ 370, ἐταιρίσσαι Ω 335, ὀπλι-
σον Β 289, ἄσάν μ' κ 68, πάσασθαι κ 384, μέσσαυλον
κ 435;

ὄσ|ος Ι 160, Ρ 172, (δ 356?), 723, ζ 294, θ 102, 252,
ι 473, λ 25, μ 181? π 236, 290, τ 9, ἡδ' ὄσ|ος Ι 161,
Ψ 891, α 247, ν 241, π 124, οὐθ' ὄσ|ος φ 346, 347,
ἀλλ' ὄσσοις Υ 360;

τόσσ|ος Z 335, 450, P 20, 253, Φ 321, Ω 670, ι 324, 499,
τ 169, 221, χ 50? ω 276; τοσσόσδε X 41, γ 205, δ 665,
ε 100, φ 253; τοσσούτον ξ 99, φ 250, 402, (τοσσαῦτ'
ἔτα B 328, ἦ τοσσούτον θ 203).

also εὖ δάσσαντο A 368, σπέσι α 73, δ 403, ι 30, 114,
διήρεσσ' ξ 351.

(εἶσ|ω Φ 125; ἔσω only in B² etc. and Od.—Ω 155, 184,
199, η 50, λ 579, σ 49, ψ 24).

(ἴσαισι θ 559, 560, λ 122, 124, ξ 89, ψ 269, 271, ω 188).

(-εσσ|ι Z 362, K 441, [Λ 319?], [Σ 123?], β 47 τοίοδεσσιν,
166, η 59, ξ 238).

Of the narrative instances here no less than 21, or roughly a third, are due to μέσσοις. Twelve more are words like ὀχλίσσαιαν, where the false length is not easy to avoid; but it is not so early as πνείοντες, and perhaps came in from the speeches where the forms are more needed; the aorist εἰρύσσασθαι (-αιτο etc., narr. π 459, speeches A 216, Θ 143, P 327, Σ 276) is the most difficult. Taking the remainder of the list from πρόσσω to τόσσος, we find at most 26 instances in narrative, as against at least 53 in the speeches. Among the exceptional words three are important, for if they are possible in early narrative, it will be difficult to get a simple view of the -σσ- forms in general. In E 295 there is, beside the spondee, a displaced δέ;¹ the phrase is a shift from ἐρώησαν δέ οἱ. In Π 359 ἀκοντίζων seems conceivable, and its replacement by an infinitive may be the origin of the curious use which is fixed in N 559 (cf. τ 419). Λ 573 is harder; beside the spondee, which is not more than formally justified by καί, there is the fixed -ειν,² and χροά not dovetailed. All these points are quite in keeping with the style of MNΞO, whence the line may have been transferred.³

Apart from these instances there seems to be no real objection to the view that in the earliest epic period the -σσ- forms represent, not the preservation of an original double conso-

¹ Il.* (narr.)—B 86, 398, Γ 348, Δ 154, E 856, Z 311, H 259, 267, 269, N 175, 366, 608, Ξ 497, O 452, 464, 550, 581, Π 163, 341 bis, 348, P 44, 373, T 280, 382, T 80, Φ 244. In Π 341 ὑπὸ δ' ἤριπε is possible, but *sequitur variam vidia*.

² Il.* (narr.)—Θ 319, I 184? Λ 340? 573, N 387, M 111, 301, 337, 341, Ξ 424, O 316, Σ 413.

³ The sense would end with πολλ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ μεγάλῳ σάκει πρόσω ὄρμενα πήκτο.

nant, but merely the scanning of *-σ-* forms under ictus. The effect of ictus varied according to the nature of the syllable. When short *α*, *ε* or *ο* were followed by a liquid or nasal (or sibilant), ictus had an effect rather like that of the English stress-accent, and produced doubling. On short *ι* or *υ* the effect was different; the vowels themselves were lengthened by the ictus, as is shown by *ἔδωρ* where doubling is improbable. and by *ιερός*, etc., where there is nothing to double. The placing of short syllables under ictus was never limited by metrical necessity; it was motived by metrical convenience, and was used freely with one great restriction—it should not give a gratuitous spondee within the line. Thus *ἀνὴρ* and *ἔδωρ*, iambi which put no pressure on the verse, are often used with ictus of the first syllable, but only where a spondee is legitimate, viz. at the end of the line; in the narrative of the *Iliad** there is no certain exception to this (*M* 382 admits *ἀνὴρ ἔχαι*). So too closed tribrachs (*ἀνέρες -ας*, *οὔρεος*, etc.) are normal; indeed, owing to the fact that the resulting forms do not give a spondee, the treatment of tribrachs becomes extraordinarily free—e. g. *εἶρυσσε -αν* and *ἔρυσσε* as well as *ἔρυσεν -αν*, and *οἰλόος* (*Λ* 62) and *ὀλουός* as well as *ὀλοός*. Closed antispasts (*Ἀπόλλωνος*) are regular, and even the preference for *-οιο* is enough to bring in the artificial ictus (*Οὐλύμποιο*). But *Ἀπόλλων* is never found, nor scansions like *οὔρεσφι*, and *Οὐλύμψ* is seen only in *Φ* 389—this line, which in four feet denies five principles, is one of the finest shifts in Homer.

In the earliest period, then, it seems that the stress of the arsis could lengthen *ι* and *υ* and could double a consonant. Doubling was easiest for *-σ-*, next for *-ρ-*, and then for *-λ-*, *-μ-* and *-ν-*; next comes *-π-*, no doubt pronounced as an explosive; the other consonants are not so favourable, except *-ρ-*, which was perhaps not doubled but made into a diphthong.

The stressed pronunciation of the arsis seems to be only primitive. Later it weakened or disappeared, and a fine "epic" mystery is the result. The *-σσ-* forms, like the *ὀππότε*, *ὄπτι*¹

¹ The appearance of *ὀππως* etc. in inscriptions cannot be made to prove anything. That epic metrical forms could come into common speech is clearly shown by the Attic use of *πολύπους*. The words *ὀππότε*, *ὀππως*, etc., seem to be nothing more than *ποτε*, *πως*, etc., compounded with the *γο-* stem.

group, are petrified, and they are used with increasing freedom, spondee or no spondee, arsis or thesis. The other double consonants are swept away (except *ἐννοσίγαιος*), and vowel-length, originally proper to ι and υ, is substituted; this gives rise to new scansion like *κείατο*, *ἐτελείετο* and *μαχειόμενος* which in the old verse are impossible, since they have no consonant to double. Finally there are prophetic glimpses of Epichares walking to Marathon; for in the case of some words, undimmed by primitive epic procedure (*ἐπεὶ δὴ*, *ἐπίτονος*) the text justly rejects gemination—doubling had gone out before *ἐπεὶ* | *δὴ* came in—and humanely shrinks from vowel-length.

The forms with -σ- which is never doubled may perhaps be urged against the above position. Those where ictus of the -σ- syllable would give a bad scansion (*ἀσάμυνθος*, *ἡμῖν* etc.) call for no special notice; the rest fall under six heads: a) *δασύς* and *θρασύς*, b) *δύνασαι* and *δνοσαι*, c) 3rd plurals like *ἴσαν* and *φάσαν*, d) adjs. in -όσυνος and nouns in -οσύνη, also *πίσυνος*, e) nouns like *νέμεσις*, d) *πέσον* -ε etc. Of these, *δασύς* comes only once (ξ 51) and *θρασύς*, owing to the *θρ-*, is not likely to be ictuated (*θαρσαλέος* and *θάρσυνος* are used instead). The rest seem at first to illustrate the objection that -σ- is never doubled unless it represents an original double consonant. The argument really cuts both ways. Whenever -σ- is certainly primitive, it must come from two consonants; when it is not primitive, then it represents what in the epic period may have been -τ- (*πέσον*) or -θ- (*πίσυνος*) or no consonant at all (*μέμασαν*: *μεμάασι*). The fact is that an original double consonant does not always lead to -σσ- scansion—e. g. *ἴσαν* ('knew') is never lengthened; and conversely a modern or reconstructed -σ- (which must be true single -σ-) can be metrically doubled, as perhaps in *ἐπῆσαν* (τ 445), and certainly in *νεμέσει* (Z 335). Both of these scansion are anything but early, and suggest that the use of -σαν and the change from -τις to -σις arose in the later epic period (cf. *φάτις*: *πάρφαισις* and *παραίφαισις*), the change from *πέτον* to *πέσον* can hardly have come within the epic period at all, otherwise *πέσσε* *δέ* would have been almost inevitable in B² etc. and in the *Odyssey*.

Among the instances of spondiac -σσ- those given by *Ὀδυσσεύς* have so far been omitted and must now be noticed. The

scansion of the name is very puzzling. Whatever 'Οδυσσεύς may be or mean, it is quite clear that the -σσ- is only metrical. In the oldest narrative in which the name is found (Λ 310-488), it shows -σσ- not more than four times, and three of these are speech-introductions (Λ 312, 449; and 346), while there are no less than eight examples with -σ- (Λ 335, 396, 401, 439; 419, 473, 482; 459) which all give true scansion and so are not likely to be mere recitational shiftings, which would scan like the Odyssey, where out of 37 occurrences of 'Οδυσσεύς (narrative) only 13 give true scansion—ε 387, ζ 113, η 43, θ 531, ε 523, ο 485, τ 413, 452(?), φ 34(ἄορ), 129, 225, χ 381, ψ 306.

The -σσ- then seems to be purely metrical; but this conclusion has the rather awkward consequence that out of 595 occurrences in the two epics the form gives 85 avoidable spondees, of which 67¹ are in narrative, and 35 of these are scansions otherwise quite unparalleled. The probable solution of this little mystery is no doubt foreseen by the reader, or else he can easily guess it from the following table:

The table seems to show that 'Αχιλλεύς and 'Οδυσσεύς have affected each other metrically. The convenience of scansional interchange was very great, and brought about a two-fold result. The real forms 'Αχιλλῆος etc. lead to the free use of 'Οδυσηος etc., and conversely the real forms 'Οδυσσεύς -ῆα etc. lead to the free use of 'Αχιλεύς -ῆα etc.; so that both the artificial ictus of 'Οδυσηος and the false shortening of 'Αχιλλεύς are felt to be perfectly epic. That 'Αχιλλεύς is the original form of the name is quite clear; the resulting antispasts have standing scansions on either side of the caesura ('Αχιλλῆα πτολίπορθον and 'Αχιλλῆα ῥηέηνορα); the former of these would be most improbable, and the latter downright impossible, if 'Αχιλλεύς were the artificial ictus of 'Αχιλεύς. Even if there had been a genuine form 'Αχιλεύς side by side with 'Αχιλλεύς, the scansion 'Αχιλλῆα or -ι would only have appeared as a rare device after the 3d trochaic in late work (artificial

¹ Avoidable spondees from 'Οδυσσεύς, narrative—B 631, 636, E 519, η 14, φ 227, ψ 320; Λ 346, ε 81, 149, ζ 212, θ 144, 517, ν 117, ρ 301, σ 356, τ 473, χ 163, ψ 153, ω 494, 541; B 335, Θ 222, I 218, K 271, Δ 5, 806, α 129, β 2, 35, 394, 415, γ 64, 398, δ 625, θ 799, ε 198, 297, 406, θ 75, ο 2, 59, 63, 554, π 48, 53, ρ 3, 34, 167, 292, 299, σ 311, υ 248, 283, 290, φ 189, 432, χ 147, 238; E 674, I 180, ε 233 ζ 14, 248, θ 9, ν 73, ξ 447, υ 281.

antispastrs are eventually so used sometimes), but it would never have been dovetailed in the strong caesura. What really happened is obvious; the two names were made artificially interchangeable. It is interesting that the merely metrical 'Αχιλεὺς never quite competes with the genuinely existent 'Οδυσσεύς, as the reader can see by examining the table.

{ 'Οδυσσεύς 'Αχιλλεύς	NARRATIVE.			SPEECHES.		
	Iliad*.	B ¹ etc.	Odyssey.	Iliad*.	B ¹ etc.	Odyssey.
'Οδυσσεύς...	10+ 9 ¹	12+10	84+97	7	1	60
Displaced	1—	2—	2+ 1	1	—	10
'Αχιλλεύς...	48+35	25+17	— —	23	12	2
Displaced	1+ 1	4+ 3	— —	1	1	0
'Οδυσσεύς...	11—	9+ 3	30+ 7	2	1	31
'Αχιλλεύς...	12+ 2	9+ 2	— —	8	2	—
'Οδυσσεῦ...				2	5	24
'Αχιλλεῦ...				9	7	6
'Οδυσσεῦ...				2	3	11
'Αχιλεῦ...				6	6	1
'Οδυσσῆα...	— 1	— —	7+ 6	—	—	5
'Αχιλλῆα...	4 —	— —	— —	2	1	—
'Οδυσῆα...	5+ 1	1+ 1	33+ 9	—	1	14
'Αχιλλῆα...	11+ 1	1+ 2	— —	10	1	—
'Οδυσσῆος...	2+ 1	3 —	29+ 3	1	—	—
'Αχιλλῆος...	13 —	2 —	1 —	9	3	2
'Οδυσσος...	1 —	1 —	22+ 3	2	1	35
'Αχιλλῆος...	9+ 1	1 —	— —	10	6	2
'Οδυσσῆι...	1 —	1 —	6+ 1	—	—	1
'Αχιλλῆι...	1 —	— —	— —	4	6	0
'Οδυσσῆι...	1 —	2 —	14+ 1	3	1	10
'Αχιλλῆι...	10+ 2	1 —	— —	15	6	—

¹The figures added with + give the occurrences in introductions and resumptions of speeches.

The introductions and resumptions of speeches are in this point, as in most others, scansionally very difficult; if they are neglected, the figures give a quite clear result.

The datives in -εσσι (types βόεσσι, Τρώεσσι, ἐπέεσσι, etc., not types πελέκεσσι, δεσσι, ἔπεσσι, στήθεσσι) show plainly enough the difference between metrical -σσ- and -σσι- that was normally pronounced as a double consonant. True -σσ- was not shortened—at least we must think it an unlikely chance that in narrative as against 335 instances of -εσσι there are only 4

instances of *-εσι* (K 486, Ψ 468, Φ 191, ο 557), which can be reduced, but cannot easily be much increased; if *-εσι* had been a genuine form and not a false shortening, scansion like *χείρεσι* would have been very common. The scansion *-εσσ|ι* is very rare indeed; but this is not because the *-εσσ-* is not a true long syllable, but because the form was avoided whenever it gave a gratuitous spondee as can be seen from the following:

Dat. in <i>-εσι</i> .	Iliad (not B ² etc.	B ² etc.	Odyssey.
NARRATIVE:			
Regular	117+56 Τρώεσσι	26+ 6 Τρώεσσι	72+1 Τρώεσσι
Avoidable spondees.	28 ¹	8 ¹	22 ¹
SPEECHES:			
Regular	91+55 Τρώεσσι	17+10 Τρώεσσι	126+8 Τρώεσσ.
Avoidable spondees.	28 ²	20 ²	53 ²

The table shows how the irregular *-εσσι* encroaches, until in the speeches of B² etc. and of the Odyssey it may be taken as normal. Four words, *ἄνδρεσσι*, *νήεσσι*, *πάντεσσι*, and *χείρεσσι*, are worth looking at separately. The first no doubt represents *ἀνέρεσσι* in earlier styles; by and by it would become *ἄνδρεσσι*, but this form can only be proved for very late work indeed (K 441, speech). The dative *νήεσσι* has 8 narrative instances, of which two (A 22 ἐνὶ νηυσίν, 311 δὴ ῥ' ἐνὶ νηυσί) could be removed, leaving only A 71, B 688, 771, M 112, O 603.

¹ Narr.: A 71, B 688, 771, Γ 80, 271, E 546? 559? Z 397? Θ 116, 544? K (486?), 529, Δ 22? 162, 311? M 27? 112, 135, 303, 382? O 311? 603. Π 352, 386 (?), 704, 801, P 308? 569, 620, 745, T 18? 252, Σ 521, (T 468), Φ 285? Ψ (191), 597, 829, Ω 798, β 395, (δ 116?), ε 256 (?), 394 (?), θ 21, 528, ρ 432, ε 10, 21, 448? (ο 557), π 161, ρ 214, σ 35, τ 467, υ 175, φ 3, 81, 147, 379, χ 131, 247, 332? ω 410.

² Speeches (A 288), B 175, Γ 283, 367, Δ 239, E (486), 874? Z 492? H 229, Θ 166, 380, (527), I 121, 347, 428, 488, 528, 674, 691, K 173, 214, 245, 279, 310, 342? 397, 441, N 320, 452? 633? 742, 832, Ξ 246, O 229, Π (95), 832, P 40, 451, Σ 91? (123), 328? T 59, 100, 104, 109, 270? T 137? 242! 369, X 386, Ψ 248, 554, (671), Ω 408, α 91, 358, β 166, 175, γ 131, 381 (?), ε 344, 348, 473, ζ 267, η 59, θ 167, 538, ι 487, κ 120, 211, 253, λ 352, 399, 406, 431 (ι), μ 215, 337, ν 292, 301, 302, 317, 390, 397, ξ 238, 242, 260 (?), 312, ο 178, 315, π 103, 444, ρ 159, 429 (?), 450, σ 317, τ 182, 355, 576, υ 48, φ 197, 235, 352, χ 199, ψ 268, ω 109, 168, 427; *τολόμεσσι* K 462, β 165, ρ 258, and β 47.

Ψ 829, against 44 occurrences of νησιί. In the speeches there are about 130 instances of νησιί, but the increase is not proportional to that of νήεσσι, which is used 29 times, and this too though the speeches have a third resource in νέεσσι (Γ 46, 240, 444, Ι 602? Κ 342? Ξ 51, Ο 722, Τ 135, ξ 230; somehow or other a curious attempt has been made to remove the form—Δ 181, Ε 641, ΙΙ 95); νέεσσι was not available in narrative, or at least it is found only in the style in which transferred speech-scansions are most noticeably plentiful (Ν 333, Ο 409, 414). Non-spondaic πᾶσι occurs in narrative 49 times, as against 6 instances of πάντεσσι and 6 other spondees (Β 579, Κ 20, Ο 103, 280, ΙΙ 159, φ 147); in the speeches there are 69 regular scansions of πᾶσι, against 24 instances of πάντεσσι and 16 other spondees (Α 288, Δ 289, Μ 242, Ρ 671. Ψ 671, 787, α 71, 91, γ 59? δ 176, ζ 265, θ 497, κ 518, λ 26, 491, ν 402, τ 550). These two datives give a beautifully clear and unforced illustration of the way in which the verse degenerates. The scansion of the other common word, χερσί, was no doubt disturbed by the existence of χειροῖν, but even here the same drift may perhaps be seen. In narrative χερσί is found about 120 times; χείρεσσι has 20-instances (of these Μ 27, 382, Ρ 620 are doubtful, and perhaps Ε 559, Τ 18, ξ 448, χ 332), and there are 7 other spondees (Κ 328, Μ 397, Ξ 176, Ψ 686, 711, α 153, θ 84). In the speeches there are 115 occurrences of χερσί, against 14 of χείρεσσι and 13 other spondees (Ξ 373, Σ 123, Υ 360, Χ 497, δ 506, ι 108, 416, λ 595, μ 174, 246, σ 335, φ 315, 373); that is to say, χείρεσσι and χερσί(ν) are relatively commoner, while χείρεσσιν (=χειροῖν) is relatively rarer.

The -εσσι arising from -εσι is legitimate in στήθεσσι, but giving a gratuitous spondee it is very rare indeed—speech Η 135, narr. Α 358, Σ 36, (ε 335), and Ψ 131, ω 496; the curious ὄπλοισιν (Κ 254, 272) must also be considered (ἐντέσσιν). The scansion probably represents -εσφι as a preposition is found with all the instances, βένθεσσι, (ἐντεσσι), τείχεσσι, τεύχεσσι and the regular στήθεσσι (except perhaps Σ 317=Ψ 18).¹ In the speeches -εσσι is fixed, even in thesis (Β 264). There is one

¹ The only regular scansion of a form like στήθεσσι is a dovetail. In narrative there are 2 certain exceptions (Σ 317=Ψ 18), and 4 doubtful (Ε 513 ἐνὶ δέ, Κ 9 πύκ' ἐνὶ, Ο 322 θέλξεν ἐνὶ, ν 22 φάτ' ἐνὶ); in the speeches

more exceptional scansion, ἴρῃσι (Λ 27), which begins as badly as it ends.

The distribution of the spondees given by irregular ictus must now be considered:

A) ictus-length proper—

ἀνὴρ Μ 382? Ψ 112, speeches ζ 184, μ 77, π 45; ἴδωρ speeches Ο 37, ε 185;

ὄπη Μ 48, speeches Ν 784, α 347, θ 45, ι 457, ε 517, ο 339, π 81, φ 342; ὅπως Ξ 160, Π 113,

Σ 473, ο 170, 203, υ 29, speeches Α 344, Ι 681, Κ 225, 545, Υ 243, Ψ 324, α 270, 295, ε 329,

τ 298, υ 39, ψ 37; ὅποιος Υ 250? α 171, ε 188, τ 218· ὅττεu χρηζών, ρ 121;

ἐπεὶ δὴ Ψ 2, δ 13, θ 452, φ 25, speeches Χ 379, ω 482; Οὐλύμπω Φ 389, speech λ 315;

Οὐλυμπόνδε Α 221, Θ 439, speeches Α 394, 425, Ο 133, Υ 142, Φ 438, Ω 104;

Οὐλυμπός τε Α 497, Ε 750, Θ 394, speech Τ 128; Οὐλύμπου Π 364? Σ 616? speeches Ξ 298? 309?

Also the following:—narrative—δαζων Α 497, πιφαύσκων Κ 502, Σ 500, ἀν' ἰωχμόν Θ 89, 158, ὀλοή Χ 5, γελοίων υ 347, ζωννύμεν Π 145, μήνιεν Β 769, (ἐπιλίγδην Ρ 599, ἀπαμήσειε Σ 34, ἀποέρσειε Φ 329), εἰοικῦναι Σ 418, ἀφείσαι η 126, γελοῖοντες σ 111, υ 390, (κονίοντες Ψ 372, 449, θ 122), ἐξείρυσσε Ψ 870, (ἀπενίζοντο Κ 572), καὶ μέλινα Τ 361, καὶ πῖεμεν σ 3, ἐκ κράατος Ξ 177; external—ἀπὸ νύσσης Ψ 758, θ 121, ἄμα νύμφαι ζ 105, ἀνὰ ρίνας χ 18, ω 318, καὶ ἀπὸ λέκτροιο ψ 32, ὄφρα λείψαντε Ω 285, ο 149.

Speeches:—ἰείσαι μ 192, ὀλοιῇσι Α 342, ἀάστον (i. e. ἀάαστον?) Ξ 271, ἀποειπών Τ 35, ἀποέρση Φ 283, ἀναρροιβδεῖ μ 104, ἐπιτέλλω ψ 361, (κονίοντες Ν 820), κατατεύων ι 490, τριχάϊκες τ 177, ἔκτο κ 248, κατ' ἀνδρῶν κράατα Τ 93, σῶ δ' αὐτοῦ κράατι χ 218; external—ἵνα μή Η 353, ἔτι νῦν ο 99, ἐνὶ λέκτρῳ τ 516. Also ὄλω Ο 298, Φ 533, Ψ 310, τ 215; and ὄλων from δῖς, λ 402, μ 129, ω 112.

there are 10 certain (Ε 125, Ι 256, 554, 610, 629, Κ 90, β 125, π 275, ρ 47, υ 366), and 6 doubtful (Α 83, Ν 732, Ρ 470, Σ 110, ε 222, κ 329).

The treatment of the datives from ἔπος, ἔρος, etc. is well worth analysis, but δηρὸν ἐγὼ κακὰ πάσχον ἐν αἰσῇσι τροχάδεσσι, and had to leave over the other forms.

The most interesting example in narrative is Λ 497. The scansion in itself is not altogether improbable, for in the narrative of the *Iliad** closed bacchiacs beginning with a consonant (*βαθείης, καὶ ὄγκους*, etc.) are the commonest type of spondaic displacement in the second half of the line. Most unfortunately, nothing can be proved from Λ 497, since *δηϊῶν* is always possible. The distribution of *ὄππως*, etc. suggests that these forms are ictuations by analogy with *ὀππότε*, etc. The earliest example is M 48 *ὄππῃ τ' ἰθύσῃ*, where the spondee is on all fours with the *ὄσσον τ'* group discussed above; analogously, since it is needed at the beginning of the line, *ὄππως* comes in next, and in the speeches is used rather freely, bringing in also *ὀπποιός* and perhaps even the extreme scansion *ὄττεν*. The word *Ἄρης* should also be noticed, for if it was originally an ictuation, it is petrified in E 518, 594, *Ἄρης δ' (τε)*. The instances of irregular ictus in general go to show that originally the doubling of -ν- and -λ- and even -ρ- was not quite so easy as that of -σ-, and therefore the petrification of these scansions is not so early as that of the -σσ- words; in the case of -π- irregular ictus had to be specially motivated, or it could hardly have appeared at all. The occurrence of *ὀππ|ως* in a speech (P 144) might be taken to prove that petrification could eventually bring even this kind of ictus-length into thesis, as happened in the -σσ- forms; but unluckily the instance is very unstable (*φράζεό νυν πῶς κεν σύ*). The ictus *ζευγνύμεν* is late, but not irregular—within the line *ζευγνύμεν* must give one spondee; the phrase is merely a shift from an Odyssean *ζεύξαι ἐκέλευε*. We must next look at the spondees which though not necessarily to be taken as ictus-lengths, yet are similar to those given above, because short scansion was possible:

B) Analogous spondees—*χειμάρροος* N 138, *καλλιρρόον* B 752, M 33, X 147; *ἐς κουλεόν* A 220; *βάρδισαι* Ψ 530, *καὶ κάρτεϊ* Θ 226 = Λ 9, *καὶ καρτερός* ν 393. Speeches—*ἀπολλήγης* O 31, -*εις* τ 166; *ἀνωϊστί* δ 92, *ἀψορόσσου* Σ 399, ν 65; type *ἦς εἵνεκα* B 177, E 651, Ξ 89, Ω 106, (501), γ 140, ν 263, ρ 118; *δεύρω* Γ 240; *καὶ κάρτεϊ* o 143, σ 139, *ὄν καρτερόν* E 806, *καὶ καρτερός* ξ 116, *ἄλλ' ὑμεῖς καρτεροί* o 534, *καὶ κάρτος* γ 370. With the last instances compare *κάρτ|ος*, speeches— I 254, δ 415, ζ 197. These scansions are analogous to false length when it gives an avoidable spondee:

Narrative—*προθυμίῃσι* B 588, *θείῃ* Z 507=O 264, *μενούῃσι* O 82 *ποιόντων* Ω 475, *ἀπέπλειον* θ 501; analogous—*εἰδυῖα* P 5, *ἀμοιβηδὶς* δέ Σ 506, σ 310, *δωτῆρες* θ 325, *πλείον* θ 475, and perhaps *πολλὰ λισσόμενος* Φ 368, X 91.

Speeches—*ὑπεροπλίῃσι* A 205, *ὀκνέω* δ' E 255, *ἀλόντε* E 487, *πουλύν* Θ 472, *ὑποδείξῃ* I 73, *πλείον* A 165, *τριηκόσι'* Λ 697, *μενοινώ* N 79, -ά T 164, *ἐρητύοντο* O 723, *ὅπως* κε P 144? *νῦν* δ' ὅττι ψ 115? *πνέει* P 447, σ 131, *ἐπιπνέεισιν* δ 357, *ἐγχείῃ* ι 10, *ἡγάασθε* ε 122, *ἀμῶν* ι 135, (*τετράκυκλοι* ι 242; Ω 324 is as bad). *ἀτιμίῃσιν* ν 142, *ιστίῃ* ξ 159, ρ 156, τ 304, υ 231, *ἀκομιστή* τε φ 284, *ἀλλύεσκον* τ 150, ω 140, *ἀλλύουσιν* ω 145. The last three examples are irregular in another way. It seems that apocope giving an avoidable spondee is a very dubious scansion:

Narrative—*παρειπών* Z 62, H 121, *πὰρ νηῶν* Ξ 28, *καδ δ' ἴζον* Φ 520, Ψ 28, *ἀμ πέτρῃσι* ε 156, (*καδ δ' ἐκ πασσαλόφιν* θ 67, 105), *κατὰ κρᾶτα* θ 92, *ἀμβαίνειν* ο 548; compare the doubly irregular *πρὸς νηῶν* O 670.

Speeches—*ὑμῖν πὰρ προτέρ.* Θ 188, *παρειπών* Λ 793, O 404, *πὰρ νηῶν* Θ 533, N 744, Ξ 46, *πὰρ νήεσσι* X 386, Ω 408, ξ 260, *πὰρ νηί* τε ι 194, κ 444, *καλλείπειν* K 238, *καλλείψιν* Ξ 89, *καλλείψω* ν 208, *ἀμ πύργους* Σ 278, *καδδῦσαι* T 25, *ὑββάλλειν* T 80, *ἀλλέξαι* Φ 321, *ἀμμίξας* Ω 529, *κατθάψαι* Ω 611, *καδ δώματα* δ 72, *ἀμβαίνειν* ι 178, 562, λ 637, μ 145, *ἀμβαίῃ* μ 77, *ἀμβαίνωμεν* ο 219, *κακκῆαι* λ 74, *πὰρ κείνοισιν* λ 175, *ἀππέμψαι* ο 83, *καννεύσας* ο 464, *παρφάσθαι* π 287, τ 6, *κατθέσθην* χ 141; cf. *τὸν κάμμορον* β 351, and *πρὸς οἶκον* I 147, *πρὸς Θύμβρης* δ' K 430, *πρὸς πάντων* Π 85, *πρὸς πέτρῃσι* ι 284, *πρὸς πατρός* ν 324, *προσφάσθαι* ψ 106, and the tendency to *ἐν* (notably *ἐγκοσμεῖτε* ο 218).

Since the present subjunctive in similes is not grammatically necessary, the spondees so given are interesting: *ἄπτηται* Θ 339, *ἐρχηται* K 185, *ἐρίζητον* M 423, *ἐλκητον* ν 32. The finest of these is K 185, combined with *δι' ὄρεσφι*. In most points K is a handy euchrestic of what is meant by "Odyssean". The subjunctive in -ῃσι is regular in *εὐδῃσι* E 524, and *εὐρησι* M 302; the use is analogous to displacements like *εὐρ|ῃ*: but in *ἐλκῃσιν* Ψ 518, the scansion is irregular, involving -ν length (cf. γ 422). Bacchiacs like *εἵπησι* are fairly common in the speeches, and at last make their way into the 5th trochaic—Θ 405=419, O 109, (T 223, γ 476), δ 357, (591), λ 224, ρ 385, τ 490, φ 229, χ 373; giving antispasts the ending is found in K 511, Ω 651, ε 356,

κ 288, τ 519. Since -ηθεν from -η- stems may represent -ηφιν, the spondaic examples should be compared—narrative, B 838, Θ 304, 397, 438, M 96, η 9, υ 124, speeches, Γ 276, 320, H 202, I 44, Ω 308, κ 216. Similarly -εσκ|ε -ον of the iterative is not found in the narrative of the Iliad*; elsewhere it appears in (narr.) Ω 23, 455, γ 409, ε 154, ρ 294, 331 (cf. υ 3), speeches E 790, Σ 259, X 503, Ω 752, β 104, τ 149, ω 139, η 260, θ 225, ι 184, μ 380, ν 350, τ 574, χ 315. There are several other avoidable spondees which are peculiar to B² etc. (and Od.), e. g. *ἡμερτόν* B 751, *ἐξίκετο* Θ 439, Ω 481, *ἄζοντο* Θ 545, *ἰμᾶσι* K 475, Ψ 363, φ 46, *ῆος* (= *ἵνα*) δ 800, ζ 80, *φυλακτῆρας* I 80, Ω 444, cf. *διοπτῆρα* (= *ἐπίσκοπον*) K 562, from *ὀπτῆρας* (ξ 261; *ἐπισκόπους* cannot be used). Noticeable, too, though not so clear as this, is the distribution of certain other spondaic words which have non-spondaic equivalents. Thus *μῦθος* is most natural in the form *μῦθοισι* replacing *ἐπέεσσι*; the exceptional spondees are the formula *τοῖσι δὲ μύθων ἤρχε* and Λ 643, α 361, δ 676, π 398; speeches—B 796, Γ 212, Θ 524, I 443, 627, K 61, 288, Λ 781, M 232, T 84, (Ψ 478), α 273, 358, 373, γ 124, 140, δ 214, (239), 597, 744, 774, λ 368, 442? 561, ν 295, ρ 395, φ 71, 291. Take again the avoidable spondees given by *ποιῶ*—narrative A 608, Z 316, H 222, Θ 2, 386, K 262, M 5, 30, 432, 470, O 363, Π 171, Σ 371, 490, 573, 587, Υ 12, Ψ 164, Ω 449, 452, δ 796, ε 254, 259, 452, ζ 10, θ 373, π 456, ρ 207, τ 57. The most interesting example here is Ω 449, 452; if the reader cares to substitute *τεῦξαν βασιλῆϊ*, he will have before him one of the rarest scan-sions in Homer—T 359 (really a speech-phrase), δ 228; N 265, δ 569, η 313, ω 309. In the speeches, spondees are found in P 646, Ω 537, 611, 666, and in the Odyssey 20 examples, of which the most notable are ι 524, π 127, φ 71. Other spondaic words are *τελεύτησε* narrative Ξ 280, β 378, θ 510, speeches Θ 9, N 100, 375, O 74, and 16 occurrences in the Odyssey, *ἐκτοσθε* narr. H 440, K 263, 334, η 112, χ 385, ψ 148, speeches H 341, I 552, ε 411, υ 101, *ἐντοσθε* narr. Δ 454, K 262, 334, M 296, 416, 455, and 8 examples in the Od., speeches Z 364, X 237, and 8 examples in the Od., *τοιούτος* narr. only in the formula *ὥς οἱ μὲν τοιαῦτα*, etc., speeches B 372, Γ 46, H 242, Π 847, P 643, Φ 428, Ψ 494, 644, and 19 examples in the Odyssey; similarly there is in the Odyssey an increasing freedom in the use of spondaic *οὔτος*, and *τοιόσδε*, *ἐνταῦθα*, etc.—two very fine scan-sions are λ 548, χ 254.

This general tendency is so marked in later work, that it is difficult to choose illustrations out of the huge number offered—words like αινίζομαι, αἰτίζω, αἰών, βουλευώ, (especially βουλὰς βουλευεῖν, and cf. ι 268), ἐσθής, ἦμος, ἰδρύω, κεκρημένος, κούρη (e. g. κούρη Βρισηός), μεταλλῆσαι, τόλμησε (special sense), etc.; forms like ἀλλοῖος, ἀρχεύω, ἀφνειός, ἦντησε, and perhaps οὐδέν (δ 350, ρ 141); redundancies like Ἀργείων Δαναῶν (θ 578), θνητοῖσι βροτοῖσι, θνητὸς βροτός, ξείνους ἀνθρώπους (cf. ξ 316–7), etc., and conversely γλαυκῶπι for Ἀθήνη (ν 389) and αἰδοίοισι for ἰκέτησι, ο 373 (cf. ἡοίην δ 447); uses such as spondaic infinitive for imperative (e. g. παρφάσθαι); spondaic periphrases like βίη Τεύκροιο, Λεοντήος μένος, ἱερὴ ἱς Τ. or Ἀχιλλῆος κεφαλῇ Π.; contraction or synizesis giving spondees (e. g. |κράτων, ὠτειλῇ, |Βορέης, |οἶων): spondaic displacements such as ||εταῖροι, ἱκω-αι, ἱκάνω, κυχάνω—in narrative some displacements are peculiar to B² etc. (and Od.) e. g. πὰρ δὲ ζωστήρ or πρῶτ' ἐμβασίλευε. The rarity of the last scansion shows that ὕδατος πλῆτ' (suggested for Φ 300) is worse than the πλῆθ' ὕδατος of the text; really, dactylic ὕδατος is just as legitimate as terminal ὕδωρ.

This difference between the scansion of the Iliad* and that of the Odyssey comes out in a great variety of details, but as has been said, nowhere better than in the treatment of words like ἄλλ|ος, καλ|ός, etc. The divergence here is glaringly obvious, and must eventually be admitted by all who are interested in Homer. As soon as the fact is admitted, the interpretation will be disputed. The contention will be that in themselves differences of metre do not prove any difference of authorship. No doubt this is quite true; the thing is seen in Shakespeare. But in Homer the differences of scansion go together with differences of language, ranging from pronunciation (e. g. σμ-, σν-, ς, and contraction) to matters of syntax—the finest instance of this is the degradation of the generalizing idiom, leading at last to consecutive ὥς τε, οἷός τε, etc., which are peculiar to B² etc. and the Odyssey. That any metrical evidence in Homer is at present a little disparaged, is due to two causes—in the first place, no one yet can quite scan a hexameter (even the avoidance of the 4th trochaic is still unexplained); and secondly the stratification of the Iliad by means of the metre gives a most disappointingly natural result; there is no μῆνις, but there are four self-subsistent ἀμ-

σρέαι (in E¹, Δ, Π, and P), and then comes work of date varying from the battle piece in Y right down to the Catalogue. Since the acceptance of this result would involve facing the highly intricate problem of the speeches, and that of the artificial production of an Iliad, it is no wonder that people are almost driven to the deplorable "Homer" of the unitarians.¹

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¹Owing to postal difficulties Mr. Drewitt's article has not had the advantage of his revision.—B. L. G.

III.—THE TROJAN WAR AGAIN.

To those who accept the *Iliad*, substantially as we have it, for the work of a single poet the duration of the war which forms its background will not seem a matter of merely incidental interest. For if we may assume that Homer means to tell the story of what happened a few weeks after the Achaians landed, as Professor van Leeuwen maintains,¹ a good many things which on the traditional view require explanation and apology immediately become reasonable and convincing. Professor Scott has written an interesting paper setting forth his reasons for declining to make this assumption, but that he feels, as indeed everybody must, that it would make the *Iliad* more human and intelligible is shown by the following words from his closing paragraph:

“Many events, such as the muster of the troops, the report of Iris-Polites as to the multitude of the Greeks, the duel between Paris and Menelaus, the *Teichoskopia*, and the advice of Nestor in regard to military tactics, do not belong strictly to the tenth year of a siege, but the poet must give us some impression of the appearance of the army, of the tactics to be employed, of the regal bearing of Agamemnon, of the beauty of Helen and her mental attitude regarding her present and former husband, and also the contrast between Paris and Menelaus, but since he did not describe the earlier years of the war he must insert them in the only part he did describe.”²

This is tantamount to an admission that the *Iliad* would have been a more perfect poem—because less artificial in its motivation—had the poet not been hampered by a tradition which forced him to lay his scene in the last year of a long war. But before we grant the existence in Homer's day of

¹ *Mnemosyne* 38 (1910), pp. 354 sqq. = *Commentationes Homericae*, Leyden, 1911, pp. 1 sqq. This article is a revision (with considerable modifications) of one which appeared in *Mnemosyne* 34 (1906), pp. 193 sqq.

² On the Assumed Duration of the War in the *Iliad*, *Class. Phil.* 8 (1913), pp. 445 sqq.

this long-war tradition, and make such excuses as we can for the inappropriateness of these episodes in such a setting, we should consider if there be not other things in the *Iliad* which also point to a short war, things which cannot be explained as forced upon the poet by an embarrassing tradition.

Take Achilles. If Homer's sources obliged him to think of Achilles as having been in camp before Troy for nine years at the moment when the action of the *Iliad* begins, it is clear that they cannot also have compelled him to make Achilles out a youth of eighteen or twenty; yet that is exactly what he has done. Homer nowhere tells us the age of his hero, but not to see that he is portraying a noble and impulsive *youth* would mean the failure to appreciate a character-delineation which is perhaps the greatest achievement of the Greek epic.¹

The evidence afforded by the poet's treatment of Helen is, of course, less extensive, and maybe less definite, but there are not wanting signs that Homer thinks of her as very young. Her hot resentment against her abductor, her keen desire that Menelaus may be victorious, her almost overwhelming sense of shame in the false position she occupies in Troy—these emotions are too poignant by half to be natural in a woman who has lived ten (or must we say even twenty?) years as the wife of Paris and a princess among the Trojans.

A very definite indication of the brevity of the war is seen, however, in certain words spoken by Hermes in Ω. The god has come to meet Priam and guide him safely to the hut of Achilles. "He went", says the poet (vss. 347 sqq.), "in the likeness of a young prince, with the first down upon his cheeks", and when Priam asked who he was and of what parents, Hermes answered "I am one of the Myrmidons, and my father is Polyktor". This shows clearly that to the writer of these verses the war had not been going on nine years, for Hermes tells us that the son of Polyktor had left his home to follow Achilles to the Troad, and at the close of the action of the *Iliad* he is still so young that the down is just appearing on his cheeks. The indirect and off-hand way in which this

¹ This portrait of the youthful Achilles owes its vividness, in large measure, to a considerable number of little touches. There is a résumé in van Leeuwen's *Comm. Hom.*, pp. 24-26 = *Mnem. Tom. Cit.* pp. 375-377, with citation of the passages.

valuable hint is conveyed makes it the more convincing. The poet quite evidently does not expect us to be surprised that a soldier who has been with Achilles from the beginning should be scarcely more than a boy as the war draws to a conclusion. Professor Scott thinks that Homer had no intention of giving Hermes the form and attributes of the son of Polyktor, but was merely describing the god as tradition represented him. "When once an actor is given or supposed to have a definite form or age", says Mr. Scott, "he maintains each unchanged throughout", and he rather sternly taxes Professor van Leeuwen with "an utter failure to grasp" this principle, which he terms "one of the fundamental laws of Homeric poetry". But as we read on, we learn that this "law" is derived from a consideration of certain passages in the *Odyssey*, and to those (of whom Professor van Leeuwen is one) who believe that the *Odyssey* is the work of a later poet than the author of the *Iliad* there will seem little justification for employing it to determine the interpretation of a passage in the older poem. Though for that matter the "law" in question does not seem to be applicable, in either poem, to the appearances of gods to men.¹ Iris in B 795 assumes the figure of Polites, and in F 121 that of Laodike. Athene comes to Telemachos in the guise of Mentès in α 105, and to Nausikaa in that of the daughter of Dymas in ζ 22. Obviously a god can assume any form he chooses, for the nonce, and I see no reason to doubt that the youthful look of Hermes here is merely the look of the young Myrmidon. Professor Scott calls attention to the fact that "Hermes appeared to Priam in exactly the same form as he appeared to Odysseus in κ 279". But it would be a little hazardous to conclude from these two epiphanies (especially since the verse is obviously borrowed in one of these passages from the other one) that extreme youthfulness was an Homeric attribute of Hermes. Dr. Leaf remarks in his note on Ω 348 that "it is strange that the description should suit only the youthful Hermes of the

¹ Professor Scott also brings his law to bear upon Mr. van Leeuwen's arguments from the youthfulness of Helen. Here his citations showing the Odyssean conception of Helen as in the prime of her youth would certainly afford some countenance to his interpretation of Homer's treatment of her in the *Iliad*,—if one accepted the common authorship.

great age of Greek art; for in works of the archaic period the god is always represented as bearded". Strange perhaps in the *Odyssey* passage, where no disguise seems intended, but not in Ω , where the god is pretending to be a certain man and naturally counterfeits that man's appearance of youth.

Again, that the war is still young is the most natural inference to be drawn from the mention of so many Trojan allies as newly arrived in the Troad. This evidence Professor Scott seeks to explain away by the assumption that Troy did not summon her allies till the war had been going on nine years,¹ i. e. until the Achæians, seeing that Troy could not be taken by storm, determined to cut off her supplies and executed the raid which Dr. Leaf calls the Great Foray. This coup compelled the Trojans to fight, and accordingly they summoned all their allies, and relinquishing their former policy of passive resistance, took the field in force and attacked the Achæians, who were now, in their turn, put upon the defensive and hastily constructed the trench and wall. The allies were not called in earlier because (1) numbers were not necessary to defend the strong fortifications, and (2) they would have consumed food needed by the regular garrison, and so have shortened the period of successful resistance. The real cause for the change in the Trojan plan of campaign, namely the success of their enemies in cutting off their supplies, was ignored by Homer, who substituted for it the motif of the Wrath, which he introduced at the moment when economic causes had obliged the Trojans to assume the offensive.

This ingenious attempt to explain the tardy arrival of many of the allies as a reflection of the actual course of events in a historical ten years' war sets up a hypothesis involving serious difficulties. It seems most unlikely that the invaders would devote nine years to ineffectual attacks upon the city, before hitting upon the obviously sensible plan of maiming Troy's dependencies,² and striking at her sources of supply. Again, it is hardly probable that Priam would have endured the risks and hardships of a war at his very gates, for nine years,

¹ Professor Scott says "several years", but as he goes on to refer to the Great Foray as occasioning the change of plan, the preliminary stage of the war will have lasted nine years.

² Cf. Leaf's *Troy: a Study in Homeric Geography*, p. 316 sqq.

without calling upon his allies for help. There never was a *siege*, in the proper sense of the word, and the Achæans never attempted an actual investment of the city. The Foray was doubtless intended to cripple the resistance of the Trojans by the seizure of treasure, cattle, and other means of prolonging the struggle; but no systematic attempt seems to have been made to prevent the allies from coming and going freely, either before or after the Foray, nor can Priam have had any occasion to fear that he might be unable to import supplies for them. Moreover Troy subsisted chiefly, if we accept Dr. Leaf's conclusions as to her *raison d'être*, which I understand Professor Scott to do, upon the tolls she was able to exact from the concourse of traders who gathered annually in the Trojan Plain for the great Fair over which King Priam presided. It seems therefore more than doubtful that she would have tamely suffered the interruption of this fair for nine summers without mustering all her resources in an effort to dislodge the interlopers. Finally, it is unreasonable to suppose that Troy's influence with these allies of hers—an influence based on commercial considerations—could have been so closely maintained during nine years of commercial sterility that at the close of this period she could still command their services in her defence.¹ It appears then much more likely, on *a priori* grounds that Professor van Leeuwen's long list of allies who have recently arrived is best accounted for by the explanation which he himself offers, namely that Priam issued his appeal for help on first learning of the prospect of invasion, and that while some of the forces arrived before the enemy, others, like the remote Paionians, only turned up when the summer was already half over.²

¹ This would apply especially to the Lykians, whose carrying trade between the South and the Troad was the life-blood of their national prosperity. See Dr. Leaf's *Troy*, pp. 320-322.

² Dr. Leaf says (*Troy*, pp. 318 sqq.): "Troy, though it cannot be taken, is being slowly bled to death by the exhaustion of its economic resources. Though the entry of troops and food cannot be hindered, it is at least possible to make it a place to which no trader will come, and so to exhaust the accumulated wealth which has sprung from its favoured position in the past. This is the picture which is put before us throughout, most clearly in the words of Hector (xviii. 287-92): 'Have ye not had your fill already of being pent behind the towers?'"

Another indication that Homer's sources told of a short war is to be found in the fact that the dozen mostly casual references to captives and booty taken from captured cities of the Troad all point to a single expedition, when Achilles, shortly before the action of the poem commences, raided Thebe, Lyrnessos, Pedasos, and probably Lesbos, and Tenedos. In a long war there would be many such raids, and the poem which has preserved twelve scattered references to this one would hardly have escaped some allusions to others.¹

It appears then, to sum up the case for a short war, that not

Of old time all mortal men would tell of the city of Priam for the much gold thereof, but now are its treasures perished out of its dwellings, and much goods are sold away to Phrygia and pleasant Maionia, since mighty Zeus dealt evilly with us'. Hector's argument is, 'you have tried the policy of sitting still within your walls, where you are safe; and the result is that you are being worn down by loss of wealth. The only safety that we can find now is in the offensive'.

"Achilles too speaks of the impoverishment of the rich city (ix. 401): 'For not of like worth with life hold I even all the wealth that men say was possessed of the well-peopled city of Ilios in the days of peace gone by, before the sons of the Achaians came'. Of the burden of subsidies to the allies we hear in xvii. 225: 'For this end am I (Hector) wearying my people by taking gifts from them and nursing thereby the courage of each one of you'. The picture vividly describes the plight of a city whose wealth is founded on commerce only; which depends upon an army sufficient for police purposes in times of peace, but inadequate to meet a foreign invader. Its only resource in the emergency is to hire mercenaries from outside; and where should they be sought but among the nations who had a vested interest in the maintenance of existing trade against an aggressive and growing people who sought to control commerce to their own advantage"?

It will be noticed that Dr. Leaf conceives of Troy's loss of wealth as chiefly due to the expense of maintaining a mercenary army. Professor Scott, who also cites these passages, does not expressly attribute the depletion of Troy's resources to this cause, perhaps feeling that since his hypothesis involves only one season's employment of mercenaries he must account for it rather by the need of buying supplies for the regular garrison for a period of several years. To my mind, the financial embarrassment which is here hinted at might conceivably have come very swiftly to a community such as Troy seems to have been, when it found itself obliged to subsidize a large army of foreign troops. The verses cited contain therefore no answer, that I can find, to the question whether the war was a matter of years or of months.

¹ I have presented the evidence for this argument in *A. J. P.* XXXV (1914), pp. 294 sqq.

only are there many important passages in the Iliad which are more natural and intelligible upon this view of the matter, but that there are also certain unequivocal proofs that this was the form of the legend known to Homer (I refer particularly to the many passages implying the extreme youth of Achilles, and to the Hermes passage). The numerous references to newly-arrived allies are best explained in this way. And finally there is the argument *ex silentio* to which I have just called attention.

Why then has it been universally supposed that the ten-year tradition was followed by Homer?

First, because there are four passages in our Iliad where this is as good as stated; second, because there are several other places where it seems to be implied; third, because the older, short-war, tradition had been supplanted by the later, ten-year, form of the story, as early as the date of the composition of the Odyssey, since the chronology of the later poem is evidently based on the assumption that Odysseus had been ten years in the Troad.

From the time of the Odyssey, the short-war tradition is no more heard of, and there would be no evidence that it had ever existed, were it not for the traces of it to which Professor van Leeuwen has directed our attention in the Iliad itself.

Two questions are at once suggested. How came the legend to be so radically modified during the period which lay between the composition of the Iliad and that of the Odyssey? And how came the older poem to admit interpolations inconsistent with its own form of the story?

Professor van Leeuwen has not failed to realize how necessary it is for him to answer these questions in a satisfactory manner, if he hopes to find acceptance for his theory. His explanation may be summed up as follows:

In the old stories which celebrated the Trojan War were preserved vague traditions of various expeditions made by Greeks to the coast of Asia Minor. Some of these traditions had formed a part of the legend, from the beginning; others were subsequently incorporated with it. The cycle of stories which the earliest Achaian settlers had carried with them to Asia Minor assimilated, from time to time, the names of a

good many ancient heroes who had come over to those coasts, at one time or another, from various parts of Greece. With the lapse of years a considerable number of these stories came to be connected by fictitious genealogical ties, and along with the increasing compass of the events thus associated there came a gradual lengthening of the period within which they might reasonably be presumed to have occurred—the poets being solicitous lest the heroes of their songs appear contemporary with their own fathers, or even their grandfathers.¹

The Greeks did not readily distinguish between earlier and later, in dealing with their epic poetry, and as they read the Iliad they inevitably confused with its ideas notions which had grown familiar to them from the works of later poets. Odysseus had been absent from his home twenty years: ergo the Trojan War had lasted ten years. Menelaos had required several years to get his fleet together: thus Helen was in her twentieth year at Troy when she mourned over Hektor. Troy had been taken by Neoptolemos, begotten by Achilles, before the war, in Skyros: hence the preparations for the war and its prosecution must have lasted long enough for Neoptolemos to grow up. It was at the marriage of Peleus and Thetis that Eris set the goddesses to quarreling, and their rivalry shortly led to the rape of Helen, when Achilles was not yet born: therefore Troy was captured by Neoptolemos about forty years after Paris won Helen for his wife. In this way the years were multiplied, to correspond with the increasing mass of stories which had come to be connected with one another, and it is lucky that the late poet who put these words in the mouth of Helen,

ἤδη γὰρ νῦν μοι τόδ' ἐικοστὸν ἔτος ἐστίν,
 ἐξ οὗ κείθεν ἔβην καὶ ἐμῆς ἀπελήλυθα πάτρης· (Ω 765 sq.)

should have made her only forty years old, and not sixty, for the latter age would be suggested, not indeed by common sense, but by a scrupulous reckoning of the years which had elapsed since the marriage of Peleus.²

¹ Mnemos. Tom. cit., p. 384 = Commentationes Homericae, p. 33 sq.

² Mnemosyne, Tom. cit., p. 374 = Commentationes Homericae, p. 23.

It would almost seem that Professor Scott must have overlooked these passages when writing his criticism of Professor van Leeuwen's theory. Otherwise he could hardly have penned the following sen-



Let us now consider how far this interweaving of legends, with its attendant readjustment of chronology, will have affected the actual text of the Iliad. Besides the passage just quoted from Helen's lament, there are three others which must be regarded as interpolated, or at least corrupted, after the short-war legend had been forgotten. These are (1) Agamemnon's words in B 134 sq.,

*έννεά δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ένιαυτοί,
καὶ δὴ δοῦρα σέσηπε νεῶν καὶ σπάρτα λέλυνται·*

(2) the passage a little further on, where Odysseus is describing the omen at Aulis, especially 295 sq., 313, and 326 sqq.:

*ἡμῖν δ' εἰνατός ἐστι περιτροπέων ένιαυτός
ένθάδε μιμνόντεσσι·*

.....
ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ένάτη ἦν, ἥ τέκε τέκνα

.....
ὥς οὗτος κατὰ τέκν' ἔφαγε στρουθοῖο καὶ αὐτήν,

ὀκτώ, ἀτὰρ μήτηρ ένάτη ἦν, ἥ τέκε τέκνα,

*ὥς ἡμεῖς τοσσαῦτ' ἔτεα πτολεμίζομεν αὖθι,
τῷ δεκάτῳ δὲ πόλιν αἰρήσομεν εύρίάγυιαν.*

and (3) M 15:

πέρθετο δὲ Πριάμοιο πόλις δεκάτῳ ένιαυτῷ.

On these four passages the case against Professor van Leeuwen must chiefly rest. If one is ready to extenuate any inconsistencies in the Iliad sooner than allow the possibility that any part of the traditional text may be interpolated, one need not stop for further proofs, for if these lines are by

tences: "There are no better attested verses in Homer than the references to the long war in the speeches of Agamemnon and Odysseus. They created no impression in ancient times that they contradicted the rest of the poem. Such a theory presupposes that the Iliad was in the keeping of men who had complete control of the text, so that they were able to change it at will. Unless there was such absolute control, how was it possible to effect the adoption of additions or mutilations which were out of keeping with the whole? If the Iliad teaches that the events all belong to a single summer, how, in the face of this tradition did the other tradition become so powerful? When once the Iliad became generally known, such interpolations would have been impossible: hence the two traditions must have been practical contemporaries. Why was the tradition of the one summer's war so strong that it could form the background of the Iliad, and then immediately so weak that it must yield to the tradition of the ten years' war? How,

Homer it is clear that the short war cannot have been the basis of his poem. But if one is prepared to admit that the retention of these verses may perhaps involve more improbable assumptions than their rejection, the next question will be what further indications the poem may contain that its author thought of a war of ten years. Such indications are in fact neither numerous nor positive. I give first those which Professor van Leeuwen has listed in the critical note to B 134 sq., in his new edition of the Iliad.

Γ 156 sq. The Trojan elders say, when Helen is seen approaching :

οὐ νέμεσις Τρώας καὶ εὐκνήμιδας Ἀχαιοὺς
τοιγῆδ' ἀμφὶ γυναικὶ πολὺν χρόνον ἄλγεα πάσχειν·

I do not feel at all sure that we have here, in the phrase *πολὺν χρόνον*, a reference to years of fighting. To the weary elders, pent within their walls, five or six weeks¹ may well have seemed "a long time".

Z 123 sqq. Diomedes to Glaukos :

τίς δὲ σύ ἐσσι, φέριστε, καταθηγῶν ἀνθρώπων;
οὐ μὲν γάρ ποτ' ὤπωπα μάχῃ ἐνὶ κυδιστείῳ
τὸ πρὶν·

This seems to imply that there have already been battles between the Achaians and the Trojans.

Z 419 sq. Andromache speaks of the elms that grow about

in the face of the Iliad, did the later tradition arise? The very conception of changing the plan or details of a poem involves the existence of a group of men having the poem in absolute control" (p. 446 sq.).

It is obviously not the Leyden scholar but a man of straw who is here assailed, for Professor van Leeuwen assumes that the interpolations which point to a long war were the product of an age which knew not the tradition of a short war. The lines in question were not introduced into the poem because anybody wanted to "change the plan or details" of the Iliad. Indeed their introduction was only possible precisely because they did *not* involve any change in what people then assumed had always been believed about the Trojan War.

¹We are now, according to van Leeuwen's computation, in the twenty-third day of the action of the Iliad, and he estimates about fifteen days from the landing to the opening scene in A.

the grave of her father in a way which suggests that Eetion has been dead some years :

περὶ δὲ πτελέας ἐφύτευσαν
νύμφαι ὀρεστιάδες, κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο.

But this passage is not a whit more inconsistent with the short-war hypothesis than with the traditional chronology of the poem. In either case Achilles slew Eetion in the Great Foray, and the Great Foray, with the capture of Chryseis, led immediately to the opening events of the poem.

Σ 434 sq. An allusion to Peleus as spent with age :

ὁ μὲν δὴ γήρᾳ λυγρῷ
κεῖται ἐνὶ μεγάροις ἀρημένος,

Professor van Leeuwen thinks that Homer regarded Peleus as a man in middle age. The connecting of the Trojan War story with the story about his marriage made an old man of him.

T 326-337, and Ω 466 sq. References to the son of Achilles :

ἥε τὸν δὲ Σκύρῳ μοι ἐνὶ τρέφεται φίλος υἱός,
εἰ που ἔτι ζῷει γε Νεοπτόλεμος θεοειδής.
πρὶν μὲν γάρ μοι θυμὸς ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἔδλπει
οἶον ἐμὲ φθίσσεσθαι ἀπ' Ἀργεὸς ἱπποβότοιο
αὐτοῦ ἐνὶ Τροίῃ, σὲ δέ τε Φθίῃνδε νέεσθαι,
ὥς ἂν μοι τὸν παῖδα βοῇ σὺν νηὶ μελαίνῃ
Σκυρόθεν ἐξαγάγοις καὶ οἱ δαίξῃαις ἕκαστα,
κτῆσιν ἐμὴν δμῶάς τε καὶ ὑψερέφες μέγα δῶμα.
ἤδη γὰρ Πηλεΐδ' ἔγ' οἶσμαι ἢ κατὰ πάμπαν
τεθνάμεν, ἢ που τυτθὸν ἔτι ζῶοντ' ἀκάχησθαι
γήρᾳ τε στυγερῷ καὶ ἐμὴν ποτιδέγμενον αἰεὶ
λυγρὴν ἀγγελίην, δὲτ' ἀποφθιμένοιο πύθεται.

τύττη δ' εἰσελθὼν λαβὲ γούνατα Πηλεΐωνος,
καὶ μιν ὑπὲρ πατρὸς καὶ μητέρος ἠυκόμοιο
λίσσας καὶ τέκεος,

Professor Scott does not cite these passages in his own review of the evidence, though if genuine they are undoubtedly a strong argument for the traditional view. But they have long been suspected of being interpolations, "due to a desire to bring into the Iliad so prominent a hero of the later cycle" (Leaf, on T 327). It may be noted, in passing, that the author of the lines in T conceives of Neoptolemos as a child "too young to travel alone, much less to fight" (Leaf) ;—a notion hardly more compatible with the long war than with

the short one, for Homer shows that he thought of the war as destined to be ended soon after the death of Achilles,¹ and one who is now spoken of as a child will not be ready in a few weeks to replace the Achaian champion.² There is also in the second of these two passages a rather striking indication of interpolation, quoted by Dr. Leaf from Düntzer, to wit: "Priam does not follow the god's advice, as he makes no mention of either mother or son".

These are all the places in our text which seem to Professor van Leeuwen to be inconsistent with his theory. But Professor Scott cites a number of others which he regards as pointing to a long war, more or less clearly, and to these we must now turn our attention. I will frankly confess that I can discover no confirmation of the traditional view in any of them. It must be remembered that the new theory assumes that the Achaians have already been some two or three weeks in the Troad, when the Iliad begins.³ They have captured Thebe and other towns, and have taken much booty and many prisoners. Protesilaos was killed when the invaders landed. There has been some guerrilla fighting in the Trojan Plain. And, finally, the pestilence has carried off large numbers. These facts are sufficient to explain the following passages:

B 115. Agamemnon says:

ἔπει πολὺν ὥλεσα λαόν.

B 161 sq.

*Ἀργείων Ἑλένην, ἣς εἵνεκα πολλοὶ Ἀχαιῶν
ἐν Τροίῃ ἀπόλοντο, φίλης ἀπὸ πατρίδος αἴης.*

¹ Cf. van Leeuwen, *Mnem. Tom. cit.*, p. 371 = *Comm. Hom.*, p. 19.

² Dr. Leaf remarks that "such anachronisms are a small matter to a poet seeking for pathos", but an interpolator whose eye was on the detail he was seeking to embellish would be much more likely to disregard its relations to the whole scheme than the author of the poem would have been.

³ I do not know what Professor Scott means by speaking of "the theory of van Leeuwen that the first intimation that came to the Trojans of the landing of the Greeks is found in the speech of Iris who assumed the form of Polites (B 796 ff.)". Was the battle which attended the landing of the Achaians not yet known to the Trojans on this theory? Had they not yet had any hint of the Foray, in which their allies had suffered so heavily? Had Aineias not mentioned his little adventure on the crest of Ida? Did the Trojans know nothing of the pestilence which had been destroying their enemies a few miles away?

B 272 sq. The soldiers say to one another :

ὦ πόποι, ἣ δὴ μυρὶ' Ὀδυσσεὺς ἐσθλὰ ἔοργε
βουλὰς τ' ἐξάρχων ἀγαθὰς πόλεμόν τε κορύσσων.

Γ 99 sq. Menelaos says to the Achaians :

ἐπεὶ κακὰ πολλὰ πέπασθε
εἶνεκ' ἐμῆς ἑριδος καὶ Ἀλεξάνδρου ἔνεκ' ἀρχῆς.

Γ 125 sqq. Iris finds Helen at her web :

τὴν δ' εὖρ' ἐν μεγάρῳι· ἣ δὲ μέγαν ἱστὸν ὑφαίνει,
δίπλακα πορφυρέην, πολέας δ' ἐπέπασσεν ἀέθλους
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων,
οὓς ἔθεν εἶνεκ' ἔπασχον ὑπ' Ἄρης παλαμάων.

Γ 130 sqq. Iris calls Helen to the wall :

δεῦρ' ἴθι, νύμφα φίλη, ἵνα θέσκελα ἔργα ἴδῃαι
Τρώων θ' ἱπποδάμων καὶ Ἀχαιῶν χαλκοχιτώνων·
οἳ πρὶν ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι φέρον πολὺδάκρυν Ἄρηα
ἐν πεδίῳ, ὁλοοῖο λιλαϊόμενοι πολέμοιο,
οἳ δὴ νῦν ἕαται σιγῇ, πόλεμος δὲ πέπνυται.¹

E 788 sqq. Here (as Stentor) says :

ὄφρα μὲν ἐς πόλεμον πωλέσκετο διὸς Ἀχιλλεύς,
οὐδέ ποτε Τρώες πρὸ πυλῶν Δαρδανιάων
οἴχνεσκον· κείνου γὰρ ἐβείδισαν ὄβριμον ἔγχος·

H 113 sq. Agamemnon dissuades Menelaos from facing Hector by saying :

καὶ δ' Ἀχιλεὺς τούτῳ γε μάχῃ ἐνι κυδιανείρῃ
ἔρριγ' ἀντιβολήσας, ὃ περ σέο πολλὸν ἀμείνων.²

Besides the above passages, Professor Scott cites also :

I 351 sq. (Achilles speaks),

ἀλλ' οὐδ' ὥς δύναται σθένος Ἑκτορος ἀνδροφόνοιο
ἴσχειν·

¹ The context seems to require that *πρὶν* should here be taken in the sense of *modo*, not *ante hac*, as Mr. Scott implies by quoting the passage as an argument for the long war.

² I include this passage with the rest of those which seem sufficiently accounted for by the fighting, etc., which has already taken place, even on the short-war hypothesis. But it seems altogether improbable that it reflects any traditional incident, at all. In I 352 Achilles boasts that so long as he was in the fighting Hektor never ventured far from the walls, and Dr. Leaf points out that this passage (also cited by Mr. Scott, among the indications of a long war) contradicts H 113, which he pronounces "a rhetorical exaggeration used at the moment for a special purpose".

"The fact that Achilles speaks of Hector", says Mr. Scott, "as the 'manslaying', exactly as he did in A 242, shows that this title or reputation must have been won in battles fought before the quarrel described in the first part of the Iliad". Does this mean that pre-Homeric accounts of the war must have told of earlier battles in which Hektor had 'got his man', and that Homer, finding the epithet there applied to Hektor, employed it in the places cited, in spite of the fact that he had himself left out the story of those earlier battles? If this were Mr. Scott's meaning one might suggest that it would seem a very natural and excusable thing in the poet, finding Hektor anywhere thus described in earlier lays, to adopt the complimentary epithet in his own allusions to him, without being scrupulous to reserve it until Hektor had actually done some man-slaying in the Iliad. But such is apparently not Professor Scott's meaning, for he has written a paper to show that "Hektor as he appears in Homer, is the creation of the poet who conceived the idea of the Iliad" (Class. Phil. 8 (1913) 160 sqq.). His argument must therefore be something like this: Homer imagined his creature Hektor to have been an experienced warrior at the time the Iliad begins; hence he must have thought of the Trojan War as having already lasted some years. But even assuming, with Mr. Scott, that the poet must have imagined the details of his Trojan hero's past, it does not follow that he conceived Hektor's man-slaying to have been done in this particular war, so that the epithet cannot be regarded as throwing any light on the problem under discussion.

Z 521 sq.

δαιμόνι', οὐκ ἔν τίς τοι ἀνὴρ, θε ἐναΐσιμος εἴη,
ἔργον ἀτιμήσειε μάχης, ἔπει δ' Ἀλκιμός ἐσσι·

Hektor thus addresses Paris, and Professor Scott comments: "If this is the first day's fighting of the war, Paris has had little opportunity to show his bravery". But in the paper just quoted he maintains that "Paris was the traditional leader and champion of the Trojans . . . Paris is no coward in Homer and no weakling, since his heroic proportions show through, despite the efforts of the poet to represent him as mean and timorous". Is not Z 521 perhaps one of the places where Paris's heroic reputation shows through? And might not

the want of sufficient justification in the Iliad for such a compliment, which Mr. Scott now explains as due to Homer's having omitted the earlier stages of the war, be ascribed to Homer's reluctance to accord Paris his traditional deeds of valour?—or, in Mr. Scott's words, to "the efforts of the poet to represent him as mean and timorous"?

B 13 sq. The Dream says:

οὐ γὰρ ἔτ' ἀμφὶς Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες
ἀθάνατοι φράσσονται.

I can see here no "vague reference to a long war", as does Mr. Scott. Apollo has already shown his anti-Achaian sympathies, in the pestilence, and Zeus has already shown his friendship for Aineias, whom he has saved from capture in the Great Foray (Υ 92 sq.). May not the Dream merely mean to imply that Apollo and Zeus are now ready to grant Here and Athena a free hand in assisting the Achaians?

B 344 sq. Nestor to Agamemnon:

Ἀτρεΐδη, σὸ δ' ἔθ', ὥς πρὶν, ἔχων ἀστεμφέα βουλήν
ἄρχεν' Ἀργείοισι κατὰ κρατερὰς ὕμνους.

There is surely no need to see here an implication of previous battles, but only of previous steadfastness of purpose.

N 259 sqq. Idomeneus and Meriones boast of the many Trojan spoils they have taken. "As neither of these warriors", says Professor Scott, "has thus far more than fleshed his sword in the action of the Iliad, where did they capture all this armor, and in what battles did they perform their mighty exploits"? Surely there has now been ample time for these heroes to have slain many enemies. And why might not the poet take this method, as well as another, of letting us know that they have done so? Does Homer mean us to suppose that there have been no encounters in the battles he has described, save those which he has expressly mentioned?

Lastly, in Ω 257, Priam complains of the loss of three sons, Mestor, Troilos, and Hektor, but Hektor alone has had any share in the action of the poem. "Hence", says Mr. Scott, "the career of the other two must belong to earlier events". Why not to contemporaneous events which the poet found no room to chronicle? One would suppose that when Homer composed the Iliad there were current many κλέα ἀνδρῶν which

he worked up for his new poem, and many others which, for one reason or another, he did not see fit to use. That these rejected materials dealt with events prior to the action of the *Iliad* would be an unwarranted assumption. It is quite possible that the brave deeds of Meriones and Idomeneus, as well as the story of Mestor, and that of Troilos, were related in songs which were known to Homer, and that in the passages cited by Professor Scott these legends "show through",—to borrow his own significant phrase.

It cannot be denied that these lines, and many of the others in which Mr. Scott has seen an argument for the long war, are perfectly in harmony with that tradition. More than that, it may be granted that the reader who takes up the poem in the belief that it deals with the last year of a long war will readily and naturally discover references in these verses to events of earlier years. But if I have succeeded in showing that such an interpretation of them is never necessary, it follows that they cannot be accepted as evidence for the traditional view.

When Professor Scott and his fellow-believers in the common authorship of *Iliad* and *Odyssey* succeed in establishing the truth of their contention, Professor van Leeuwen's theory of the war will have to go the way of all flesh and most conjectures. But until that time comes it is to be hoped it may receive the consideration merited by an interpretation which so greatly enhances the beauty and verisimilitude of the *Iliad*.

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IV.—GRABOVIUS—GRADIVUS, PLAN AND POMERIUM OF IGUVIUM.

The efforts to solve the mystery of the word "Grabovius", an epithet of three gods in the Iguvian tables has thus far been fruitless. The latest summary of the situation, by Samter in the Pauly-Wissowa (V. 14, S. V.) frankly says (p. 1686): "die Bedeutung und Etymologie des Namens ist ganz unsicher."

The word is Umbrian and appears only in these Iguvian tablets as an epithet of Jupiter, Mars and an unidentified god Vufume or Vofione. An archaic way of spelling the word in tablet I is Krapuvi. Following the order in Samter's summary we find that it has been variously interpreted as *gra-bos*, a god who feeds cattle (Lassen); as *gravis*, a gracious god (Pott); as *Krap- κρᾶτ* a strong god; as derived from an original *Grabus* like Fisovius from *Fisus* (Aufrecht-Kirchhoff); as equivalent to lat. *gradus*, meaning 'growth' and, like *gradivus*, meaning the god who produces growth in nature (Bréal); and, finally, as the equivalent of "Gradivus" with the meaning of *gradior* (Keller).

Since philological speculation has left us in this *impasse* it may be worth while to consider the problem from the angle of archæology, and in order to do so something needs to be said as to the Iguvian ritual in connection with the topography of the city, because it is in what appears to be the pomerial ritual that the real explanation of Grabovius is found.

The subject of this paper is mainly, therefore, the shape and arrangement of the plan of Iguvium and its pomerium. The Iguvian tables are conceded to represent archaic forms of pre-Roman ceremonial, though preserved only in late copies of the second or even first century B. C. They give the only long formulas of land consecration that we possess, and were hand-books of instruction for the priesthoods of Iguvium. Of the two principal ceremonies, one is for the annual purification of the area of the city and citadel with the renewal of their boundaries: the other is for the annual purification of the

people themselves. They correspond to the Roman *amburbium*, *ambarvale* and *lustratio populi*.¹

It is in the text of the first of these ceremonials that the term *Grabovius* is used. There are two versions of the ritual: a longer version in tablet VI; a shorter and more archaic in tablet I. The ritual in this *amburbium* is as follows: The auspices having been found favorable the priest proceeds first to the city gate called Porta Treblana. Here, *in front* of the gate he sacrifices three oxen to Jupiter *Grabovius* (I a 2; VI a 22) repeating a long prayer on behalf of the *arx* and the city. This prayer he recites three times, once for each victim. He then reënters the gate and at a point *inside* sacrifices three fallow sows to Trebius Iovius, with similar prayers. He goes on, after this, to the second gate, the Porta Tesenaca, where he sacrifices *outside* the gate three oxen to Mars *Grabovius* (I a 11; VI b 1) and *inside* the gate three sucking pigs to Fisis Sancius. Then on the third or Veian gate, where three oxen are offered *outside* to Vofionus *Grabovius* (I a 20; VI b 19) and *inside* the gate three sheep to Tefrus Iovius.

The sacrifices around the border-line of the city having been completed the sacred procession reënters it and proceeds first to the temple or *lucus* of Jupiter where three young bulls are offered to Mars Hodus and, finally, ends the ceremony at the temple or *lucus* of Coredius (Coredier) where three young bulls are offered to Hondus Serfius.²

The important feature of the ritual in this connection is that at each of the three gates of the city there is not a single but a double sacrifice. Neither sacrifice is at the gate itself; the first is at a point outside; the second at a point inside the gate. In all three cases of sacrifice *outside* the gate the epithet *Grabovius* is given to the god to whom the sacrifice is offered; in no case is it given to a god to whom an offering is made *inside* the gates. Is this merely a coincidence or has it a meaning?

What are these two sacrificial points outside and inside the

¹ Bréal, *Les Tables Eugubines*; Buecheler, *Umbrica*; Buck, *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian*, p. 260 ff. Aufrecht-Kirchhoff, *Umbr. Sprachdenkm.* etc. II; Conway, *The Italic Dialects*, I. 399 ff.

² The procedure is identical in the two versions of the ritual; there is merely more of detail in tablet VI which contains the text of the prayers that do not appear in tablet I.

gates? What can they be but the outside and inside boundary lines of the pomerium strip on which the walls were built? There has been considerable fluctuation of opinion in regard to the pomerium. It has been denied that it was a consecrated ribbon of land surrounding the *urbs*. It has been said to be merely a single boundary line or ditch. It has been run inside and parallel with the walls; or, again, outside the walls only. It has been imagined as an outside boundary strip not parallel with the line of the walls but as of curved form, like a magic circle. The bulk of scientific opinion has now returned, however, to Livy's definition that it was a strip of land on which the walls were built and which was wider in the section outside the walls and narrower in the band inside the walls, to suit the best policy of defense. I have myself contributed toward defining the width of the pomerial strip outside the walls by pointing out that the arches commonly called triumphal which were built outside the walls of certain Roman cities or on the border lines of the later unfortified colonies and municipalities throughout the Roman world, were placed on the outer boundary of the pomerial strip.¹ It was this outer boundary that was of the greatest importance. Here it was that jurisdiction changed from military to civil, as the *urbs* was approached, or *vice-versa*; where the area consecrated by the auspices was entered; where the rule of the city magistrates began. It was at this point that the ceremony of reconsecrating the urban area would naturally begin, as it does in the Iguvian ritual. It would be at this point, just beyond each gate, that the guardian gods of the *urbs* would be asked to speed the departing citizens or the armies of the state, and would be asked to accompany them and keep them, would be appealed to in their aspect of road-gods, as Mars was and as Janus was in Rome, when his temple-gate on the pomerium-line was opened each spring, and he was supposed to journey with the army and return with it.

It is singular that no critic of the Iguvian text has, I believe, seen that the double sacrifice outside and inside the gates was connected with the pomerium strip—was, in fact, a proof of its existence. There can be no question that Iguvium had a pomerium. The whole Iguvian ritual is based on the pomerial idea. It is the indispensable corollary of the *templum*. There

¹ *De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle arcs de triomphe*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1905, II, p. 216 ff.

could be no *urbs* without pomerium. Also, it is a well known fact that the entire circuit of a city's wall was consecrated. Now this presupposes that the land on which the walls stood was consecrated. If so, there must have been a line marking where this consecration began and where it ended. It must have extended on either side of the wall. It is only a question of how much. The *porta* of a city was, according to tradition, the only place where it was allowable to pass because the consecrated strip was here interrupted. That being so it seems as if any ceremony located at two points, one outside and the other inside every gate of a city must be referred to the only known topographical element at this point—the pomerial strip. All the cities of Latium and Etruria had both templum and pomerium. Whatever site was consecrated by augury and auspices had, of necessity, a pomerium to bound the consecrating formula.

In connection with the boundary line of the *urbs* of Iguvium and its three gates it is important to study the formula given in another part of the tablets for marking out the templum of the *arx*. Its importance is more than local: it affects our views as to the ground-plan of other early Italian cities, even of Rome. The formula shows that the *templum* of the citadel of Iguvium was undoubtedly *triangular*. I do not believe that such a thing as a triangular templum has thus far been even imagined. Yet it is incomprehensible how Bréal or any other student of the text could hold to the idea of a square templum for Iguvium. It was due, I suppose, to the orthodox hallucination that there could be no templum but a square templum. This fetish is so little founded that it is bound eventually to be abandoned, and I hope to contribute to its downfall. There were circular templa and triangular templa as well as rectangular templa. Varro expressly states (LL. VII, 6-13) that celestial and sub-terrestrial templa were of necessity circular, but that templa marked on the earth's surface could be made of any shape described in the consecrating formula. The proofs for circular templa I have already elaborated in another paper:¹ those for the triangular templum, besides the present Iguvian proof, will shortly appear. I may as well repeat here, however,

¹American Journal of Archaeology, 1914 (XVIII), 3. pp. 302-320: Circular Templum and Mundus.

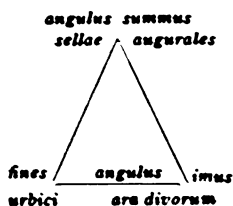
this decisive passage in Varro from which we infer that surface *templa* could be of any shape, as it seems necessary in order to counteract the presupposition that the urban *templum* must be rectangular: *templum tribus modis dicitur: ab natura, ab auspicando, a similitudine; ab natura in caelo, ab auspiciis in terra, a similitudine sub terra*. After speaking of the whole hemisphere of heaven as the celestial hemisphere, he proceeds, as an example of the way a *templum in terris* can be marked out, to recite an early formula which describes a *triangular* form, a passage which has been as little critically studied and understood as has the text of the Iguvian tables which will now be examined.

I am preparing a study of the triangular form of *templum*, which was very commonly at the basis of the plan of the early cities of Central Italy outside of Etruria. I will here confine myself to demonstrating the fact for Iguvium alone.

First in order is the annual reconsecration of the *templum* of the *arx*. I will quote Buecheler's version of the text in *Umbrica*:

Templum ubi flamen versatur arcis piandae id stativum sic finitum est: ab angulo imo qui proxume ab ara divorum est, ad angulum summum qui proxume ab sellis auguralibus est; et ab angulo summo ad selles augurales ad urbicum finem; ab angulo imo ad aram divorum ad urbicum finem, et urbicis finibus utroque versum servato.

It will help if this description is turned into a diagram. The augural seat is at the upper corner, the *angulus summus*, of a triangular area. The priest in marking out the *templum* must be imagined as facing eastward, and as marking the first side of the triangle on his left, both because the left was the lucky side¹ and because in the only other formula for the consecration of the *templum* from the *arx*, the above-mentioned archaic Latin ritual preserved in Varro, the priest is described as



¹ I have treated on ancient Orientation and the lucky left in a paper read, Dec. 30, 1914, before the Archaeological Institute and American Philological Association, at Haverford. In it I show that the left was lucky and the right unlucky for Babylonians, Assyrians, Persians, Etruscans and Romans. To this list I can now add China.

running his first border line on his left hand. In the Iguvian ritual he does it by stretching his wand out toward the lower left-hand corner and then bringing it back toward himself in a motion from left to right. But in marking out the second line, that on his right hand, his motion is reversed. He starts it from his *sellae augurales* and runs it out toward the point where the *arx* joins the *urbs*. Why is this? Evidently because in this way he still keeps to the movement from left to right, which is the direction of luck, whereas had he done as before he would have followed the unlucky right to left movement. In marking the third or base line he does not simply continue the sweep of his arm from the *fines urbici*, but begins a fresh movement which starts at the opposite end, the *angulus imus* and ends at the *fines urbici*. The reason for this is the same: to preserve the lucky direction from left to right.

The first corollary of a triangular augural tabernacle or templum of the *arx* is that the larger templum of the *urbs*, whose consecration has been described above, was also triangular, with a gate probably in the centre of each side of the triangle.

The second corollary is that the boundaries marked out for the more elaborate ceremony of the lustration for the purification of the people of Iguvium were also triangular in shape. The general opinion seems to be that these boundaries were about a limited area, like the enclosure in the Campus Martius for the lustration of the Roman people. My own impression is that the area was large, was in fact that of the whole Iguvian canton, the ceremony and area corresponding to the *ambarvale* of the original canton of Rome, which was in charge of the Arval brothers. The phraseology used in describing the points through which the lustration boundary passed is made up of topographical terms suited to the country and not to the city.

This reflects some light on the course of the procession in the ceremony of the *amburbium* already described. In the sacrifices at the gates the procession must have moved from left to right, as this was the lucky direction, and have started at the gate on the left of the augural sea, as the left side was the first to be inaugurated. In a number of cases I have found that the plan of pre-Roman cities consisted of two triangles: a smaller one for the *arx* and a larger one for the *urbs*, joined by a narrow neck. I shall not discuss this at present nor

attempt to apply this scheme to Iguvium, but merely point out that the three gates and the triangular shape of the *arx* templum render the triangular scheme for the *urbs* practically certain, especially in view of what I shall now say of the other ceremony of the *lustratio populi*, where the triangular scheme is absolutely certain.

The territory is first cleared of all strangers by a proclamation three times repeated. Then the ceremony begins at a point called *ad Fontulos* or *in Fontulis*. Here three red or black boars are sacrificed to Serfius Martius. The procession then passes to its second station at a place called *ad Rubiniam*, where three red or black sows are sacrificed to Praestota Serfia Serfi Martii. This point seems to be connected with the main highway leading out of the Iguvian canton because two long prayers are here recited closing the road to strangers and opening it to Iguvians.¹ A libation is poured out to Fisovius Sancius. The procession proceeds to the third and last station at *Trans Satam*, where three calves are sacrificed to Tursa Serfia Serfi Martii. This ends the first act; but this grand tour is repeated twice to the same places: first to distribute the animals sacrificed and then to break the libation vases. In seeking to reconstruct the topography of the three stations it should be noted that the text connects Fontuli with the Porta Treblana and Rubinia with the Porta Tesenaca so that it is a fair inference to connect the third station at *trans Satam* with the third or Veian gate. It is also a fair inference that the roads leading out from the gates passed the cantonal boundary at these points. The placing of the entire ceremony under the auspices of Mars, or rather of hypostases of Mars, is a further analogy to the Roman form of *lustratio populi* and *ambarvale*, for Mars was the cantonal god and is now recognized as originally a god of the fields and of agriculture and only secondarily the god of war, as protector of crops and flocks.²

¹ This inference is strengthened by the association of Mars with the Porta Tesenaca which the text connects with the road to *ad Rubiniam*: Mars was the *gradivus* deity *par excellence*.

² The *lustratio populi* in Rome in the Campus Martius, as distinct from the *lustratio urbis*, was probably a late symbolic partial substitute for the original *ambarvale*. The substitution took place, we may suppose, after the era of expansion was well under way, and the boundaries of the original canton of Rome—not more than five miles at its furthest—had become obsolete.

It seems evident, from a study of these various ceremonies which constitute the major part of the Iguvian tables that the sacred bounds were of the greatest importance. In the lustration ritual the bounds were marked by single instead of double ceremonies at the three points: the reason probably is that the cantonal boundaries were either natural streams or ditches, *fossae limitales*, and that the water or ditch constituted a single barrier. On the contrary the *amburbium* ritual, with its double ceremony at each gate, corresponds to the two borders of the pomerial strip, each border having its particular function and outlook, the one facing the *urbs*, the other facing the outside world. Each face corresponded to a definite divine aspect: one to the *pax deorum* of the home of the clan, where its gods were at rest with their people, the other to the dangers of the beyond, into which it was hoped that the members of the clan would go forth under the ægis of its gods.

There is, then, a basic concept necessarily underlying the choice of the gods to whom sacrifice was made at the outer boundary of the pomerium, and a choice also in the epithets given to the gods invoked under this particular aspect. What, now, do we find? We find that Jupiter *Grabovius* was invoked on the outer pomerium of Porta Treblana, Mars *Grabovius* on that of Porta Tesenaca, and Vofonus *Grabovius* on that of Porta Veia. Also, we find that the epithet "Grabovius" is not used as an epithet of these gods—or of any others in any different connection. It seems associated with the outer pomerium border only. It is interesting to remember that when the early Romans marched out each spring to war, they also considered themselves as accompanied by three gods: Jupiter, Mars and Janus. Jupiter conferred on the leader of the host his imperium; Mars *Gradivus* marched with the army; Janus made safe the way. With the substitution of Vofonus for Janus, we have a corresponding triad at Iguvium.

The logical conclusion is, in the first place, that the equation Grabovius = Gradivus is correct, but that its meaning was not, as Bréal thinks, connected with growth and productivity. It is Keller who is closer to the truth, and Grabovius denotes the marching, moving, aspect of the god to which it is applied. With the Romans it became restricted to Mars, but in the more archaic and conservative ritual of Umbria, it was applied to

any god invoked as an accompanying protector outside the boundary of the clan. The second conclusion is that the triangle was the form at the base of the *templum*, the *arx*, *urbs* and territory of Iguvium. This much seems incontestable. A third conclusion, while not so conclusively proved, is that the sacrifices outside and inside the gates mark the two borders of the pomerial strip and add to our evidence in favor of the strip form of the pomerium.¹

A. L. FROTHINGHAM.

PRINCETON, N. J., December, 1914.

¹In justice to Professor Frothingham it must be noted that the proof failed to reach him in time.—B. L. G.

V.—THE SO-CALLED CALLIUM PROVINCIA.

The Thesaurus Linguae Latinae, under the caption *callium provincia*, Vol. III, p. 174, line 16 has the following examples: Curt. 3. 4 5 qui callibus praesiderent. Tac. Ann. 4. 27 Cutius Lupus quaestor, cui provincia vetere ex more calles (*sic cod.*, Cales Lipsius) evererant. Suet. Jul. 19 provinciae . . . minimi negotii, i. e. silvae callesque (del. Willems, le sénat de la république Romaine II 576, n. 5).

To judge from the plan of the Thesaurus, one would expect this to be a complete list of the references to the "province" during the period covered by the giant lexicon. In point of fact, it is rather more than complete, for the example from Curtius may at once be eliminated. The passage refers to the operations of Arsames, "qui Ciliciae praerat", against Alexander the Great, and obviously can have no reference to a Roman provincia callium. After saying in 3. 4 5 sed longe utilius fuit angustias aditus, qui Ciliciam aperit, valido occupare praesidio, "but it would have been far better to hold the narrow passes opening into Cilicia with a strong guard", the historian continues in 3. 4 5 nunc paucis, qui callibus praesiderent, relictis ipse retro concessit, "as it was, however, the satrap withdrew, leaving a few men to hold the footpaths". Further comment seems superfluous, tempting as it is to enlarge upon the necessity of examining the context of citations and the exact meaning of the citations themselves.

On the other two passages (the one from Curtius is the peculiar property of the Thesaurus) various articles in our Dictionaries of Antiquities have been based, as well as sundry obiter dicta in our other books of reference. For example, in Daremberg and Saglio's Dict. des Ant. G. Humbert says, basing his statement on Suet. Jul. 19. 1, that the care of the forests and pastures regularly belonged to the censors, but was on that occasion assigned to Caesar and his colleague.

H. Stuart Jones, in his Companion to Roman History, p. 313, remarks: "the broad trackways by which they (the herds

of cattle) marched—e. g. from Reate and Samnium to Apulia—were called *calles publici* and the maintenance of order was assigned to officials of high standing: praetors, quaestors, even at times a consul". That this alleged assignment of the "province" to a consul is based on Suet. Jul. 19, and to quaestors on Tac. Ann. 4. 27, seems obvious. What the authority is for saying that it was assigned to praetors is not apparent, and the statement lacks support, unless the author has access to material not available to the compiler of the article *callis* in the *Thesaurus*, and to the writer.¹

E. S. Bouchier, in his revision of Arnold's *Roman Provincial Administration*, p. 49, makes this statement: "when, for instance, they (the senate) expected the election of Caesar, they took care to provide beforehand that he and his colleague should have the unimportant province of the roads and forests". Since the two books last mentioned have appeared within the last year or two, the writer's dissent from the views which he has quoted from them seems to offer sufficient justification for a brief discussion of an old problem.

Mommsen took Suetonius's *provinciae* in a different sense, and in his *History of Rome*, IV. 512, Eng. trans. says: "constitutionally it devolved on the senate to fix the functions of the second consular year of office before the elections of consuls took place; accordingly it had, in prospect of the election of Caesar, selected with that view for 696 two provinces in which the governor should find no other employment than the construction of roads and other works of utility". The writer of the article *Callium provincia* in the third edition of Smith's *Dictionary of Antiquities*, citing Mommsen, maintains that the words of Suetonius can hardly have the meaning which the great German scholar gave them. This is true enough, if Mommsen's language be regarded as a literal translation. It is, however, a very good paraphrase and gives the true sense of the Latin, which may be rendered literally

¹Mr. Stuart Jones writes me that his statement was based on line 27 of the *Lex Agraria* (C. I. L. I. 200) and Mommsen's commentary. I am indebted to him for reference to the exhaustive article of Grenier, *La transhumance des troupeaux en Italie*, in *Mélanges de l'école française de Rome*, 1905, pp. 293 ff., which however does not affect my conclusions.

as follows: "provinces involving little activity, that is mere woods and pastures".

That Mommsen is right in regarding the provinciae as districts to be governed by Caesar and his colleague at the close of their term of office, and not as a sphere of duty assigned them during their consulate, would seem too evident to warrant discussion, were it not for the persistence of contrary opinions. As a matter of fact, no consular function which could be indicated by *silvae callesque* ever existed, so far as we know, and the greater number of those who take provinciae in that sense assume that a sphere of duty properly belonging to a quaestor (or according to Humbert, to the censors) was, for the purpose of humiliating Caesar, assigned (in advance of the elections) to him and his future associate in office.

Now, while the senate would be quite within its rights in assigning to the consuls provinces to govern which demanded no great amount of protection or pacification (in the Roman sense of the term), and while they were required by the *lex Sempronia* to make the appointments before the election took place, it seems inconceivable that the senators should have gone so far as to assign the consuls duties to be performed during their term of office which properly belonged to a quaestor; duties too, which would have obliged them both to be absent from the city during their incumbency of the consulship. It is also at least an open question, whether duties of that kind were ever assigned in advance of the elections.

Moreover, since the "provinces" in question were assigned to *both* consuls (*futuris consulibus*), while the so-called *callium provincia* was the function of a single quaestor, we are obliged to conclude: either that *silvae callesque* in the passage from Suetonius is synonymous with *calles*, and that the duty of one quaestor was assigned to two consuls; or that there was besides the *callium provincia* a *silvarum provincia* (to which we have no reference anywhere), and that one of these was assigned to Caesar and the other to Bibulus.

Furthermore, if the senate actually had the audacity to make such an appointment, it was wholly and immediately disregarded, for both Caesar and Bibulus remained in Rome, and the former performed all the usual duties of a consul, to

say the least, during the active administration of "Julius and Caesar" (Suet. Jul. 20. 2).

We therefore seem compelled to accept Mommsen's view of the nature of the provinciae as the correct one. This being so, *silvae callesque* is either a gloss, as Willems thought, added as a further definition of provinciae minimi negotii by some scribe, who first misunderstood the meaning of provinciae and then confused a quaestor's sphere of duty with a consul's; or, with greater likelihood, as I tried to show in P. A. P. A. XLV. xlvii ff., is a colloquial term, "mere woods and pastures", applied to such provinces as Mommsen believed Suetonius to mean, probably by Suetonius himself, possibly by the copyist of some manuscript earlier than any of those now in existence, all of which contain the phrase.

It may be urged that even if we give the words of Suetonius this interpretation, we are still obliged to admit that the action of the senate was set aside. That is true enough, but it was not done until Caesar had won the support of Pompey and Crassus and was backed by an influential father-in-law and son-in-law (*socero igitur generoque suffragantibus*, Suet. Jul. 22. 1). Furthermore, it was done constitutionally and by due process of law: *initio quidem Galliam Cisalpinam Illyrico adiuncto lege Vatinia accepit; mox per senatum Comatam quoque* (Jul. 22. 1).

Of course provincia has the general meaning of a function or sphere of duty, as well as that of a Roman province. It is frequently so used metaphorically and usually in a jocose sense: for example, Plaut. Capt. 474 *ipsi obsonant, quae paratorum ante erat provincia*; Cic. ad Att. ap. Suet. Gramm. 14 *sed mihi solitudo et recessus provincia est*. Provincia is also used literally in this general sense, but for the most part (so far as we may judge from our incomplete lexical material) at a comparatively early period. It is frequently applied in this sense to the assignments to the consuls of military commands: for example, Livy 26. 22. 1 *consules cum ambo Apuliam provinciam haberent*; Livy 2. 40. 14 *consules T. Sicinius et C. Aquilius. Sicinio Volsci, Aquilio Hernici (nam hi quoque in armis erant) provincia evenit*. Of other functions, and at later times, this use of the word seems to be very rare; at least, the handbooks and the references upon which their ac-

counts are based (as well as the lexicons) give us little or no information about the duties of the various officials under the title of provinciae. I would hazard the conjecture that, except in its metaphorical sense, provinciae meaning a function is almost wholly confined to the military appointments just mentioned and the "Italian quaestorships" to be discussed below; and that, except in accounts of the earlier history of Rome, its use as the designation of a Roman province almost wholly supplanted its other meaning. Suetonius, who frequently uses the word, always employs it of a district, except in the quotation from Cicero cited above, and in Claudius 24. 2. (cited below). The former of course does not enter into the question, and the latter seems in reality to be no exception to his regular usage; for while provincia Ostiensis and provincia Gallica are peculiar in referring to districts in Italy (Cisalpine Gaul was incorporated into Italy by Augustus), the meaning of the phrases taken by themselves is clearly "the Gallic province", for example, rather than "Gallic functions" or "a Gallic sphere of duty". But whether this be so or not, Suetonius offers at most but one exception to his regular employment of provincia in the sense of a district, and the usage of Tacitus appears to be equally consistent.

Although provincia seems to be rarely, if ever, applied to the various duties of the several Roman magistrates, we are well informed about them, and it seems safe to say that we know of no function of the consuls, praetors, or censors which could with any propriety or naturalness be spoken of either as *silvae callesque*, or as *calles*.

It remains to consider whether there was a quaestor's "province" called *callium provincia*. Since the *silvae callesque* of Suetonius may be eliminated with almost as much confidence as the *callibus* of Curtius, we have left in testimony to the existence of such a function only the passage in Tacitus, Ann. 4. 27. Here Lipsius proposed to read *Cales* instead of *calles*, and the emendation was accepted by Mommsen and others, who believe that the four "Italian quaestors" appointed in 267 B. C. were quaestores classici and that their headquarters were at Ostia (provincia Ostiensis), at Ariminum (provincia Gallica), at Cales, and at some other place unknown. This is stated positively by Mommsen, Staatsr. 2. 571, (except that he

thought that the headquarters of the *Gallica provincia* might have been Ravenna), by Schiller in Müller's *Handbuch* 4. 1. 85 (also with a reservation about the headquarters of the *Gallica*), in Di Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*, s. v. *Cales*, and elsewhere. On the other hand, the subject of the "Italian quaestors" is handled with the greater caution which the nature of the evidence makes advisable by Abbott in his *Roman Political Institutions*, p. 209.

As a matter of fact, our information about these quaestors is very scanty. Their supposed title of *quaestores classici* is supported only by Joh. Lydus, *de Magistr.* 1. 27, and as Abbott says, the nature of their functions is not perfectly clear. Suet. *Claud.* 24. 2, *collegio quaestorum pro stratura viarum gladiatorum munus iniunxit detractaque Ostiensi et Gallica provincia curam aerari Saturni reddidit*, justifies the conclusion that one of them was stationed in Ostia and another in Gaul. These provinces were called respectively *Ostiensis* and *Gallica*, and it is reasonable enough to suppose that the headquarters of the latter was at Ariminum or at Ravenna. Mommsen (*Staatsr.* 2. 571) assumes that a third quaestor had charge of a district in southern Italy, extending far enough eastward to include Brundisium, and that its headquarters were at Cales, "die älteste lateinische Colonie in Campanien und als diese Quästuren gegründet wurden, ohne Frage die römische Hauptstadt Campaniens". Unfortunately the only support for this opinion is Lipsius's emendation of the passage in Tacitus, and while the change from *calles* to *Cales* is a comparatively easy one, it is a question whether it is necessary or warranted. Furneaux, in his edition of the *Annals*, says: "the manuscript text has little to recommend it, for the passage in Suet. *Jul.* 19 has no reference to Italian quaestorial districts or to any one definite locality". With the last part of this statement the writer's opinion is fully in accord, and it is certainly true that no support for *calles* can be derived from *Jul.* 19. But after all, since the manuscripts are unanimous for *calles*, the burden of proof surely rests on those who would change the reading, and the evidence for a quaestorial "province" with its headquarters at Cales is hardly strong enough (if it exists at all) to justify substituting Cales for the traditional reading.

Orelli, in his edition of Tacitus, makes a statement which is also a pure assumption, but is no less probable than that of Mommsen, with the additional advantage of demanding no change in our text. He says that *calles Italiae* was a term applied to the wooded district extending from the Campanian frontier (a *tergo Campaniae*) towards the Adriatic, and that because of the revenue yielded by the herds of cattle which were pastured there a quaestor was put in charge of it. His first statement is apparently confirmed by Cic. *pro Sest.* 12 *neque umquam Catilina, cum e pruina Appennini atque e nivibus illis emersisset atque aestatem integram nactus Italiae callis et pastorum stabula praedari coepisset . . . concidisset.* The second too perhaps derives some support from the fact that in imperial times the district in question was administered by the emperor's procurators; see Pelham, *Class. Rev.* X. 6, whose statement, however, that Suetonius tells us in *Claud.* 25 (= 24) that Claudius substituted procurators for the quaestor, does not seem to be quite exact, although such a supposition is probable enough. Hence to assume the existence of a quaestor's "province" connected with the *calles Italiae* does not seem unreasonable, directly supported though it is, only by the single reference in Tacitus. That there were quaestorial functions to which we have merely an occasional and cursory reference appears from Cic. *Vatin.* 12 *in eo magistratu (= quaestura) cum tibi magno clamore aquaria provincia sorte obtigisset, missusne sis a me consule Puteolos, ut inde aurum exportari argentumque prohiberes?*

Granting the existence of a "province" connected with the *calles Italiae*, we can hardly suppose that it was officially known as *callium provincia*. To judge from the two provinces of the kind which Claudius mentions, it is more probable that it was designated by a geographical adjective referring to the district as a whole, like *Gallica provincia*. With the elimination of *Cales* we have no certain example of a province named from its chief city; for Ostia, with its extensive commerce in grain and other commodities, could furnish employment enough to occupy the entire time of a quaestor, and I am not aware that we have any evidence that the *provincia Ostiensis* extended beyond the limits of Ostia itself.

Even if a geographical adjective was not used, we should at least expect in an official title something more definite than *callium provincia*. That Tacitus, however, might refer to such a province by the general descriptive term *calles*, instead of by its full title, is indicated by the passage from Cic. Vatin. 12, where *aquaria provincia* can hardly be the official designation of the "province" in question. It is a descriptive term, just as the office of the *curatores aquarum* might conceivably be referred to as *aquaria cura*, instead of *cura aquarum* (Suet. Aug. 37). In the same way the "province" mentioned by Tacitus, whatever its official designation may have been, is referred to, with his usual conciseness, simply as *calles*. Its full title may have been, in default of an adjectival designation covering the entire district, *Italiae callium provincia*; or more probably, *calles Italiae*, without *provincia*.

It may be added for the sake of completeness that Dio, 55. 4, tells us that the "Italian quaestorships" were established by Augustus, which is commonly regarded as an error; and that in 60. 24 he says that all these quaestorial provinces, as well as the *Ostiensis* and *Gallica*, were abolished by Claudius. The second statement is confirmed by Tacitus's *vetere ex more*, which indicates that the office no longer existed in his time, while *evenerant* seems to show that the assignment was made by lot.

To sum up: it seems beyond doubt that the *provinciae* of Suet. Jul. 19 are not functions, but districts outside of Italy, and as Furneaux rightly says, there is absolutely no parallelism between the passages in Suetonius and Tac. Ann. 4. 27, except the purely accidental occurrence of *calles* in both. The evidence for a province having to do with the *calles Italiae* is at least as strong as that for one with its headquarters at *Cales*, and we are therefore not justified in emending *calles* to *Cales* in Tacitus. We have no evidence at all for a province officially known as *callium provincia*, a term which, it will be observed, Tacitus himself does not use. It is highly probable that a quaestor was assigned the *calles Italiae* under some more appropriate official designation, and that Tacitus refers to this "province" when he says: *cui provincia vetere ex*

more calles evererant, that is, "to whom as his sphere of duty the calles Italiae had been allotted".

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NOTE.—Since the above was written, I have noticed the following reference to the subject in Professor Tenney Frank's *Roman Imperialism*, p. 335: "he (Caesar) refused to accept the province over 'highways and pastures', that the senate assigned to his proconsulship". I am glad to find that Professor Frank agrees with me in referring *silvae callesque* to the proconsulship of Caesar, and not to his consulship. The rest of the sentence is not clear to me. Does it mean that the so-called *callium provincia* was given to Caesar instead of a province outside of Italy? If so, I have given reasons for doubting this, although that of absence from Rome of course would not apply to a proconsular appointment. Or does it mean a province *consisting of silvae callesque*, which is precisely my own opinion? In either case, "highways and pastures" is not an accurate translation of *silvae callesque*. *Calles* may mean pastures, but *silvae* surely does not mean highways. The only reading which could possibly be translated "highways and pastures" is *semitae callesque*, taking *semitae* as a slighting way of referring to *viae*. But this reading, so far as I know, is found nowhere except in Harper's *Lexicon*, where it is incorrectly referred to Aug. 19, instead of to Jul. 19. It has absolutely no manuscript authority, nor is it, so far as I am aware, the conjecture of any scholar of repute.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

Sokrates: VON ADOLF BUSSE. Berlin, Reuther & Reichard, 1914. Pp. X+248.

This volume is the seventh of the series "Die grossen Erzieher" issued under the general editorship of Professor Rudolf Lehmann. As such it is ostensibly most concerned with Sokrates as a pedagogue; but in fact its author has endeavored to appraise the personality, character and teachings of his hero in such a manner as to represent them fully and as a whole.

The plan of the work is well conceived, as the table of contents and the exposition sufficiently prove. After an introduction dealing with the sources for a knowledge of Sokrates, the matter is presented under three general heads, concerned respectively with the life and personality, with the teachings, and with the trial and death of Sokrates. It is hardly necessary to enumerate the several captions of the subdivisions. There is no index, but the carefully constructed analytical table of contents enables one to find what may be required. References to particular details will not be missed because the author has contributed little to the interpretation of special passages in the sources. The style of the author is easy and lucid, and the book as a whole gives one the impression of a high-minded and sympathetic teacher, who has caught not a little of the spirit of the great master and is endeavoring by this work to convey to others the insight into his heart and teaching which prolonged study has yielded.

Concerning the matter which our author undertakes to set forth the judgment of the critic cannot be in all respects so favorable. It has been already said that Dr. Busse has not contributed much that is new to the interpretation of our sources; indeed the general character of his book hardly called for that, since it was clearly designed for a somewhat general public. From the introductory estimate of the sources to the end of the book there is comparatively little discussion of moot-points, and where such questions arise a reference to more detailed expositions is made to suffice the reader. The character of the works thus cited is such that one feels at times that our author is not acquainted with the best special literature of his subject. The best portions of the book are those which, like the concluding chapters, call for the insight into human nature and for the sympathetic appreciation of the

stalwart character of Socrates, which a teacher of high ideals, used to reading the *Apology*, *Crito* and *Phaedo* with boys of the higher forms, would naturally cultivate.

Other parts of the book are notably weak. This is particularly true in respect to whatever concerns the intellectual and historical background of the thought and life of Socrates. The discussion of the Sophists is perhaps the weakest part of all, in spite of a very real appreciation of the aims of the leaders. It might be thought that when all is said an error here, even granted that it was an error, could not be regarded as of much importance, since after all the central figure of the picture is Socrates, and every other must therefore be secondary or unessential. In real life and generally in history this point of view is justified, and no doubt Dr. Busse would hold that it is applicable in the present instance also. I shall try to show that it is not so, and shall develop this thought and a few of its consequences in lieu of a detailed review of the book here under notice for two reasons. First, I am on a vacation with nothing but Dr. Busse's work at hand, and could not therefore profitably discuss minutiae, and in the second place I hope thereby to indicate in a positive way the central problems in the interpretation of Socrates.

I cannot here undertake a discussion of the vexed question as to who among the three leading authorities—Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle—is most to be trusted. Dr. Busse's theory and practice—neither quite clear—do not altogether agree on this all-important point. Fortunately for me, Dr. Busse in the main takes the view which for the nonce at least I also prefer to take, to wit, that we must make Plato's *Apology* our point of departure. The view to be obtained in this way, if it be sharply defined, is far from simple and raises some questions of extreme importance. No one who chooses to follow this way should fail to realize how revolutionary the conclusion may be; for hitherto, if I mistake not, no modern scholar has unreservedly taken this line. And it is not at all surprising that this should be the case; for modern thought about Socrates is dominated by the conception that he was first and chiefly a philosopher, a view which could never be reached by a plain, intelligent interpretation of the *Apology*. The first requisite on this view is then the interpretation of the *Apology*. After that has been settled, the question will arise whether the Socrates thus disclosed is the real Socrates or a figment of Plato's imagination. This question I cannot now discuss; but it will be seen that I believe Plato seized upon the central truth and that his reading of his master's character, different as it is from that of others, differs from theirs only in being more profound and in offering the best clew to the unravelling of the tangled skein of evidence about that hero of the spirit.

No one can read the Apology without perceiving that two passages afford the key to the whole, considered as a declaration of the inner life and ultimate purpose of Socrates. The first is that in which he relates the story of Chaerephon's question addressed to the Delphic oracle, of its response, and of the quest on which Socrates entered in consequence thereof; the second is that in which Socrates defines the scope of the divine mission to which he thereby believed himself called, and to disobey which must be for him the final negation of God. To make light of these passages or to fail to interpret them aright is utterly to miss the clew which Plato offers. Dr. Busse speaks of the latter as singular, and quite misapprehends its significance; this is fatal to his interpretation of the life-work of Socrates. He misses also the relation of the quest of Socrates to the response of the oracles which called it forth, and hence discovers its bearings only on the subsequent unpopularity of Socrates.

The oracle declared that there was none more σοφός than Socrates. This dumbfounded Socrates, as well it might. *He* a σοφός? What might the god mean? He was not conscious of being σοφός at anything. Could this very sanity of his, which flew in the face of a divine oracle and refused to discover any wisdom in himself, itself being a kind of wisdom? There was Myson of old, of whom Hipponax related that the Delphic oracle had declared him of all men most σώφρων. Undoubtedly σωφροσύνη was a form of σοφία, and Socrates then or later recognized in σωφροσύνη the ideal compliance with the injunction of that same oracle, γνῶθι σαυτόν. Here were three texts of scripture which might be harmonized on this view. However, the question must not be thought so easily disposed of. What really was a σοφός? Socrates canvassed the conceptions of the Greeks, just as later Aristotle, before defining a term, asked the question ποσαχῶς λέγεται; This is the meaning of the three classes of men, to whom Socrates addressed himself in quest of a σοφός, the statesmen, the poets, the artisans. To all of these the Greeks applied the term σοφός, and they practically exhausted the list. The statesmen as σοφοί were numbered in the glorious company of the Seven Sages. Here again the Delphic oracle, according to ancient legend, had had a hand in assigning the golden tripod; but it is doubtful whether this legend existed in the time of Socrates. At all events the oracle was not credited with actually designating the σοφώτατος. the decision was to be reached by an informal ballot among the candidates, on the principle (attributed I believe to Xenophanes and Empedocles) that it takes a σοφός to catch a σοφός. This fact rules the legend of the golden tripod out as a possible factor in the thought of Socrates, and inclines me to think it of later origin. Nevertheless the σοφός as a states-

man was an old conception in the days of Socrates, and needed to be considered. Among the bards and singers Homer, Hesiod and Orpheus were accounted σοφοί, each with his peculiar σοφία; and the artisans too were credited with σοφία, each after his kind. Socrates, in search of a σοφός, found among the contemporary representatives of these canonical classes no common trait which could be praised as σοφία and claim the approbation of the god of Delphi: rather he found as their common characteristic a vice which sinned against the god's injunction, γνῶθι σαυτόν and the σωφροσύνη which had received his commendation. If Socrates found in himself that virtue which he had missed in those among whom he had vainly hoped to find σοφία, he was so far forth entitled to think of himself as in the thought and definition of the god a σοφός. But what a revelation of himself, of the mind of the god, and of his own duty lay in that act of self-discernment! Plato represents this insight as the turning-point in the career of his master.

It is noteworthy that in his quest for a σοφός Socrates does not include the philosophers and sophists. Plato is at great pains to distinguish between Socrates and all these, but does this in a wholly different connection. They were evidently not in the thought of Socrates when he canvassed the meaning of the god in pronouncing him a σοφός. The references and allusions to them, and there are many, are found in the portion of his defense, in which Socrates seeks to save himself from being confused in the minds of his accusers and of the public with the pretentious aspirants to the title of the σοφός. To Socrates their arrogance in laying claim to a title like this must have sufficed to exclude them from his field of view while he was in search of a σοφός; but Plato felt the need, nevertheless, of marking off the lines in such a way as to make clear the difference between them.

But no definition could be complete in the Socratic sense which rested upon exclusion. The οὐσία of anything, consequently of the σοφός, is defined positively by its function or purpose. The purpose and function of Socrates, as the σοφός of god's election, is expressed in his divine calling and mission. Here we see the necessary connection of the two passages of the Apology, which, as we have said, furnish the clew to Plato's reading of his master's character. The nature of that mission cannot remain for a moment in doubt when one squarely faces the words of Plato. Socrates regarded himself as an instrument called in the providence of god to rouse his people from the supine slavery to the world and the flesh, to a sense of kinship with the divine and a life in keeping with the possession of a soul eternal and of infinite possibilities. This means, of course, that Socrates was not a philosopher, but a

preacher of righteousness and of religion. To be sure, the word preacher suggests erroneous connotations. Socrates did not appeal to the multitude, but to the individual soul; but this is a question of method, not of aim. Believing as he did (and was he not right?) that all instruction, all communication of ideas and ideals, is dependent upon the active preparation of the learner, who thereby discovers or creates for himself the truth he would apprehend or the ideal he would conceive, he could have no recourse to a Nürnberger Trichter of whatever sort, but practiced the maeutic of the Socratic method. The manner of his quest, the seemingly unfeeling probe of the elenchos, were but the missionary's Busspredigt preached to the sinner in the retirement of some nook to prepare his soul for the conception of the higher ideal which should form the basis of a new life. As the preacher does many things to win souls to the kingdom, so Socrates also followed many a tack, discussed many a theme, in pursuit of his mission.

There is another point that should be considered. When in the Apology Socrates suggests that a fitting requital for his manner of life would be his maintenance in the prytaneum at public charges, and refers in deprecation to the reward of athletes, there can be no doubt that he had in mind the scornful rebuke of Xenophanes, who asserted the superiority of his σοφία. This reminds one of the acts recounted of Jesus in the Gospels as performed that the scriptures might be fulfilled. Socrates in speaking as he does speaks as the representative of a tradition. Other points of the same general character are not wanting. One of the functions of the σοφός was that of the prophet. The prophecies of Thales, Anaximander, Pherecydes, and Pythagoras attest the ideal. So also do the functions of the 'priests' in the characterizations of the Indian sages, reflecting the fourth century's ideal of the σοφός, which are found in the historians of Alexander. Hence Socrates must possess mantic powers, as in his δαιμόνιον, in his prophetic dream in the Crito, and in his prophecy to the jurors at 'the sunset of life.' The σοφός is a poet and a musician: so when Socrates dreams again and again that he is to practice μουσική, lest he leave undone any of the things done by the σοφός, he versifies Aesop, and takes instruction in music of Damon and Connus. How much of this is historically true, how much was related of him merely that "the scriptures might be fulfilled", we shall never know; but the relation of these things to the 'Messianic' conception of the Greeks, their ideal of the σοφός, is obvious. In the same way Socrates links his own quest with another Messianic hero of the Greeks, when he likens his labors in the service of the god, to those of Heracles. Indeed, we shall never read the character of Socrates aright until we learn to read it in the light of the whole Greek tradi-

tion of the σοφός, which is the Greek contribution to the 'Messianic' ideals of the nations. Nor must we forget the Aeschylean Prometheus, the physician who could not heal himself, the martyred friend of man, who stubbornly clung to his conception of right, undismayed because immortal. The unyielding determination of Socrates to do the right even unto martyrdom, inspired by the conviction that he too (his soul) was immortal, has much of the titanic in it, and was doubtless in part inspired by the same ideals, if not by the character of this other ideal σοφός.

It would carry us too far to dwell on the decisive influence of the character of Socrates on the subsequent career of the ideal σοφός in Greek thought. Suffice it to say that the σοφός of all the later schools presents in various refractions the ideal portrait of him as depicted by one or the other of his disciples.

There is one more question of importance which must be answered before the character of the σοφός, as seen in the Platonic reading of Socrates, can be fully appreciated. That is the precise relation of it to the ideals of the σοφός embodied in the Ionian philosophers on the one hand and in Pythagoras on the other. To pursue this theme here would, however, lead us too far. The essential characteristics of the σοφός, as represented by these types, have not yet been clearly set forth by any scholar, and the task is too serious to be undertaken in a sketch like this. Particularly in the case of Pythagoras the question arises again and again whether Socrates is the copy or the model, a question which only the most careful historical research can hope to answer. In the writings of Plato much is made of the opposition of Socrates to the Sophists, and this also constitutes a serious problem, since the σοφιστής purported to be a σοφός, and the ideal of the Sophist must therefore be set into relation to the whole tradition of the σοφός. That in the main the Sophist stands most closely related to the Ionian σοφός must be obvious even to the superficial observer; whereas the Socrates of Plato's Apology finds his closest analogue in the Orphic religionist. Thus is raised anew the question as to the truth of the traditions which represent Socrates as the disciple of a Sophist, like Prodicus, of an Ionian, like Archelaus, or of a Heraclitean, like Cratylus. And here one would have to consider the sketch of the development of Socrates given by Plato in the Phaedo.

But I must now leave these questions for others or for another occasion. They are only indirectly concerned with Plato's Apology, but their bearing is obvious as is also the need of far more careful consideration of them than they have hitherto received. Only when the ideal of the σοφός has been traced through the length of the Greek tradition can we hope

to interpret the life and character of Socrates and give to them their proper setting. In this endeavor one must begin with Plato's *Apology*, but the other dialogues of the great disciple must be brought into relation with it.

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Oidipus. Geschichte eines poetischen Stoffs im griechischen Altertum. Von CARL ROBERT. Erster Band. Mit 72 Abbildungen. 587 pp. Zweiter Band. Anmerkungen u. Register. Mit 17 Abbildungen. Pp. 203. Berlin, Weidmannsche Buchhandlung, 1915.

My chief companion for the summer months of the current year—I had wellnigh said, 'the long vacation'—was to have been Robert's *Oidipus*, and for edification and illumination I had chosen not unwisely. In his masterly hands the story of *Oidipus*, which most persons are fain to accept in the wonderfully articulated version of Sophokles, has become an encyclopaedia of mythology, a study of topography, a history of epic and dramatic composition, a gallery of vase-paintings. There are two volumes, and nearly 800 pp. When Henry James's *Portrait of a Lady* was on its winding way through the *Atlantic Monthly*, Aldrich, the editor of the *Atlantic*, is reported to have written to the author, 'Call you this a *Portrait* or a *Panorama*?' And a similar question rises to the lips when one surveys the number of pages. 'Call you this a *Legend* or a *Library*?' It is not so bad as Joël's book on Sokrates, but still not light summer reading. However, the table of contents justifies the amplitude and there is diversity enough to keep up the interest. I, Die Kultstätten des Oidipus—Eteonos-Sparta—Attika; II, Die Sphinx; III, Oidipus, König von Theben; IV, Eteokles u. Polyneikes u. der Bruderkrieg; V, Das Epos; VI, Das Drama; a) Die Thebanische Trilogie des Aischylos; b) Der erste Oidipus des Sophokles; c) Der Oidipus des Euripides; d) Die Antigone des Sophokles; e) Die Antigone des Euripides; f) Die Phoinissen des Euripides; g) Der zweite Oidipus des Sophokles; VII, Oidipus bei den übrigen Tragikern u. in der Paradoxographie; VIII, Oidipus in der Mythographie. Beilagen: I, Die Aigiden; II, Der Kolonos Hippios.

Any one of these chapters would yield matter for a review by a specialist and I recognize the hopelessness of my original plan of doing for Robert what I have done for others and giving a summary of this monumental work. Summaries have their use as well as criticisms; and monumental the work is in a double sense, for it is dedicated to the memory of Tycho

von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, 'who fell on the 15th of October, 1914, before Ivangorod in the hour of victory'. The blood that oozes from the sponge which has wiped out so many noble lives stains every page of the times in which we live and suffer—indeed, I might say, live to suffer—and many pages of memory as well.

As I have just intimated, the magic wand of Sophokles has conjured up the stately dome of an Oidipodeia which it is impossible to think away. We all know that Sophokles has taken liberties with tradition. So have the other dramatists. But his is the version that abides in the memory. No matter what Father Homer may tell us, what Aischylos, what Euripides, we decline to be disillusioned. Homer makes out that the wife of Oidipus was Epikaste but it was Iokaste, not Epikaste that said: *ἄλκις νοσοῦσ' ἐγώ*. Oidipus must not die in his bed. He must be spirited away—like so many heroes, sacred and profane. Euripides' variations are interesting and I am personally grateful for the words he has put in the mouth of his Iokaste, as she addresses her elder son. I have quoted them often of late years:

ὦ τέκνον, οὐχ ἅπαντα τῷ γήραι κακά,
'Ετεόκλεες, πρόσσεστιν, ἀλλ' ἡμπεριία
ἔχει τι λέξαι τῶν νέων σοφώτερον.

But my Iokaste had hanged herself, before the hair of the heroine had blossomed white, before her children were old enough to understand the pollution that had come upon the house of the Labdakidae. We have all known for years that many scholars had vied in proving that the dread Sphinx of worldwide renown was merely a terrible Phix of local fame, but what is proved to one who refuses to believe? In like manner Kolonos was the burial-place of Oidipus and no other, although the exact spot is not known. As was the case with Moses, 'no man knoweth of his sepulchre to this day'. A place was prepared for him as a great fish was prepared for Jonah. But, however completely one may be under the spell of Sophokles, there is no denying that Robert has shed a flood of light on these old questions, that he has opened vast vistas through the jungle of tradition, has set out a whole plantation of new hypotheses and, as was to be expected of the author of 'Bild und Lied', has brought a store of archaeological knowledge to bear on the wide range of his researches; and if in the limited space allotted to reviews I cannot do justice to this important work, I hope I shall be pardoned for jotting down some points new or old that have interested me and may interest others:—

The very first chapter deals with the locality of the cult of Oidipus, of the place of his burial. The genius of Soph-

okles has identified it with Kolonos. But Robert questions whether that can possibly have been a Boeotian legend. That Oidipus was banished, that he wandered in the wilderness was doubtless a Boeotian tradition but not the burial in Attica: and Robert marshals the evidence in favor of Eteonos, a vanished town on the northern slope of Kithairon, where there is said to have been an actual cult of Oidipus and he thinks that this theory gives a special point to O. R. 1451:

ἀλλ' ἔα με ναίειν ὄρεσιν, ἔνθα κληίζεται
οὐμὸς Κιθαιρῶν οὗτος, ὃν μήτηρ τέ μοι
πατήρ τ' ἐθέσθην ζῶντι κύριον τάφον.

The Spartan site is rejected as originating in the settlement of a noble Boeotian family in Sparta. In this version Oidipus is too much in the background. Of the Attic sites the chasm beneath the Areopagus does not open up as the burial-place of Oidipus until the fifth century. The Kolonos story is older but lacks real warrant. What is common to all these localities is the neighborhood of a temple of Demeter and the connexion with the Erinyes who are of the same nature with the Earth-goddess. <Alas for the interpretations of mythology! Time was when some of us were taught to regard the Erinyes as storm-clouds and to read a deeper meaning into the dying speech of Aias:

καλῶ τ' ἄρωγους τὰς αἰεὶ τε παρθένους
αἰεὶ θ' ὀρώσας πάντα τὰν βροτοῖς πάθῃ,
σεμνὰς Ἑρινὺς τανύποδας κτέ.

The only way to reconcile the two interpretations is to suppose that the Erinyes, melted into rain, became Eumenides and being bottled up in underground cisterns were thenceforth associated with Demeter.> An idle story about the final burial of Oidipus in Thebes is dismissed in a few words. The repatriation of bones is one of the most familiar transactions in history from the earliest times to this day. No wonder then that it is one of the stock stories of fables.—There is, Robert repeats with emphasis, no really old cult of Oidipus <as I should put it, no cult of the father of Eteokles> save at Eteonos. Here is the sum of the whole matter. Oidipus is a chthonic hero of the Demeter cycle, a nature myth. The mother of Oidipus is the Earth-goddess, who is wedded to her own son. Oidipus shares her couch as we shall all share the couch of the Great Mother. Kithairon was the cradle of Oidipus. On the Eteonos theory, Kithairon was to be his grave. He slew his father as the New Year kills the Old Year. <Nowadays in accordance with humanitarian principles the sentence

is commuted to perpetual banishment, but we still kill Time and Time kills us, 'ce vieux Parthe, qui nous tue en fuyant' .>

Of course, I am somewhat, though not bitterly disappointed that Robert has taken no notice of my interpretation of the famous riddle of the Fourth Pythian of Pindar. True, he cites P. 4, 263, γνῶθι νῦν τὰν Οἰδιπόδα σοφίαν, to prove that Oidipus was renowned for his wisdom, but one naturally looks for something deeper than that, something more apposite than that, and I have tried to shew that the exile of Oidipus and his burial in a strange land have a bearing on the story of Damophilos, whose name, by the way, might serve as a surname of Oidipus himself. There is no story, not even that of Theseus, in which the love of suzerain for subject and subject for suzerain rises to a higher tide than in the story of Oidipus. The Kolonos story may have been known to Pindar, even if it is not mentioned by Aischylos. Assuredly it seems more natural that the benefits accruing from the burial-place of Oidipus should be remembered in connexion with a great city like Athens than with an obscure village on the Northern slope of Kithairon.

That the name Sphinx 'the strangler' was developed by popular etymology out of Phix, a local monster, and her form derived from an originally Egyptian type is, as I have just said, an old theory to which Robert holds, despite recent attempts 'to becloud the simple facts'. The illustrations to the chapter are fascinating and those that represent the Sphinx as carrying off her victims will linger long in the memory. The diabolical smile of the Sphinx and the uncompromising position of the figures might serve to illustrate the story of the three old women in the Ecclesiastusae, or else the Vampire of Rudyard Kipling. Originally the Sphinx was overcome by heroic methods, with heroic weapons. The Sphinx of the riddle was later. The poetical form of the enigma is traceable to an epic poem, some Oidipodeia or Thebais. It cannot be older than the age when the riddle poetry was at its highest. The answer to the riddle is the guesser himself. It is as Robert says a coarser and more concrete form of <the heaven descended> γνῶθι σαυτόν.

The benevolent rule of the Code Napoléon: 'la recherche de la paternité est interdite'—much regretted in the former Kingdom of Westphalia when I was a student at Göttingen—this benevolent rule is reversed when we come to those who, like Robert, have to deal with mythology. Nothing is allowed to stand and, of course, the Sophoklean genealogy of Oidipus is wholly rejected. Laïos and Oidipus were foreign intruders. They are neither Labdakidai nor Kadmeians; nor was Laïos (which is being interpreted Publius) the father of Oidipus. Publius, by the way, is Wilamowitz's interpretation. To me

Laïos seems to belong rather to the stone age, one of the λίθων γόνος of Deukalion and Pyrrha. Λαοὶ δ' ὀνύμασθεν Pind. O. 9, 50. The names, however, do not matter much when Oidipus ceases to be a chthonic god. The story that he killed his father and married his mother had to be provided for in some way—and the readiest shift was the exposure business familiar to the legends of every country from Moses in the bulrushes down. The Spartans had their Taygetos, as the Thebans their Kithairon. Every child knows of the Babes in the Wood. Every modern policeman is familiar with the front doorstep and the vacant lot. But the Kithairon version has a rival in the boat version. And how common the boat version is we all know, and, if we do not know, there is Usener's Sintfluthsagen to tell us, and, if we accept the further story of Polybus, King of Corinth or Sikyon, as an adoptive father of Oidipus, water carriage makes lighter draughts upon the constructive imagination than land carriage. But either is easier, anything is easier, than the next question, the meeting of father and son, where they met, how they met. This topographical study with ample and fresh illustrations takes up page after page, is complicated with the question whether Laïos was in a chariot and Oidipus on foot or both in chariots, and still further complicated by the Delphic influence which sought to contravene the local tradition to the greater glory of the oracular shrine. For me at least a summary is impossible. Why did Oidipus set out? One tradition has it ἐπὶ ζήτησιν ἵππων. The hunt for cattle, for horses, is a familiar *motif*. Saul, the son of Kish, offers a curious parallel, kingdom and all. Or was it ἐπιζητῶν τοὺς γονέας? If so, how were his suspicions aroused? The queer story that Oidipus went to Delphi ἵνα τὰ τροφεία ἀποδιδῷ τῇ Ἀπόλλωνι is evidently a Delphic fabrication. Everywhere we find traces of tampering with a strictly local legend in which Teiresias was the head centre of prophecy—a thesis of Schneidewin's. The Märchen is there and Robert tells it in a Grimmerque fashion which reminds one of Dr. Arnold's attempt to reproduce in fairy-tale form the legends of Ancient Rome, legends made up in good part by those lying rascals, the Greeks. Then comes the 'Heldenlied' which, after the manner of the 'Heldenlied', takes up a chapter of the story at a time, and the reader's mind wanders off to Robert's Studien zur Ilias and Bethe's new book. But the point is that there is no epic form of the oracle delivered to Oidipus and we have to fall back on the tragic poets and the mythographers. It is this oracle that has given all the trouble. Of the various versions Sophokles has chosen the best. The oracle was a prediction, not a warning, whereas the oracle to Laïos was a distinct warning. <But what is an oracle for except to give counsel?> So we

come back to the original fraud of the Delphic priests who must needs take away the glory of the genuine old Boeotian seer, Teiresias, and have woven a tangled web that, according to Robert, not even Sophokles has been able to straighten out, so that the Sophoklean story of Oidipus is full of improbabilities and contradictions—not a perfect chrysolite. The story of Oidipus as reconstructed, from Homer, from Hesiod, from fragments of old epic poetry is far different from the tragic knot tied by the dramatists. The scholia to the *Nékyia* 275 go so far as to say *ἀγνοεῖ <ὁ ποιητής> τὴν τύφλωσιν καὶ τὴν φυγὴν τοῦ Οἰδίποδος*. Take away the blinding and the exile and one is tempted to say with the Aristophanic Euripides, *ἀπολείς μ' ἰδοῦ σοι φρουδὰ μοι τὰ δράματα*. But Robert thinks that the exile is established beyond a doubt and the blinding may well be included among the *ἄλγεα* left to Oidipus by the Homeric Epikaste.

However that may be, the two figures that change the whole situation are post-epic. By the introduction of Eteokles and Polyneikes, the legend is 'heroized'. Eteokles is an old name without special significance. The name Polyneikes speaks for itself. It is a growth from the story of the war but the story of the War between Argos and Thebes cannot be a mere 'ash-play' of the fancy. It was one of the many assaults that the mighty Kadmeia had to weather in the Myceno-Cretic period of the second half of the second millennium B. C. Several of these wars had been wrought by the Saga into a great collective picture out of which the Thebais arose, not in Greece proper, but in Ionia. The seven gates were seven successive gates, not seven gates in a continuous wall, <a symbol of the way in which the great war between Argos and Thebes took up into itself all the wars the city of Kadmos was involved in through its long history>. Two of the greatest heroes of the Thebais are not Peloponnesians, to begin with, but were drawn into the conflict by matrimonial alliances, Tydeus and Amphiaraos. Originally they were not vassals or allies of Adrastus. Tydeus is reported to have put Ismene to death because of her intrigue with Theoklymenos for which name we are to read 'Periklymenos'. This he did at the bidding of Athene. It is a sheer impossibility, according to Robert, that this should have taken place during the siege of Thebes by the Seven.

The whole story belongs to a different sphere, the struggle between Athene and Poseidon for the mastery. Periklymenos was the son of Poseidon, an enterprising lover like his father before him. Elsewhere, a plucky warrior, he is represented in a vase-painting as fleeing before Tydeus. The seduction of a priestess is a shameful affair. Tydeus, when his time came, was slain by Melanippos who clearly belongs, as his

name shows, to the Poseidon cycle. The conclusion of the whole matter is this: Favorite of Athene, enemy of the sons of Poseidon, Periklymenos and Melanippos, slain by Melanippos before Thebes, either a bastard or begotten of an incestuous union, a criminal stained with the blood of kindred—such was the figure Tydeus made in the imagination of the poets <a figure not effaced by Diomed, his resplendent son>. A companion in arms to Tydeus was Amphiaraios of Oropos, and according to Robert they made a campaign together against Thebes and were afterwards drawn into the story of the Argive expedition. Amphiaraios and Tydeus had the same foe, Periklymenos. N. 9, 24: ὁ δ' Ἀμφιαρεῖ σχίσσεν κεραυνῷ παμβίῃ | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, | κρύψεν δ' ἄμ' ἵπποις | δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυνθήμεν. Just before we read ἐπὶ τὰ γὰρ δαΐσαντο πυραὶ νεογυίους φῶτας and this is the verse that Robert cites to shew a divergent tradition from that of the famous and much discussed passage O. 6, 15, ἐπὶ δ' ἔπειτα πυρὰν, νεκρῶν τελεσθέντων, where τελεσθέντων has been variously explained, variously emended. Robert follows Schroeder without a wink in reading τελεσθεισῶν a more violent emendation than Van Herwerden's τε δαισθέντων—one of the most ingenious of the many emendations of the Dutch scholar and one which he supported by the δαΐσαντο of N. 9, 24. Robert's procedure is hardly justifiable.

So far I have commented on not more than a sixth of Robert's elaborate study and the end of the space allotted to reviews has been reached. Enough, however, has been written to give some notion of the riches and the scope of the work, more than enough to warrant the abandonment of my original plan. Perhaps in a future number some competent reviewer will make good the shortcomings of these pages. All that remains for me to do here is to add one more Pindaric note.

In the first of the 'Beilagen' Robert agrees with Maltens in maintaining as against Studniczka the connexion between the Aigeidai of Thebes and the Aigeidai of Sparta, and, of course, *more Teutonico*, he betters Maltens' instructions. This makes Pindar an Aigeid (P. 5, 76), a member of a noble race, and protects him against the slurs of Freeman and others, who treat him as simply a 'paid peripatetic puffer of princes'. He is really the proud Aigeid, as Wilamowitz justly called him years ago, the man who did not hesitate to call the great Hieron 'friend' (P. 1, 92).

B. L. G.

Aegean Archaeology. An Introduction to the Archaeology of Prehistoric Greece. Pp. XXI+270. By H. R. HALL. G. P. Putnam's Sons: New York, 1915.

Several good general books about Crete have appeared in English in recent years, such as Mosso, *Palaces of Crete and Their Builders*; Boyd-Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece*; Baikie, *Sea-Kings of Crete*; and especially Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*. The first three are too popular and the last gives too much attention to Egyptian chronology and is sadly lacking in illustrations. Hall's new book fills a long-felt want and is the best account in English of Aegean Archaeology and especially of the excavations in Crete. There are excellent articles by Evans and Hogarth on Crete and Aegean Civilization in the last edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and on Aegean Religion in Hastings' *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*; but Mr. Hall gives succinctly a general survey of all the remains of the ancient Aegean (Minoan and Mycenaean) civilization of prehistoric Greece in the Bronze Age, not only in the islands but on the mainland. The book begins with a general introduction explaining the scope of the work and describes in chapter II the excavations which have been revealing this great civilization, from the time of Schliemann to that of Evans and other modern investigators. Then in the following chapters are sketched the results of the excavations, the works in stone and metal, the development of the beautiful pottery, the architecture of the towns such as Gournia and Pseira, of the houses, of the palaces such as Knossos, Phaistos, and Hagia Triada, of the fortresses, roads, etc. Then follows an account of the temples and tombs and a discussion of the decoration of the buildings with frescoes and sculpture and a survey of the smaller art. In chapter VIII the method of writing and the system of weights and measures are treated at length. In chapter IX costume, armor, weapons and tools, ships, domestic animals, etc. are the subjects. The matter of the volume is mainly artistic and cultural and one important feature is the excellent illustrations (33 plates, 112 figures, and one map) which make the volume of more value and interest than Burrows. Many of the familiar illustrations, such as the Tiryns bull fresco, are omitted but the latest finds at Knossos, Phaistos, Hagia Triada, and even at Tylissos (such as the Rodinesque bronze statuette of a praying man), Goulas, and Tiryns are reproduced. We have the recently discovered frescoes of the hunt, of chariots, and of the boar hunt from Tiryns; but we miss the beautiful and important fresco from Knossos representing boy and girl toreadors doing acrobatic feats over the back of a bull. We miss the beautiful steatite bull's head from Knossos, of which one sees reproductions in America at Johns Hopkins, at the Metropolitan Museum in

New York, and elsewhere. We miss Karo's restoration of the Harvesters' Vase. We have on pl. XIX the bronze praying woman in Berlin but unfortunately the wonderful chryselephantine snake goddess in Boston was published too late to be included in the present work.

Another excellence of the book is that it is written by a scholar who is assistant in the Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum and who is so thoroughly familiar with Egypt and its Aegean connections that he can give the proper perspective to Aegean Archaeology. Mr. Hall has already won a high seat as an authority on matters Minoan and Mycenaean by his *Oldest Civilization of Greece* and by his recent book *Ancient History of the Near East* (1913) which should be read to supplement the Aegean Archaeology by all who are interested in the history and ethnology of the early Aegeans.

The book shows a thorough digestion of all the literature of the subject. The only titles I miss are Lichtenberg's excellent little book, *Die Aegäische Kultur*, Leaf's *Troy*, and Deonna's interesting monograph on the toilet of Minoan ladies. In general on debated points Mr. Hall takes the right point of view. However the violin-like and other marble island figures (pl. XIV) are scarcely meant to represent the dead (p. 25) but are probably idols. Some will doubt that the Lion Gate at Mycenae was made by Cretans and that Tiryns and Mycenae were actually built by Cretans, though no one will now deny Cretan influence; because in Crete there are no great walls like those of Tiryns and Mycenae.

Mistakes are few. Mycenae was destroyed in 468, not 456 B. C. (p. 9) and parts of the missing pillars from the Treasury of Atreus are in Athens as well as in the British Museum (p. 15). P. 32, read westward for eastward; p. 33 pl. XV, 2 for 3. P. 36, some of the Gournia vases are in America. P. 57, the position of the net in which the bull is caught on the Vaphio cups shows that the top as well as the bottom of the cups is thought of as the ground and that "the ragged clouds of a Cretan sky" are due to Mr. Hall's imagination. There are several bad mistakes in Greek accent such as (p. XI) *Ἐφήμερις*, (p. 143) *βασιλικούς*, (p. 263) *Ἀκροπολεῖς*, etc. Misprints occur but not frequently and the last sentence on p. 179 has no proper syntax.

In short Hall's Aegean Archaeology is the best book on the subject in English, though attention should be called to the superior work of Dussaud, *Les Civilisations Préhelléniques dans le Bassin de la Mer Egée* (2d edition 1914).

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REPORTS.

HERMES XLVI.

Fascicle 1.

Der Katalog der varronischen Schriften (1-17). A. Klotz shows that the catalogue of Varro's works (cf. Ritschl, Opusc. III), used by Jerome for comparison with the literary productivity of Origen, included all the works of Varro up to the time when he wrote the introduction to his *Imagines*; for the seventy hebdomads of books, there mentioned (cf. A. Gell. III 10, 17), give exactly the number of books in the catalogue, if we adhere to the MSS. Ritschl made the number 520 by conjecture. At that time Varro had entered upon his twelfth hebdomad. The catalogue includes the *libri rer. rust.*, which he wrote in his eightieth year (ibid. I, I, I). Hence he could not have written another hundred books in the last decade of his life as Ritschl assumed. Jerome says: *vix medium descripsi indicem*, which cannot apply to the number of books, needed for comparison; but to the condensation of titles (cf. the collective titles: no. 23, singulares X; no. 4, λογιστορικῶν LXXVI). A neat solution of the first title (XLV libros Antiquitatum) is obtained by adding the four books *de gente populi Romani* to the XVI lib. rerum divin., and the XXV lib. rer. human. (cf. Aug. de civ. dei 6, 3).

Kyprische und palästinensisch-arabische Flächenmasse zur Zeit der römischen Herrschaft (18-32). O. Viedebantt discusses the ἀρουρα passage of Epiphanius (cf. Symmikka II, p. 200), adds a few conjectures, and determines the relative values of the Cyprian and Palestino-Arabic land measures. Then with the aid of Epiphanius he elucidates a fragment, which Hultsch (cf. Metrolog., p. 599-601) misunderstood. This includes a different system of measurement, which probably some tax gatherer added to the table of measures that he was using. The numerous details supplement and correct Hultsch's Metrologie.

Zur Ueberlieferung der ῥητορικὴ πρὸς Ἀλέξανδρον (33-56). K. Wilke compares the MSS of this work with papyrus II (cf. Hibeh pap. I 114 f. and Berl. Phil. W. 1906, p. 1416 f.), showing that the latter (date 285-250 B. C.), in spite of some flaws, offers a valuable criterion. Wendland's assumption of a revised text in the MSS is proved, as f. i., in the change of εἰς ἡβήσωσι (II) to the Hellenistic εἰς ἡβης; but on the whole

the original text, apart from careless errors, has been preserved. Wilke reduces the extent of a lacuna (Spengel, Fuhr), and, further, presents a collation of class b (the inferior MSS), which should not be neglected in a future revision of the text, where II is not available.

Beiträge zum Text ciceronischer Reden (57-69). K. Busche supplements and corrects Halm's apparatus cr. to the Sullana. Halm underestimated V, which has indeed more errors than T; but they are mostly due to copying, whereas T contains wilful changes. Where T and V differ in word order, sometimes the one, sometimes the other is in better accord with usage and the laws of rhythm (cf. Zielinski). B. also offers a few emendations with interesting arguments: pro Muren. 13, <cumulatarum> deliciarum, for multarum d.; pro Muren. 49, cum spe <sui similiū> for cum spe militum; de leg. agr. II 93, quibus primus <adventus> for qu. pr. annus.

Die Composition des xenophontischen Kynegetikos (70-92). J. Mehwaldt objects to Pierleoni's following the shorter (A) version of the proem, as the longer one of class O is evidently also by the same late rhetorical editor. A similar proem in Ps.-Galen (Kühn XIV 674) supports Norden's attribution of the proem to the New Sophistic. The original introduction begins I 18, which resembles those in the de re equ., the Memorabilia and the Hipparchicus. An analysis of the ch. II-XI, shows, on the whole, a sensible exposition. The epilogue ch. XII/XIII is anticipated. Chapters VII and VIII are notes on the foregoing parts, just as we find in ch. VII and VIII of the Hipparch. (cf. de re equ., ch. IX). The matter of fact style is similar to that of Simon's treatise on horses (cf. Rh. M. 51, p. 67-69), which Xen. quotes (De re equ.), and may be a product of Xenophon's youth (say 402 B. C.). Radermacher's proof of spuriousness, based on style, is unconvincing, besides there are agreements with Xenophon's later more polished style. Horses were out of place in this kind of hunting, and the distinction between a φιλόσοφος and a σοφιστής (ch. XIII 6 f.) is intelligible in this work of the young Socratic scholar and need not be due to Plato. In XII, 18 ὡν ἐπεμνήσθη is an interpolation.

Inhaltsangabe und Kapitelüberschrift im antiken Buch (93-107). H. Mutschmann shows that just as the mechanical book divisions of Alexandrine scholars suggested the book as a literary unit, which we see definitely established in Polybius, so the mechanical device of writing κεφάλαια over the columns of learned volumina developed into the organic sense divisions, i. e. chapters, as we find on both sides of the Didymus papyrus (Berl. Kl.-Texte I). Laqueur (Hermes XLIII, p. 220; cf. A. J. P. XXXII 465) mistakes these κεφάλαια for

aufgelöste Kapitulationen. Then followed the collection of such κεφάλαια (συγκεφαλαίωσις), prefixed to each book as a table of contents, which, occurring as early as the Roman empire, or even a century earlier, afforded a convenient source to later compilers.

Die Composition und Quelle von Ciceros I. Buch der Gesetze (108-143). A. Laudien shows by a detailed analysis of de leg. I, enough coherence of thought to forbid the elimination of any part (cf. Schmekel, Die Philos. d. mittl. Stoa, p. 47 ff.). The lack of systematic development is due to Cicero's stringing together passages from a work on ethics, which had a psychological introduction. The plan of the book is contained in the epilogue (57-63), as revealed by a comparison. Cicero himself introduced ch. 6. The source, be it Antiochus or Posidonius, gave an extract from Panaetius. There is a striking agreement with passages of the de Off., which were not considered by Schmekel, who, however, recognized Panaetius as the ultimate source.

Die Scene der Perikeiromene 164-216 (144-153). S. Sudhaus gives the text of the Perik., vv. 164-216, which, if not in every case the ipsa verba Men., may be regarded as substantially correct. The completion of vv. 176-216 was made possible by C. Jensen's collation of the Cairo pap. Various questions are discussed and credit given in particular to Leo's emendations.

Miscellen: Hiller v. Gaertringen (154-156) discusses a Thessalian altar inscription (IV cent.): Δὺς Θαυλίου, and identifies it with Ζεὺς Πολλεύς (cf. Paus. I 24, 4, and Hesych., θαύλια, θαυλωνίδαι, θαῦμος ἢ θαῦλος). Θαύλων 'the killer' may perhaps be connected with Gothic *daups* (Bechtel).—Dessau (156-160) identifies Demetrius, the γραμματικός, whom Plutarch represents as just returned from Britain, in the archonship of Kallistratus, 83/4 A. D. (cf. Pauly-W. IV 2596), with the Demetrius inscribed on the two votive tablets found at York over fifty years ago, the region conquered by Agricola (77-84 A. D.), and draws interesting conclusions. The identification by C. W. King (Arch. Jour. XXXIX 1882, p. 23 f.) has been overlooked.

Fascicle II.

Ephorus. I. Die Proömien (161-206). R. Laqueur makes the simple form of the proems in Diodorus I^b, II, III, and the subsequent rhetorical proems the basis of a general discussion of the manner in which the historians: Polybius, Dionysius of Hal., Josephus, Eusebius, Livy, etc., treated the individual book, or larger sections of their work, and converges his testimony to show that Diodorus was under the influence of

Ephorus, the pupil of Isocrates, from book IV on (cf. Diod. XVI, 76, 5). The *προγραφαί* and *προεκθέσεις* of Polybius XI, 1 are functionally alike but stylistically different; the latter, woven into the text at the beginning of each new Olympiad, have been preserved in IX, XI and XIV, the *προγραφαί*, outwardly prefixed to the first six books, are no longer extant. He hopes to reach an agreement with Mutschmann (see above).

Noch einmal die mittelalterliche Ptolemaios-Uebersetzung (207-216). J. L. Heiberg warmly commends the account in Harvard Stud. in Cl. Phil. XXI, p. 75 f. of a Vatican MS (S. XIII-XIV), containing a Latin translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest*, and adds a supplement to his discussion of the same version in a Florentine MS (cf. A. J. P. XXXV, p. 222). The translator's preface, preserved in the Vatic. MS, throws a flood of light on the MS tradition. The beautiful Greek MS Marc. 313 (s. X), was acquired in Constantinople 1158 B. C. by Aristippus, the ambassador of William I, king of Sicily, to Manuel I Comnenus. A student of medicine in Salerno (anonymous), hearing of this, obtained a Greek copy from Aristippus, and having prepared himself by translating Euclid's *optica*, etc., then made a Latin version (about 1160 A. D.), which shows improvements that are probably due to Eugenius, a learned Greek mentioned in the preface. This was the source of the above Vat. and Flor. MSS, whereas it can only be said of the Greek MS Marc. 311 (1300 A. D.) that it shows kinship with the above inferred Greek copy of Marc. 313. The opposition of the theologians to the study of astronomy, and to the quadrivium in general, is revealed. Heiberg also considers the later history of the above MSS, and gives extracts from a different Latin version in Dresden (Db 87).

Archäologische Nachlese (217-253). XX (cf. A. J. P. XXIII, 336). C. Robert bases a detailed discussion of the Pergamene altar frieze on the admirable publication of H. Winnefeld, and derives the gigantomachy wholly from Hesiod and Aratus. He identifies Nereus, Doris, etc., and with them Hephaestus; again Dionysus, Silenus (cf. Eur. Cycl. 5 f.), Rhea, etc. Opposite Rhea was Oceanus with a hammer (cf. Etym. Magn. Ἀκμων = Ὠκεανός). Twelve constellations were represented: Orion, Virgo, Ophiuchus, Callisto (the most beautiful figure), etc. He estimates four slabs, at least, for Heracles on the east side.—XXI. The elaborate scene on the sarcophagus slab, imbedded in the wall of the Sala del Meleagro of the Vatican, represents Ostia with its temples of Magna Mater, and Isis, theater, lighthouse, etc., and symbolizes the city in the woman resting on the knee of Ora Maritima. The youth pouring wine represents the portus Augusti, built by Claudius and enlarged by Trajan.

Zur Geographie der unteren Kaikos-Ebene in Kleinasien (254-260). A. Philippson adduces geological reasoning against Dörpfeld's view (Athen. Mittheil. XXXV, p. 395-399), that in Strabo's day the gulf of Elaea lay north of Mt. Cane. Strabo, it is true, places Elaea north of Cane in XIII, 1, 51 (607); but XIII, 622 (not cited by D.) is correct. The confusion in XIII, 581-622, is due to the use of different sources. Strabo also wrongly places Pitane near the river Euenus.

Hippokratische Forschungen (261-285). II De Victu (cf. A. J. P. XXXV, p. 222/3). H. Diels presents textual notes and emendations to *περὶ διαίτης* I, 1-24, with the aid of a photogr. copy (white on black) of Vindobonensis (Θ), and a copy of P (Paris. lat. 7027), citing for the first two chapters etc. Hermes XLV, p. 138-150; for the rest his Heraclitus (² Berlin, 1909). Although D. had distrusted the Latin translation (cf. A. J. P. XXXV, 223), he found it useful (cf. Heiberg, A. J. P. XXVI, 227). The predominance of unassimilated forms in Θ, like *συνγράφειν*, shows the older orthography, which occasionally appears in M, though here the usual Byzantine assimilation prevails. Traces of erasures (cf. τὸ θεῷ (= τῷ θεῷ) for τοῖσι θεοῖσι) reveals the work of a Christian corrector; the same zeal appears in P. Occasionally Ionic forms, which were usually displaced by the koine, may be recovered; viz., the rarely preserved *ἐπειτεν* in *ἐπειτεν ἀμβεῖ*, not altered because read as *ἐπειτ' ἐναμείβει*. The Latin translation is often indecisive, or incorrect; viz., *optime sciens* for *εὐφρόνη*, read as *εὐφρόνει*.—III De Flatibus. D. continues with valuable notes, showing the influence of rhetoric, and seeks to recover original forms and words.

Zeus Thaulios (286-291). F. Solmsen connects *θαύλιος* (see above), with the Lydo-Phrygian name Kandaulas, citing Hipponax's verse: *Ἐρμῇ κύναγχα, Μημονιστὶ Κανδαῦλα* (κυν=καν). Hence the priest who officiated at the *βουφόνια* (cf. Suidas, *θαύλων, βουφόνια*) preserved in his title *Θαύλων* (= throttler) a trace of the method of sacrifice practised in the stone age. The *θαυλωνίδαι* are to be classed with the *Κήρυκες, Βουζύγαι*, etc.

Miscellen: Fr. Leo (292-295) interprets Plautus Bacchid. v. 107 in the light of Menander and Alexis, suggesting *coetu hominum* for *nescio qui*. Plautus closed this first act, only partially preserved, with the entrance of a *κῶμος*. Verse 108 is a later addition. Fr. Leo (295-296) presents readings for the text of Persius and Juvenal, furnished by E. Schwartz from Montepessulanus 125.—G. Plaumann (296-300) defends his thesis that the cult of Ptolemy I in Ptolemais as *Θεὸς Σωτήρ* existed as a city cult down to Roman times against W. Otto (cf. A. J. P. XXXV 486/7, 490).—O. Kern (300-303) discusses *ιεροί* and *ιεραί* (not priests), frequently mentioned in

inscriptions, especially those dealing with mystic and chthonic cults.—O. Kern (304–305) restores inscription no. 8 in Oester. Jahresh. XIII, 1910, p. 45 [καὶ Ἰάσφ κτλ. (cf. Paus. V 7, 6; 14, 7; IX 27, 8), thus gaining evidence for the worship of one of the Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι at Erythrae.—Ch. Huelsen (305–308) denies the existence of a curia Tifata in ancient Rome (cf. Paulus-Festus, p. 49; 366); instead there were two tifata (= iliceta): t. Curia and t. Mancina.—D. Detlefsen (309–311) conjectures for Σιγούλωνες, inhabitants of the Cimbric Chersonese (cf. Ptolemy 2, 11, 7), Γουίωνες (cf. Pliny 37, 35).—Fr. Leo (311–312) offers emendations to Menander's Samia.—K. Meiser (312–313) now adopts Lundström's καθαίρων for καθαιρών in Förster's ed. of Libanius I, p. 7 (cf. A. J. P. XXXV, p. 487 end), supported by καθελών in Plut. Moral., p. 734 F.—Ed. Luigi De Stefani (313–315) shows Tzetzes' dependence on Aelian for anecdotes of eagles. Phylarchus is cited only in Ael. hist. anim. VI, 29.—K. Praechter (316–317) rejects Busse's ὄρεξον for βρέξον in David Prolegomena (Comment. in Aristot. XVIII, 2), p. 34, 6 ff., and proposes οἱ περικρατητικοί for οἱ Περιπατητικοί.—K. Praechter (317–318) advocates placing ἐν Ἀθήναις (with or without brackets) in Marcel. vit. Thuc. 3, after the second occurrence of ἐφ' οὗ ἄρχοντος. The use of these words as catch-words caused the dittography.—P. Jacobs-thal (318–320) presents an improved text of the epigram Kaibel epigr. graeca e lap. coll. 430, with a commentary by J. Partsch.

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GLOTTA, Volume V. 1913–14.

Pp. 1–8. W. Havers, Zum Gebrauch des Dativs in den italischen Dialekten. The 'dativus sympatheticus' (e. g. *inuk ereçlu umtu, putrespe erus*, 'dann soll er beiden Gottheiten den Altar salben', = 'den Altar beider Gottheiten') and the 'purely adnominal dative' (e. g. *appei arfertur Aliersir poplom andersafust*, 'ubi flamen Atiediis populum lustraverit'), in both of which the dative is substituted for the genitive, or rather may vary with it, are rare constructions in the Italic dialects as we know them. But on the basis of the Latin evidence we must assume that they were common in primitive Italic; the restricted sphere of the Oscan and Umbrian monuments is responsible for their rarity therein.

Pp. 8–47. K. Witte, Ueber die Kasusausgänge -οιο und -οο, -οισι und -οις, -ησι und -ης im griechischen Epos. This is another of Witte's searching and illuminating studies in the interrelation of Homeric forms and meter, which have en-

riched every volume of Glotta so far. The entire article should be read and studied in order to be appreciated.—Forms in *-ov*, instead of older (and in the Epic normal) *-oio*, occur *only* (1) when *-oio* forms are metrically impossible, or (2) in verses or phrases formed after other rhythmic patterns. 'A third possibility does not exist'. The prosodic values of different forms determine the relative frequency of the two endings. Thus the *-oio* forms are prime favorites from choriambic nominatives ($-\cup\cup\cup$), also from nominatives scanning $-\cup\cup$, and $\cup\cup\cup$, while *-ov* predominates from nominatives scanning $\cup-\cup$, $-\cup$, and $\cup\cup$. In all these cases, however, the rule holds equally good that the *-ov* forms are always based on imitation in some way or other. Either (a) verses containing them are modeled upon other, older, verses—even though in a very few cases Witte confesses his present inability to point out the model verse; or (b) the *-ov* forms are due to the fact that other cases of the same stem regularly occur in particular parts of the hexameter, where forms in *-oio* would be difficult or impossible; or (c) they are due to the more general tendency to make all forms of the same paradigm metrically equivalent, so far as possible—a principle of Homeric diction upon which W. lays great stress, and which is only a logical development from (b). (Cf. below, next article.) Generally speaking, the same principles are involved in the use of *-ois* for *-oioi* and *-ys* for *-yoi*; only that in these cases the younger, or at least popular rather than epic, forms in *-ois* and *-ys* are very much rarer than the *-ov* forms. In fact, a very large majority of the forms traditionally written with endings *-ois* and *-ys* occur before initial vowels, and should in Witte's opinion be written *-oioσ'* and *-yoiσ'*, i. e. *-oioi* and *-yoi* with elided final *ι*. The prosodic construction of words determines here also the relative frequency of the endings; Witte shows that *-ois* and *-ys* are commonest, or, as he says, came into use in the epic first, with words whose nominatives scan $\cup-\cup$, and are rarest (latest, as he says) with those scanning $-\cup\cup\cup$.—Witte's general rule, of which the facts in this particular case are only one illustration, is as follows: 'New forms (that is, poetic new creations or forms of the popular language) were introduced into the Greek epic solely because of metrical necessity or on the analogy of particular models'. Again, a still broader formulation: 'The language of the Greek epic is a creature (*Gebilde*) of the epic verse. It (the verse) dictated the linguistic forms. For every Homeric word-form it is possible to determine the reasons why precisely it, and not any differently fashioned or synonymous formation, is used. . . . It is our duty to discover these laws'. Compare also the following.

Pp. 48–57. K. Witte, *Zur Frage der Aeolismen bei Homer*.

The gradual supplanting of inherited Aeolic forms in the epic diction by neologisms, and particularly by popular Ionicisms, is illustrated by the supplanting of old dative forms in *-εσσι* by newer forms in simple *-σι*. These latter are introduced owing to considerations connected with Homeric verse-construction, just as in the cases treated in the preceding article; here, however, the newer, Ionic forms in *-σι* have gone far towards driving out their rivals. The change is again due largely to the above-mentioned tendency to make forms within the same paradigm metrically equivalent; the ending *-εσσι* is generally a syllable longer than the corresponding nominative, genitive and accusative forms, while the dative in *-σι* is not. In general 'where double-forms exist side by side in Homer, those which fit (prosodically, in the manner just illustrated) into a paradigm are very commonly the younger forms'.

Pp. 57-79. W. Aly, Lexicalische Streifzüge.—I. Ἀρέθουσα, 'die Gefällige'.—2. σημάτων.—3. θυμέλη, originally 'Tummelplatz' (not 'Räucherplatz').—4. Εὐρώπη, not connected with εὐρυ-σπ-, but with εὐρώς 'moisture, mould' and the like.—5. Φοίνξ.

Pp. 79-98. W. A. Baehrens, Vermischtes über lateinischen Sprachgebrauch. (Continued from Glotta IV. 266 ff.).—X. Indicativus pro Imperativo. Occurs occasionally in Latin, even without a preceding imperative.—XI. *qui(s)* = *quidam*.—XII. *omnia* = *omnino*; oldest example Lucr. II. 456.—XIII. Einiges über die Konjunction *quod*. *Quod* is used in early and late Latinity in the sense of *quasi*, of consecutive *ut*, of *ut* 'as', and of temporal *cum*.—XIV. Ueber *quoque* = *que* (oder *autem*). Frequent from the 1st century A. D.—XV. Abwechslung von Superlativ und Positiv.—XVI. Ellipse von *tempus* (with *prius*, *superius*, *vetus*).—XVII. *libertas* = *liberalitas* (as early as Valerius Maximus).—XVIII. *ire*: 'sterben' (poetic and popular).

Pp. 99-170. M. Lambertz, Zur Ausbreitung des Supernomen oder Signum im römischen Reiche: II. (Continued from Glotta IV. 78 ff.). This article enumerates and discusses in great detail the *signa* found in Greco-Roman times in Egypt, Syria and Asia Minor. L. summarizes the results of his investigations as to this method of nomenclature as follows: 'The origin of the Greco-Roman usage of double names is found in a very ancient Egyptian usage (starting from the habit of putting a person under the protection of two gods, by giving him both their names). After the foundation of the Hellenistic empire there appears, first of all in Egypt, a new motive, namely the anxiety of the natives to assimilate themselves even in name to the ruling nationality (so that an Egyptian would assume a second, Greek name).

This anxiety is also responsible for the fact that this style of nomenclature proved convenient and became widespread in other bilingual Hellenistic countries. It became common first in Syria, then in Asia Minor. About the beginning of the empire it spread from the east through Greece and Rome to the western limits of the Roman dominion; as it increased in popularity it lost to a large extent its original significance and became a mere fashion. In the west it acquired from the 2d century A. D. the new function of distinguishing the name commonly used as a person's appellative from the often numerous other parts of his formal and official designation. The custom lasts in the west as long as our inscriptions last; instances are found in post-Gothic times. In the east likewise they are traceable in inscriptions and papyri to the 7th century, and in Byzantine historians to the 10th, about which time we find the *supernomina* or *signa* developing into family-names'. A separate index to the *signa*, etc., recorded by Lambertz is furnished by Ottenjann on pp. 389 ff. of this same volume.

Pp. 170-190. A. Buturas, Ueber den irrationalen Nasal im Griechischen. An attempt to enumerate all the cases of the insertion of historically unjustified nasals in Modern Greek (both literary language and dialects). The author's thesis is that the phenomenon is a 'spontaneous development', meaning that no single law, or small group of laws, will account for all the cases.

Pp. 191-2. O. Probst, *Acrudus*. Cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. s. v. The sole occurrence of the word, *acrudo*, is a corruption of *acra nuda*.

Pp. 193-7. E. Schwyzer, Zur griechischen Laut- und Wortbildungslehre. 1. *ἔρνος* (beside *ἔρνος*).—2. *κρόμμυον*.—3. *ἄδεια*, *ἐκδεια*, *ἐνδεια*.—4. *γεννᾶν*.—5. *περσύας*; for **περυσύας*, for **περισύας* or **περυσίας*.—6. *ἐκατόν*; the disappearance of the *ν* of **ἐν-κατόν* is due to dissimilation.—7. *λεβηρίς*: τὸ λέπος τοῦ κνάμον *εχυνίαε*, *pellis deposita*. (Cf. *τριετηρίς*.)—8. *ὀζύς*; for *ὀ-φι-ζύς* (root *sed*).

Pp. 197-202. G. Pasquali, *Οἰκιστήρ*. This is a formation properly foreign to Ionic-Attic. It was an epithet of the founder of Cyrene (Pindar, Hdt., Callimachus).

Pp. 202-208. J. H. Schmalz. Satzbau und Negationen bei Arnobius. A few miscellaneous peculiarities of construction, in part consisting of archaisms.

P. 209. J. H. Schmalz, Synesis oder Schreibfehler? '*Prolatio cupidinis atque irae . . . fuerant . . .*' (Arnobius); not to be emended to *fuerat*; construction according to sense.

Pp. 209-214. J. H. Schmalz, Mischkonstruktionen im Lateinischen. Some miscellaneous but individually interesting

late-Latin blend-idioms; e. g. *quanti valere*, a blend of *quantum valere* with *quanti esse*.

Pp. 214-221. J. Compennass, *Vulgaria*.—1. *Quam* with the comparative instead of *quam* with the superlative.—2. *Ictus oculi* and *instans*=*momentum (temporis)*.—3. *Consultare* and *consulere*.—4. *Fui* 'ich bin gegangen oder gekommen'.—5. *Magis* had come to be a simple adversative conjunction (French *mais*) even in the 5th century, possibly in the 4th.—6. *Sin autem, sin alias* 'otherwise' (also in Classical Latin).—7. *Aut non* for *annon* or *necne*, in double questions.—8. *Vel* 'at least' (just in the same way Vulgar Greek *καὶ* is used).

Pp. 221-237. E. Lattes, *Etrusca*. I. Vi ebbero in etrusco verbi in *-sa* e nomi in *-s* plurali? New arguments in defense of L's affirmative answer to this question, especially in reply to Torp's dissenting opinion.—II. L'accusativo sg. etrusco usci forse in *-m* o *-n*? Answers in the affirmative.—III. Etr. *suthi e lena, -al -ale -aia, aisna hinθu*. Replies to criticisms directed by Herbig, *Glotta* IV. p. 176 ff., against the author's previously exprest views on these words and suffixes.—IV. Ancora di alcune voci etrusche in *-m* o *-n*. Cf. *Glotta* IV. 224 ff.

Pp. 237-249. G. Herbig, *Die faliskische Kasusendung -oi*. 1. Dative auf *-oi*. Enumeration of examples, which seem to make this function of the ending certain.—2. Weibliche Nominative auf *-oi, -o*, griech. *-ωι, -ω*. Apropos of CIE. 8036 ff., containing the forms *titoi* (and *tito*) *mercui*, which H. believes are nominatives feminine, Latin *Tito(i)*Merconia*. He would bring such forms as *Tito(i)* into relation with the Greek nominatives feminine in *-ω(-ωι)*, that is, old *-ōi* stems. He enumerates traces of the same endings in Latin inscriptions.

Pp. 249-253. G. Herbig, *Zur Mouillierung des l im Vulgärlateinischen*. Contains a small list of inscriptions, from widely different times and places, showing (in H.'s opinion) palatalization of Latin *l*. Perhaps clearest and most interesting is the form *piacet* for *placet*, in an inscription of 101 A. D. from Perrhaebia in Thessaly. H. draws no definite conclusions; he says his materials indicate that the phenomenon arose sporadically at different times and places, sometimes under the influence of pre-Latin local languages.

P. 253. G. Herbig, *Zu Glotta* IV. 168 ff. *Tresivio* should be read for *Trevisio* in the article referred to.

Pp. 253-8. F. Sommer, *Der italische Pronominalstamm eo-*. In Oscan-Umbrian this stem is found only in the nom.-acc. cases, which suggests that the paradigm probably started from one of these forms; this rules out Brugmann's otherwise highly improbable derivation of it from an instrumental singular feminine **eĭā*. Sommer would start with the form

**ei-om* = Skt. *ayam*, an old nominative singular masculine, consisting of **ei* + *-om*, the latter element being analogically taken from the ending of **eġhom*, just like the ending of Sanskrit *tu-am* (*tvam*), *id-am* etc., Oscan *siom*, *tioim*, the last of which is actually used as nom. as well as accus. The form **eiom* (Lat. *eum*, Oscan *ion-c*) came to be used first optionally, and then exclusively, as an accusative, because of its accidental resemblance to other accus. forms in *-om*. After this had happened it was natural to form analogically an accus. fem. **eiām* (*eam*), and finally in Latin all the other cases of the stem *eo-*. Sommer might have mentioned in this connexion, it would seem, the quite analogous Skt. accus. fem. *imām* and the plurals *ime*, *imās*, *imāni* etc., patterned after *imam* (i. e. *im* + *am*, IE. **im-om*), on the analogy of *tām*, *te*, *tās*, *tāni* etc.: *tam*, and the like. The writer agrees with Sommer in regarding Skt. *imam* as IE. **im-om*, not *-em* (as Brugmann, Johannes Schmidt and others have maintained). Sommer's explanation of *eo-* seems at least the most plausible one which has yet been advanced.

Pp. 259-368. Literaturbericht für das Jahr 1911. Greek, by Kretschmer; Italic Dialects and Latin Grammar, by F. Hartmann; Syntax, by W. Kroll.

P. 368. G. H(erbig). Zu Glotta V. 252. An additional note.

Pp. 369-398. Indices, by H. Ottenjann.

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BRIEF MENTION.

For a *commentarius perpetuus* on *Aischylos*, says WILAMOWITZ in his recent edition of the poet (Weidmann), the rest of my life would not suffice, and most assuredly the brief residue of my days would not suffice to utter the thoughts that arise in me as I read the commentary he has written and the volume of interpretations that accompanies it. Thoughts are they that wander into the vastness of the great scholar's achievements, that circle about the long series of my own adventures and misadventures in the society of masterpieces, to allude once more to the famous remark of Anatole France. My first *Aischylos*—I have it still—was a Carl Tauchnitz text of 1829, a pocket edition, neatly printed on strong writing paper—'Ladenpreis 6 groschen'. The word 'groschen' gives me pause. In my student days it was 'groschen' not 'marks'. There is a world of meaning in the change of currency, and late in the eighties, when I found at one of my old haunts on the Rhine that 'zehn Groschen' still held its own by the side of 'eine Mark', my youth came back to me as with a flood. The multiplicity of German coinage which was once a nuisance in practice became in memory a matter of romance. Nothing, in fact, is more significant than coinage. In my boyhood the United States mint was not equal to the demand and Mexican coins were current so that when I was at Gytheion, the port of Sparta, I was able to recognize at once a coin that puzzled a German scholar and a local antiquarian. Even Jacobuses were occasionally seen, and these exotic coins showed forth a certain comradeship in the settlement of the New World. So long as the different states used familiarly different reckonings in shillings and pence, we were colonials. Our standard was the standard of the old country. Far into the fifties Virginia shopkeepers carried their accounts in both standards, eighteen pence in one column, twenty-five cents in another, and we South Carolinians were proud that our seven pence was as good as the York shilling. But what has all this to do with *Aischylos*? Much every way. It might serve, for instance, as an excursus to the passage in the *Agamemnon* that shows *Aischylos* to have been as alive to debasement of the coinage as was *Aristophanes*.

κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον
τρίβη τε καὶ προσβολαῖς
μελαμπαγῆς τέλει

But, what is more to my purpose, it offers a twentieth century solution of the tortoise riddle which WILAMOWITZ shirks. It is perhaps the absurdest of the various absurdities that I have in store to match the other interpretations. The eagle that let the tortoise fall on the bald pate of the great dramatist is the accepted symbol of the poet and the poet's art. The tortoise is the symbol of hard cash and as such figures on the coins of Aigina, the great merchant island. The poet lost money in his venture. The drama had ceased to pay. Epinikian poetry, the poetry of Pindar, was the only remunerative line, and Aischylos was a commercial failure, 'dead broke' when he died. It was out of consideration for the feelings of his family that the men of Gela made no mention of his achievements as a dramatist—a point often noticed, never before properly interpreted.

To come back to my Tauchnitz Aischylos. Like all men of my time, I own a number of these old Tauchnitz editions; and some of them are a joy to me, notably the Aristophanes, by reason of their faulty texts, showing as they do the advance of textual criticism just as the old Variorum editions give evidence of the progress achieved in exegesis. Both may be made to serve as adminicles to the work of the Greek Seminary. The veriest novice can be taught by these old Tauchnitz editions to restore the readings of the best MSS., to correct the false spellings, the bad forms, the abnormal syntax—an encouraging exercise in the art of handling texts. And, if the Tauchnitz Aischylos of 1829 carries me back to the old days, the Weidmann Aischylos of 1913 performs the same office in a different way. WILAMOWITZ, it seems, has a cult for the heroes of the philological past, such as the once overrated and then underrated Heyne, whose reputation suffered such scath in the great Wolfian controversy. Some of these heroes belonged to times within my remembrance. WILAMOWITZ's *Sappho u. Simonides* was dedicated to the memory of Welcker, and this Aischylos of his is dedicated to the memory of Gottfried Hermann. It is better thus. The history of friendships among scholars does not warrant dedications to living men, and one recalls grimly how Boeckh dedicated one of his early works to Gottfried Hermann. Boeckh I knew and have dared to call him my master. Perhaps I have insisted too much on the fact that as a lad of nineteen I sat at his feet for one semester and contemplated his shoe-latchets. But Hermann was dead before I went to Germany, died in the great year 1848, the beginning of an era. His personality was still felt in my time, his power is still felt, as WILAMOWITZ testifies. In

my meagre library of those far-off days, Hermann had a large place with his *Elementa doctrinae metricae*, his edition of Sophokles, his bulky *Ad Vigerum*. When his posthumous Aischylos came out, I possessed myself of it at once as I had possessed myself of Lachmann's Lucretius. Such books were epochs in the life of a young scholar. At a later day I have known one man to date by WILAMOWITZ's *Analecta*, more to date by the Herakles. Wonders were expected of Hermann's Aischylos. There were, it is true, disillusionments, but at that period I had no personal right to disillusionment and my wrath was kindled by unfavorable comments, especially by those that emanated from English sources, to which at that time of my life my attitude was distinctly hostile, as is abundantly shown by my maiden review article, *The Necessity of the Classics*, published in 1854. Our German teachers had given us to understand that with the exception of the greatest Britons, such as Bentley and Porson and Dobree—a Channel Islander, by the way—English scholars were a lot of amateurs; and I can recall Boeckh's sarcastic comments on current English performances. Of Paley's editions, for instance, he spoke with a certain degree of allowance, as possibly useful for the youngsters of Oxford (Oxford) and Cambridge (Kämpfritsch) and I am afraid that I have never overcome my prejudice against Paley (Pallai) in spite of my sincere admiration of the sacrifices he made for his faith. Yes. The English were amateurs all, and in a recent memorable article on German 'Kultur' Gilbert Murray has confessed judgment.

Imagine, then, my indignation when I saw that one George Burges had dared to append to the Bohn translation of Aischylos by Buckley, a series of animadversions on the emendations proposed by Hermann—Burges, of whom my beloved teacher, Schneidewin had written in the preface to his Babrius: *Per rabiem quid effici possit, non sivit inexpertum G. Burgessius (sic) cuius θυρσομανείς bacchationes exhibent Acta Phil. Parisina*. That did for Burges in my youthful eyes. 'Fort mit Schaden'. And I look with amusement at the pencilled notes with which I accompanied Burges's criticisms. For λέξεται Ag. 160: οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὧν Hermann proposed οὐ λελέξεται, whereupon Burges remarked: 'However, he neglects to shew that λελέξεται is used as a fut. pass. as well as λέξεται'. As the passive use is the prevalent use for the tense that our grandfathers called the paulo post futurum, this is a grammatical 'howler' of the first order, or if you choose, of the loudest gray, and I wrote on the margin, Plato, Rpb. 5, 457 B: κάλλιστα γὰρ δὴ τοῦτο καὶ λέγεται καὶ λελέξεται ὅτι τὸ μὲν ὠφέλιμον

καλόν, τὸ δὲ βλαβερὸν αἰσχρόν. To be sure, WILAMOWITZ does not accept λελέζεται and refuses to consider Hesychios' gloss: λελέζεται· λεχθήσεται, as a reference to this passage, but surely we can dispense with Hesychios in a matter of this sort. λελέζεται is old fashioned for εἰρήσεται, the most common example of the future perfect, and the sense seems perfect, 'will have no abiding mention'. It might be worth while to compare Burges's views at other points with those of WILAMOWITZ, but I cannot take it upon me to decide whether the verse of Aischylos will apply to him: οὐ λελέζεται πρὶν ὧν.

Now while it is true that 'howlers' have all nations for their own, still grammatical 'howlers' are among the pet sins of the English, whereas metrical 'howlers' seem to flourish especially on German soil—a failing emphasized by Gilbert Murray in the article to which I have just referred, a failing generally attributed by English scholars, among them the aforesaid Paley, to the neglect of practice in versemaking. Of both sorts the Journal has recorded instances not a few—but as this *Brief Mention* is written far from the checks and balances of the back volumes of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY, the reader will be spared what a critic has called my ugly parentheses.

Apropos of versification I have elsewhere recorded my boyish enthusiasm for the lyric measures of the Greek tragic poets, first roused by Franz's recitation of the opening chorus of the Septem so that WILAMOWITZ's treatment of the metres of Aischylos wakes a long series of memories from the time when I studied metres under Von Leutsch in Göttingen, and Leopold Schmidt in Bonn, through the years when in my work as a teacher, I availed myself of the metrical schemes of Dindorf, through the years when I was led away captive by the Rossbach-Westphal-Schmidt theories down to the unhappy present when I am distracted by all the new doctrines and cast down by the revival of all the metrical authorities of later antiquity, authorities I had once fancied dead and buried. And yet, though I am under the ban of both metrical schools, I might say all metrical schools, I cannot refrain from trying to find something in Greek metres that appeals to my sense of artistic fitness. Syntax means nothing to me unless it means everything, and metre without vibration is naught. Arabic music, I have read, sets the European's teeth on edge. Greek music, such of it as survives, makes a direct appeal to men of Aryan stock, and even when the music is lost,

the verse to which the music was wedded must retain some traces of the original union. It was a blow to me when years ago in his *Commentariolum Metricum* WILAMOWITZ denied all ἤθος to the logaoedic—I beg pardon—Glyconic measures, and I have expressed my gratitude at finding that even in the return to the system of the ancient metricians, one who has been immeshed, if not suckled, in a creed outworn may be made somewhat less forlorn by occasional glimpses of agreement with the ethical results of Professor White's analyses. Of course, under this head no great comfort was to be expected from WILAMOWITZ's *Aischylos*. 'Quod eas sum secutus rationes', he says, 'quas duce Hephaestione et diuturno carminum Graecorum (nec Graecorum tantum) usu veras esse mihi persuasi, ne ei quidem mirabuntur, quibus alias rationes aut musica ars aut arithmetica revelavit. Spero autem eis satisfactum esse qui et veterum grammaticorum et mea scripta norunt'. As in my case both conditions fail, there is nothing left for me but the blackness of darkness and I contemplate the summaries appended to the choruses with profound melancholy. Here is one of the sequences. Dochmiac, spondee, cretic, molossus, paeon, iambi, bacchiac, a jumble, as I once irreverently called it, with no central soul. The names are only too familiar and some of the traditional designations are, I grant, convenient for metrical groups, but some of them I positively loathe. To call a verse that burning and sighing Sappho used a Greater Asklepiadean is an insulting anachronism, and to apply the name ithyphallicus to an Aeschylean verse is a profanation. The trochees of Aischylos are laden with heavy thought. The ithyphallicus suggests the Aristophanic gentleman, who threatens Iris with a triple visitation. Ah weel!, as Jebb would have said, he who succumbed to the fascinations of Heinrich Schmidt as I had succumbed before him. The wonderful parodos beginning *θρεῦμαι φοβερὰ μεγάλ' ἄχη* is called by WILAMOWITZ *ἀνομοιώστροφος* and that is just the impression it made upon me sixty-five years ago in the stuffy auditorium of the University of Berlin.

Looking over the critical apparatus of WILAMOWITZ's edition I was struck with the frequency with which the names of the earlier editors and critics recur, but I have long since learned to distrust impressions and so I had recourse to statistics, a method much abused of late but always useful for correcting rash generalizations. As a test, I took the Agamemnon, which for various reasons has an especial interest for me. But I soon found that I was in for a more laborious job than I had expected, and that the game was not worth the candle. In

order to make the statistics instructive from my point of view, it would have been necessary to get the percentage of the successes of this and that critic, but that would have involved the counting of all the contributions of sixty odd scholars to the criticism of Aischylos, a large proportion of them being sporadic, as for instance Seidler's ἀπολις for ἀπόπολις (1411) due to his study of the dochmiac verse. A computation like that was utterly impossible in the absence of a complete apparatus, such as WILAMOWITZ does not pretend to give. And then who is to be the judge of the successes? To accept WILAMOWITZ's judgment in all the cases that come up would be an abject surrender, and whilst I have an unfeigned admiration of the world's foremost Hellenist, I am not ready to swing the censer quite so vigorously as Robert has recently done in his Oidipus. Even in the assignment of the corrections to the different scholars I find WILAMOWITZ at odds with Dindorf, the only authority accessible in my present surroundings; and I am tempted to throw my statistics overboard, especially as I have not the statistical temperament. Still some younger man and better accountant may think it worth while to add his 'correxī' to the figures I am able to offer the readers of *Brief Mention*. There are, as I have said, sixty odd contributors, nearly all of the highest rank, to the textual criticism of the Agamemnon, as reported by WILAMOWITZ, and my impression has been confirmed, and that amply. Leaving out, as well we may under the circumstances, Hermann and WILAMOWITZ, the one with some 20 emendations, the other with 34, the old boys have the preëminence; and whilst the ancient saying 'tarde venientibus ossa' is by no means true, still Amatus with his twenty-six successes, counting two or three that Dindorf ascribes to other scholars, beats all comers except WILAMOWITZ himself, and yet in his Preface WILAMOWITZ has intimated that Hermann overrated Amatus 'splendore paucarum emendationum delectatus'. To take them alphabetically Ahrens has 10, Bloomfield 13, Pauw 10, Porson 16, Scaliger 11, Schütz 13, Stanley 16, whereas other editors fare badly. Conington is credited with but two, Dindorf with three, Enger with four, Hartung with three, Franz, to me Franz of blessed memory, with one, one but a lion 948: εἰματοφθορεῖν for σωματοφθορεῖν. Wecklein, of whom Murray has recently made a butt by reason of his metrical lapses has but one to his credit, Weil, the admirable, has seven. Verrall figures here and there in the other plays, but none of his plastic restorations of the Agamemnon has found favour in the eyes of WILAMOWITZ. In one of the two emendations of Conington's accepted by WILAMOWITZ's λέοντος ἵνιν for λέοντα σίνιν (717) I miss the circumflex accent. Headlam, whose Greek poems have been highly extolled by WILAMOWITZ is represented

by three hits, one where he introduces, plausibly enough, that maid of all work γ(ε) into the sanctuary of the text (1607), another where he changes ἔρδειν to ἔρξειν (933) unnecessarily, for ἤξω is a verb of will, and a third (996) where he substitutes κυκώμενον for κυκλούμενον—a seductive conjecture, for one recalls Archilochos' familiar θυμέ, θύμ' ἀμηχάνοισι κήδεσσιν κυκώμενε, but δίνας seems to protect the text. WILAMOWITZ's own corrections of the text and his occasional remarks on Greek usage would furnish material for extended comment, but this is *Brief Mention* and not a review.

In his Preface WILAMOWITZ has told us how his point of view has shifted since he edited the Agamemnon in 1885. 'Pleraque', he says, 'mutabam nulla alia de causa quam quia sermonis Graeci et artis Aeschyleae idoneam peritiam non acquisivi'. Ten years afterwards, on his Choephoroi, he had attained his full stature and in this edition he has remained true to his principles despite the 'christianissimus livor' of Blass. A tempting theme, this study of the development of WILAMOWITZ whom one thinks of as a Herakles from the beginning. No question of his strangle hold—*μάρψαις ἀφύκτοις χερσὶν ἐαίς ὄφιας*. But not to find myself within his reach, I will dismiss the subject, fascinating as it is, with a few remarks on the general subject of conjectural emendation. The tenor will not be unfamiliar to the readers of the Journal, ἀλλ' ὁμως. As an American of the Americans, I can well understand why so few of my countrymen have ventured on speculation that promises so little result, but apart from this consideration, I have long held it to be little short of a crime to advance mere guesses—in the vague hope that some one will adopt them and stand up for them. In the list of WILAMOWITZ's various readings it has happened a couple of times that emendations abandoned by their authors have found a benevolent patron in him, but that is not to be counted on. Now if one examines Amatus's twenty odd corrections, it will appear that most of them are inevitable, most of them have been taken up into the text. They are all simple, and it is these simple changes that hold their own, simple changes that fall within the range that Kenyon prescribes. The 'splendor' of which WILAMOWITZ writes would not shine in a printer's office to-day. They belong to the realm with which some of us are sadly familiar, the realm of proofreading in which every editor performs feats that would be loudly acclaimed, if the language were Greek or Latin and not the native tongue. Haplography and dittography are no mysteries in practice to some of the confraternity who do not even know these convenient technical terms and who lay no

claim to the *divinum ingenium* ascribed, for instance, to Reiske, for whom indeed every classical scholar entertains the highest esteem. What is the glory of discovering a turned type? What of discovering a *caret*, the very symbol of which \wedge stands for the Greek word *λείπει*? Who has not found occasion to put asunder what the printer has joined together, and join together what the printer has put asunder. It is a matter of context whether one reads 'this creed' or 'this screed'. But, as I write, the ghosts of dead and buried typographical errors, ghosts, which a flirt of the pen might have laid forever, begin to squeak and gibber in the halls of my memory, 'indefensible' for 'indefeasible,' 'row' for 'vow,' 'fornication' for 'formication,' 'Pythagoras' for 'Protagoras,' 'coöperation' for 'coöptation,' 'chronicle' for 'coracle' and hosts of others, some of them signalized in the various Errata of the Journal, the correction of which would make the reputation of any Greek or Latin scholar. At the same time it must be remembered that there are such things as happy mistakes, and a number of these 'felices errores' are recorded by WILAMOWITZ in his commentary. But neither do these lack parallels. In Malherbe's famous 'Rose, elle a vécu ce que vivent les roses,' 'Rose, elle' was originally a printer's error for the author's 'Rosette,' and to my mind one of the best things in all Herbert Spencer is the story that in the sentimental outgiving 'Pour connaître l'amour, il faut sortir de soi' the idealistic 'de soi' became in type the realistic 'le soir.' Among the triumphs of conjectural criticisms is the fishing out of proper names from common nouns and I have no doubt that my old teacher Von Leutsch was duly proud of correcting the text in Justin Martyr Apol. II, s. f. where he wrote Ἀρχεστρατείους for ὀρχηστικοίς, a reading that I accepted gladly and defended strenuously when it was attacked by Bücheler. But as I was stringing together these holiday cowries, my evening newspaper brought me an article in which I read 'Porthos, the author and Aramis' and I asked myself what glory any proof-reader would take to himself for recognizing in 'the author' the name of the second of the 'Trois Mousquetaires.' Greek is not so familiar as English after all, and the 'splendid' successes of our elder brethren give rise to furious thoughts of our inferiority, which, if true, comes largely from the fact that we do not steep ourselves in reading as did the scholars of the old time. They followed their noses. We count. But in textual criticism the nose beats the abacus. I have just laid down a book on which I have made two 'splendid' emendations, 'soil' for 'soul' and 'rose like an exhalation' for 'arose like an exhilaration'—though I am suspicious of a joke in the second specimen of my 'divinum ingenium.' When Weil died, one of his eulogists complimented him on a happy emendation

in the text of a French classic, and what monstrous performances are possible in modern languages has been shewn by some of the German emendations of Shakespeare's text—and not German emendations only. The whole region is full of slime pits.

The renaissance of Greek studies among the Italians is claimed, and with some justice, claimed by the Germans; and this is one of the counts in the furious Teutonic indictment of those who are more concerned about 'Italia irredenta,' than about the new birth of classical philology in Italy. Like their teachers, the Italians have a mania for bibliography, like the Germans, they are much given to the discussion of æsthetic questions. Such a question is the one treated in a little book by FRANCESCO GUGLIELMINO, *Arte e artificio nel dramma greco* (Catania, Battiato, 1912). A sequel was promised and I have been waiting for that promised sequel in order to bestow a *Brief Mention* upon a treatise which deals with a subject of unfailing interest to every Greek scholar. But the sequel has not appeared or has not reached me, and I am moved to the present inadequate notice by the last number of the *Harvard Classical Studies*, Vol. XXVI. which contains an article on the so-called Unity of Time in Aristophanes by Dr. OTIS JOHNSON TODD: *Quo modo Aristophanes rem temporalem in fabulis suis tractaverit*. In that paper the author reaches the interesting conclusion that in six, or haply seven, of his plays Aristophanes has observed the unity of time, whereas in the remainder, to wit, the earliest plays, he has extended the action beyond the limits of a single day. This advance of the more mature artist in the direction of verisimilitude is quite in line with that part of GUGLIELMINO's book which deals with the methods by which the Greek dramatists strove to impress their audiences with the semblance of verity in their versions of the old stories. The artifices—Dr. TODD uses the same word as does GUGLIELMINO—which Aristophanes employed became what might be called 'tricks of the trade' in the New Comedy. We are thus furnished with an illustration of the advance of technique, the advance of consciousness in art. Now this consciousness in art is a bugbear to a certain school of Hellenists. Consciousness, it is maintained, is fatal to the highest art, nay is fatal to the highest thinking as well. All the great thoughts were thought before the advent of Sokrates, all the poetry that came after the first flowering was infected with the germ of consciousness. That admirable scholar, Fraccaroli, has held forth on the subject in his edition of Pindar and Bodrero has made it the theme of perfervid eloquence in his Eraclito and Livingstone has preached the same doctrine in his book on the

Greek Genius. Of course, this view narrows the range of what is genuinely Hellenic. Euripides is excluded. He is a sophist of the sophists. Sophokles is tarred with the same stick, or to be Scriptural and classical, is defiled with the same pitch; his colours are aniline colours. The Kreon of Sophokles has lately been pronounced an orator of the Sophistic pattern, and Aischylos himself, according to WILAMOWITZ, shews in his Prometheus the influence of the early Sicilian rhetoricians, and perhaps it was not so silly in me, as Jebb intimated it was, to see in the Pindaric *λόγιοι* prose rivals to the poetic encomiasts of whom Pindar was one (P. 1, 94), even if we have to reject Verrall's sportive interpretation of *κόρακες* *ὡς* (O. 2, 96), as an allusion to Korax and Teisias. True, the study of Greek rhetoric, and the analytical processes demanded by syntactical research may breed, or seem to breed, a habit of mind unfavorable to the immediate enjoyment of unconscious art, a habit possibly fatal to claims of superior sensibility; and I freely confess that no matter how far back I go, I still find evidences of a reflective spirit. If Homer is court poetry, Bréal is not so far wrong after all. The Greek rhetoricians used Homer as a text-book, or if you choose, as 'timber' for tropes and figures, for types of eloquence. That was going too far perhaps but there is artifice as well as art in the great epics. The word 'rhetorical' has been used by editors of Homer in respect to certain books and those not the least beautiful, although the difference between art and artifice is not so evidently localized throughout as to enable us to distinguish everywhere in the body of Iliad and Odyssey the true poet and the more or less skilful redactor.

But in all fairness I must hie back to GUGLIELMINO. The Introduction gives us the scope of study. While granting the force of Fraccaroli's demonstration of the liberties the Greek dramatists have taken in the choruses of their plays, their anachronisms, their incongruities, still reality has its rights, verisimilitude its claims and these rights and these claims have led to the employment by the poets of certain devices to satisfy their audiences, although when the author says that these audiences consisted of a 'moltitudine in gran parte incolta' he weakens his own argument. There is evidence enough that the Athenian audiences were as keen-witted as any modern audience, if not more so. The book has two parts. The first part has to do with the conventions of the stage and verisimilitude generally, the second part with calculated effect (*la ricerca dell' effetto*). The first chapter of the first part deals with the devices employed

to save verisimilitude in the use of the chorus after the chorus had ceased to take part in the action and had become a 'perpetuum tragicæ artis impedimentum', as the author quotes from WILAMOWITZ. The second chapter treats of the necessity of setting forth for the benefit of the spectators the events preliminary to the action of the play and of the devices requisite for explaining away the resulting inconsistencies, of which, by the way, modern playwrights make small account and which our modern audiences would hardly notice, though they would resent being called a 'moltitudine incolta'. The third chapter tells of the effect that the small number of actors has on the architecture of the drama—a part which I myself had occasion to illustrate many years ago in comparing Macbeth with the Agamemnon. The recent assaults upon the limitation to three actors came too late to be considered by GUGLIELMINO, to his profound regret. The second part deals in the first chapter with the flattering appeals made by the tragic poets to the patriotic sentiments of the public, in the second with the customary and favoured methods of rousing emotion by pathetic speeches (*ῥήσεις*). The third chapter treats of 'i doppi sensi' or amphibology, which, to be popular, postulates a quick-witted public, the fourth of the effect of contrasts level to lower intelligences.

The bibliography comprises 128 numbers—commentaries and works of general reference are not included. The acknowledgment of indebtedness seems fairly honest, a thing that cannot be said of all bibliographies. It is a tumultuous affair, this bibliography. There is no alphabetical or chronological order, no grouping even as to authors. The vast majority of treatises are by Germans, some 80 per cent. The list reminds one of the constitution of the German army—forceful officers and well-drilled soldiers. In the long array there are not a few shining names. The rest may be described in Aristophanic terms as *ἀπαξ προσουρήσαντες τῇ φιλολογίᾳ*. They are not drones, it is true, but they have the fate of the drone who overtakes the queen bee in her nuptial flight. The immense preponderance of German scholarship is not to be gainsaid. Will it survive the shock of arms, not materially but spiritually? Just now German scholars point with pride to their pre-eminence in Greek studies as a vindication of their 'Kultur', as a satisfactory answer to the charges brought against the Empire for its ruthless methods of warfare. Is the world to be made over after the German pattern? In the years of my Teutomania we American students used to join our German fellow-students in singing 'Schleswig-Holstein,

meerumschlungen' but there was yet another song, 'Wir wollen keine Dänen sein, Wir wollen Deutsche bleiben'. Change the names and there is a lesson for our times. Not long ago I came upon a letter addressed to me by an American classical scholar, too soon lost to the world of scholars, a letter in which he protested against the title AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY. The Journal was then a programme and nothing more. He objected strenuously to the provincialism of 'American'. Why not emulate 'Hermes', 'Athena', 'Herma-thena'? If he had paid the price for his nationality that I had paid for mine, he would have understood my persistence. What GUGLIELMINO would say to all this now is a matter of curious surmise. To return to his Bibliography, the Italians come next to the 'Praeceptores Italiae'. Few Frenchmen are mentioned except the inevitables, such as Patin, Croiset, Girard. Of the English Verrall is mentioned a couple of times. The name is not always correctly spelt, but for that matter one reads in GUGLIELMINO 'Incidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare Caribdim'—a mere typographical error, it is true, but there are strange lapses in these pupils of the Germans, as I have had occasion to note.

G. L. H.: Professor CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW of Princeton University, who, seven years ago, published the first and, until the present, only English translation of the *Getica* of Jordanes, offers it now in a revised form with the additions of an introduction and commentary (Princeton University Press, 1915). He naturally followed Mommsen's text in his translation, and he has met and overcome with dexterity the difficulties incidental to this Low Latin work, with its broken-down syntax and its uncouth vocabulary. Mommsen's introduction and notes, supplemented with a few more recent articles, furnish the material for his illustrative matter. As the original work is distinguished by its lack of literary form, its translator should have informed his uninitiated readers of its historical value as the only, if fragmentary form, in which Cassiodorus's lost work on an important factor in history, has been preserved, and of the use made of it, as such, by medieval chronicles, and modern historians. Perhaps he would have emphasized this important point if he had made use of the two best treatments of his author, which are to be found in Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* and Manitius's *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*.

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Thanks are due to Messrs. Lemcke & Buechner, 30-32 W. 27th St., New York, for material furnished.

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WHOLE NO. 144

I.—FATALISM OF THE GREEKS.

To the minds of the many, emphatic iteration and reiteration of an assertion has all the force of truth. For people in general are prone to spare themselves the trouble and exertion of the close thinking that results in logical conclusions and so take the easier course of accepting ready-made opinions. Instead of demanding proof before according belief, they are content to take fallacies for facts, if widely spread abroad and voiced repeatedly. When a belief, however much at variance with the facts of the case, has become firmly established in the minds of the many, because asserted many times by many writers, to disprove it is no easy task even when it is such a perversion of the truth as the current opinion that the Greeks are fatalists.

What do we mean by fatalism? That man is not master of his fate but that fate masters him. Do what he will he cannot escape his destiny. Fate is irresistible, unconquerable and its decrees are absolute. The Turk is a fatalist; so he goes into battle with the firm conviction that if death is to be his portion, be he a brave man or a coward, death will come all the same. However, he believes, if he meets his doom with heroic valor, he will be amply rewarded in the world hereafter, so his fatalism is brightened and cheered by a glad hope which is an incentive to deeds of daring, for fatalism in itself tends to inaction and despair. Napoleon the Third was a fatalist and Zola has given a wonderful portrayal of this in *La Débâcle*, *The Downfall*. Whether Zola represents Napoleon truthfully or not is aside from the question here; what

concerns us is the description of a fatalist as he has described one in the person of Napoleon. Take this passage where Napoleon presents himself on the battlefield. "Entirely unattended, he rode forward into the midst of the storm of shot and shell, calmly, unhurriedly, with his unvarying air of resigned indifference, the air of one who goes to meet his appointed fate. He rode forward, controlling his charger to a slow walk. For the space of a hundred yards he thus rode forward, then halted, awaiting the death he had come there to seek. The bullets fell in concert with a music like the fierce autumnal blast; a shell burst in front of him and covered him with earth. He maintained his attitude of patient waiting. His steed with distended eyes and quivering frame, instinctively recoiled before the grim presence who was so close at hand and yet refused to smite horse or rider. At last the trying experience came to an end, and the Emperor, with his stoic fatalism, understanding that his time was not yet come, tranquilly retraced his steps".

G. H. Lewes in *Problems of Life and Mind*, 1-309 thus defines fatalism: Fatalism says that something must be and this something cannot be modified by any modification of the conditions.

The Century Dictionary says "Fatalism does not recognize the determination of all events by causes, in the ordinary sense, holding, on the contrary, that a certain foreordained result will come about, no matter what may be done to prevent it".

John Stuart Mill thus delivers himself on the subject: A fatalist believes or half believes (for nobody is a consistent fatalist) not only that whatever is about to happen will be the infallible result of the causes which produce it, but moreover, that there is no use in struggling against it, that it will happen however we may strive to prevent it.

The natural outcome is as Milman has described it in *Latin Christianity* V, 9: "It was vain to resist the wrath of God; and so a wretched fatalism bowed to a more utter prostration the cowed and spiritless race".

Fatalism benumbs and paralyzes the will, and apathy and stoical submission are the only resource. To accept the inevitable without a murmur, with passionless calm to wrap one's mantle around one's self and with bowed head to say in

impassive tone, kismet, it is ordered, this is fatalism and this is what a fatalistic belief engenders.

How can anyone attribute such a deadening doctrine as this of fatalism to a people like the Greeks with their alert minds, their power of making independent judgments, their daring spirit of adventure and unresting activity, their proud confidence in themselves that made them dare and do even what seemed impossible and their buoyant courage that rose quickly over even direst disaster? When we look at the Greeks and especially the Athenians, for Athens represented to Hellas and represents to us the highest reach of the Greeks in thought and feeling, what do we find as their characteristics? We turn to the matchless description given by Thucydides in the speech that purports to be the funeral speech of Pericles over those that had fallen in battle in the first year of the Peloponnesian War.

"The great impediment to action is in our opinion not discussion but the want of that knowledge which is gained by discussion preparatory to action. We have a peculiar power of thinking before we act and of acting too, whereas with others their boldness is ignorance and reflection brings hesitation. And they are surely to be esteemed the bravest spirits who, having the clearest sense both of the pains and pleasures of life, do not on that account shrink from danger".—Thuc. II, 40. "For we have compelled every land and every sea to open a path for our valor, and have everywhere planted eternal memorials of what is noble and good".—Thuc. II, 41. "They resigned to hope the uncertainty of the issue but in action when the task was visibly before them, it was in themselves they proudly put their trust".—Thuc. II, 42.

What is emphasized here is the intelligent calculation that entered into Athenian warfare. Their goddess is the goddess Athena, the goddess of wisdom and skill, the goddess who teaches men to put their strength and energy at the service of intelligence, to plan and contrive, to measure dangers and resources, to count the cost, not to rush into battle with blind fury and with the desperation of those who feel themselves driven on by an unswerving doom. The spirit of these Greeks is diametrically opposed to anything like fatalism. It connotes untiring energy, hopeful courage, belief in one's own powers,

confidence in skill and foresight, while fatalism depresses effort and darkens the soul and gives only the desperate courage of despair, or at best stoical fortitude.

"It was due to the valor of these men that smoke did not go up to heaven from the burning of spacious Tegea. Their choice was to leave their children a city flourishing in freedom and to lay down their own lives in the front of the battle". —Simon. fr. 102 (B_{gk}.⁴). That is the Greek note, the noble choice that sets life at naught compared with the priceless treasure of freedom. Surely no fatalism in this.

Demosthenes in his matchless speech *On the Crown*, after according this high praise to the Athenians of other days that they were willing to give themselves to dangers for glory and honor, adds, "choosing what was noble and right; for all men's lives have a fixed limit in death, even if they should shut themselves up in a chamber and keep guard, but good men ought to put their hand to all that is noble on every occasion, holding before themselves as a shield the hope of good and bear whatever the god gives, nobly" (XVIII, 97). How does this differ from what we should say? Do what is right and leave the issue with God. Not once throughout this eloquent speech is there a word of a fate that held the Athenians in its firm grip and doomed them relentlessly to defeat and overthrow. What does he say? "If Thessaly had had only one man and Arcadia one who had adopted the same policy as I, none of the Hellenes on the further or on the hither side of Thermopylae would have experienced the present evils but all would have dwelt in their countries, free and autonomous in perfect fearlessness, in safety and happiness" (XVIII, 304). Are these the words of a man who believes in the resistless oncoming of a dread doom? And again he speaks even more plainly: "The man who feels he has been born only for his parents awaits the death of fate and the natural death, but he who feels he was born for his country will die that he may not see her suffer slavery and will count insults and loss of honor that he must bear in an enslaved state, more to be feared than death" (XVIII, 205). In other words, the patriot is ready to sacrifice his life on the altar of his country's need but the stay-at-home will not risk his personal safety on any battlefields but waits ingloriously at home till death that comes to all, comes even to

him. Not once in the speech are we made to feel that the Athenians were foredoomed to defeat and were but puppets in the iron clutch of fate. Instead, he portrays in vivid speech the conditions that favored Philip in his aggressions and shows himself a statesman of keenest insight in his analysis of causes that contributed to the final triumph of Macedonia. Croiset, *Manuel d' Histoire de la Lit. Grecque*, p. 433, says: "Thucydide croit que les choses de la nature sont gouvernées par des lois régulières . . . S'il parle de la fortune (τύχη), nulle part il n'en fait une divinité: ce n'est pour lui que le nom de l'imprévu et de l'inconnaissable. Dans les choses politiques comme dans la nature, il croit à des causes intelligibles, purement humaines, qu'il s'agit de découvrir". Even in the *Odyssey*, what do we find in the first book beginning with line 32? "Lo, now how falsely mortals blame the gods; for they say evils come from us whereas they even of themselves have woes beyond fate (contrary to fate) ὑπὲρ μόρον through their own follies" and then Zeus tells how he sent Hermes to warn Aegisthus not to slay Agamemnon and wed Clytemnestra, for if he should do this, punishment would come upon him from Orestes later on, but though Hermes himself gave the warning, Aegisthus paid no heed and suffered the consequences.

In the *Oedipus at Colonus* of Sophocles, a direful threat is pronounced upon Polyneikes by Oedipus if he make the intended attack upon Thebes, and Antigone pleads with her brother to turn back but in vain:

1416-19 στρέψαι στρατεύμ' ἐς Ἄργος ὡς τάχιστα γε,
καὶ μὴ σέ τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πόλιν διεργάσῃ.

Turn back thy host to Argos with all speed,
And ruin not thyself and Thebes as well.

ἀλλ' οὐχ οἶόν τε. πῶς γὰρ αὖτις ἀνὰ πάλιν στρατεύμ' ἄγοιμι ταυτόν,
εἰσάπαξ τρέσας;

That cannot be. How could I lead again
An army that has seen their leader quail? Storr's tr.

So then she says:

1423-4 ὄρῃς τὰ τοῦδ' οὖν ὡς ἐς ὀρθὸν ἐκφέρει
μαντεύμαθ', δι' σφῶν θάνατον ἐξ ἀμφοῖν θροεῖ;

Wilt thou then bring to pass his prophecies
Who threatens mutual slaughter to you both?

He had power of choice but he willed to go and his doom was sealed by himself.

It is worthy of note that Polyneikes who has come of his own volition with foreign aid against his native city makes this charge: "For this I hold thy Erinyes to be the cause",

1299 τὴν σὴν ἐρινὺν αἰτίαν εἶναι λέγω.

But Oedipus in bitterest anger heaps reproaches upon him for his cruel lack of filial feeling. "It is thou that hast brought my days to this anguish; 'tis thou hast thrust me out, to thee I owe it that I wander, begging my daily bread from strangers. And had these daughters not been born to be my comfort, verily I had been dead, for aught of help from thee".

1362 ff. σὺ γάρ με μόχθῳ τῷδ' ἔθηκες ἔντροφον
σύ μ' ἐξέωσας, ἐκ σέθεν δ' ἀλώμενος
ἄλλους ἐπαιτῶ τὸν καθ' ἡμέραν βίον.
εἰ δ' ἐξέφυσα τάσδε μὴ 'μαυτῇ τροφούτῃ
τὰς παῖδας, ἢ τὰν οὐκ ἂν ἦ τὸ σὸν μέρος.

"But now moved by some god and by a sinful mind, an evil rivalry has seized them".

371 f. νῦν δ' ἐκ θεῶν τοῦ κάλιτηρίου φρενός
εἰσῆλθε τοῖν τρεῖς ἀθλοῖν ἕρις κακῆ.

Hawthorne in his story of the Prophetic Pictures well expresses the futility of warning and even of sure prophecy. An artist gifted with a marvellous insight paints the portraits of two young people who have just been wedded and discerning a taint of madness in the young man, in a subtle way he gives it expression in the portrait. The bride detects it and is filled with horror. Years pass and the artist comes back after a long absence and goes to this house to see his pictures. Just as he reaches the room, a tragedy is impending. The curtain over the portraits had been drawn aside and before them stood the hapless pair, the man in his frenzy grasping his victim's hair with one hand while in the other he held an up-lifted knife to slay her. The artist interposes and saves her life and then with stern look said "Wretched lady, did I not warn you?" "You did", replied Elinor calmly. "But I loved him". "Is there not a deep moral in the tale?" continues Hawthorne, "Could the result of one or all our deeds be shad-

owed forth and set before us, some would call it Fate and hurry onward, others be swept along by their passionate desires and none be turned aside by the Prophetic Pictures". Does not Hawthorne voice a profound truth and does not the Greek Drama express something similar in its treatment of oracles?

The knowledge of the oracle does not save the man but as in the case of Oedipus, the impulsive nature flashing out in quick wrath brings upon him the doom he sought to escape.

In the *Antigone* of Sophocles, Teiresias earnestly and solemnly warns Creon but all in vain. The stubborn king entrenched in his obstinate purpose will not heed, but insults the prophet with base suspicion and brings down upon himself the full weight of woe. His own self-will and not the gods are the agents of his doom. Too late he sees himself in the true light and over his dead son the broken-hearted father cries out:

ΚΡΕΩΝ.

Στροφή α'.

ὦ,

φρενῶν δυσφρόνων ἀμαρτήματα
στερεὰ θανατόντ'.

ὦ κτανόντας τε καὶ

θανόντας βλέποντες ἐμφυλίου.

1265 ὦ μοι ἐμῶν ἀνολθα βουλευμάτων.

ὦ παῖ, νέος νέψ' ξὺν μόρῃ,

αἰαὶ αἰαί,

ἔθανες, ἀπελύθης,

ἐμαῖς οὐδὲ σαισί θυσβουλαις.

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

1270 οἱ μ' ὡς τοίκας ὀψὲ τὴν δίκην

ιδεῖν.

CR. Woe for the sins of a darkened soul, stubborn sins, fraught with death! Ah, ye behold us, the sire who hath slain, the son who hath perished! Woe is me, for the wretched blindness of my counsels! Alas, my son, thou hast died in thy youth, by a timeless doom, woe is me!—thy spirit hath fled,—not by thy folly, but by mine own!

CH. Ah me, how all too late thou seemest to see the right!

Even the neutral Chorus finds its voice to condemn Creon and says:

ΧΟΡΟΣ.

καὶ μὴν ὅδ' ἀναξ αὐτὸς ἐφήκει
μνημ' ἐπίσημον διὰ χειρὸς ἔχων,
εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, οὐκ ἀλλοτρίαν
ἄτην, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἀμαρτῶν.

CH. Lo, yonder the King himself draws near, bearing that which tells too clear a tale,—the work of no stranger's madness,—if we may say it,—but of his own misdeeds.

And when the added woe of his queen's death is made known, with heart-rending cry the hapless king exclaims :

CR. Ah me, this guilt can never be fixed on any other of mortal kind, for my acquittal! I, even I, was thy slayer, wretched that I am—I own the truth. Lead me away, O my servants, lead me hence with all speed, whose life is but as death!

KPEΩN.

Στροφή δ'.

ὦμοι μοι, τάδ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἄλλον
βροτῶν

1320 ἐμᾶς ἀρμόσει ποτ' ἐξ αἰτίας.

ἐγὼ γάρ σ' ἐγὼ ἔκαρον, ὦ μέλεις,

ἐγὼ, φάμ' ἔτυμον, ἰὼ πρόσπολοι,

1325 ἀγετέ μ' ὅτι τάχος. ἀγετέ μ'
ἐκποδῶν

τὸν οὐκ ὄντα μᾶλλον ἢ μηδένα.

Where would be the great ethical teaching of the Greek Drama if it were merely the spectacle of men and women moving like automata to a destined end? In the Poetics Aristotle says, "The right thing, however, is in the Characters just as in the incidents of the play to endeavor always after the necessary as the probable; so that whenever such and such a personage says or does such and such a thing, it shall be the necessary or the probable consequence of it" (Poetics 1454a 34). What a personage says or does, reveals a certain moral purpose. Take for instance Antigone. Her noble nature rich in love for her brother can not leave him to be a wretched outcast in the world below but unhesitatingly she gives him burial though she knows full well the price of her act will be her own young life. There is no fatalism in this, but the unerring choice of one who feels in her heart the binding constraint of those unwritten laws "that are not of today or yesterday but live on forever" (456-7), and so she will obey no man's decree even that of an all-powerful king if it comes into conflict with those, but will fulfil the sacred obligations that piety and her own loving heart prescribe. The Greek Drama is character interpreted by action and in action. The plot gives a chance for the expression of character; what the man is, is shown by what he does. The logical outcome of character, the far-reaching consequences of acts, on these the drama is built. No sinful act ends with that act but bears in its train awful consequences so that we may see in a single house crime followed by crime, punishment by punishment, as in that of the ill-fated Atreidae until at last comes one pure and undefiled who does

the god's behest and the curse is stayed; but always the beginning of the evil is in one man's sin. The passion of Laius for Chrysippus leads him to sin, and punishment of childlessness is his sentence. Cf. Eur., *Phoenicians* 16-25. But though the oracle warns him of his doom if he beget a child, in a moment of passion when flushed with wine, he forgets the warning and then tries to escape the fulfilment of the prophecy by exposure of the hapless Oedipus. But it is folly then to attempt an escape and Oedipus fulfils the oracle by slaying his father Laius where the three roads meet on the way to Delphi. But this is not fatalism. Laius was forewarned but disobeyed the warning. Is not this one of the great truths of life? Do we not know—know to a certainty the outcome of certain courses of action, and yet we do the act and in some vague way hope to contrive an escape from the consequences? The Greek Drama recognizes clearly that "A man's character is his destiny", *ἡθὸς ἀνθρώπου δαίμων*, as Heraclitus says. "The fate that overtakes the hero is no alien thing but his own self recoiling upon him for good or evil".—Butcher's *Aristotle's Poetics*, page 354. We have a fine example of this in *King Lear* who pays for his folly as inexorably as any character in any Greek play.

De Quincey is one who maintains that the Greek Drama was a drama of destiny. "Man", he says, "being the puppet of fate could not with any effect display what we call character; for the will which is the central pivot of character was obliterated, thwarted, cancelled by the dark fatalism which brooded over the Grecian stage. Powerful and elaborate character . . . would have been wasted, nay would have been defeated and interrupted by the blind agencies of fate".

"It is strange", says Mr. Butcher in his *Poetics of Aristotle*, page 348, "that the Greeks of all people and Aeschylus of all poets, should have been accused of depriving man of free agency and making him the victim of a blind fate. The central lesson of the Aeschylean drama is that man is the master of his own destiny. The retribution which overtakes him is not inflicted at the hands of cruel or jealous powers. It is the justice of the gods, who punish him for rebellion against their laws". *Agamemnon* 750—781 gives clear teaching on this point.

Pindar and Aeschylus have the same moral code. Prosperity engenders pride and when a man's heart is lifted up within him, then he commits sin and sin brings punishment. The genealogy is *ἄλβος, κόρος, ὕβρις, ἄτη*. Prosperity, satiety, insolence, vengeance.

"The prosperity that produces pride and fullness of bread culminates in overweening insolence and outrage, and brings on itself mischief sent from heaven" as Professor Gildersleeve phrases it in his edition of Pindar, page XXXI. "If ever the watchers of Olympus honored any man, that man was Tantalus. But the high honor of friendly intercourse with the gods proved too much for Tantalus. He grasped after more than mortal might and so brought down upon himself unmeasured woe" (O. 1).

In similar strain Bacchylides denounces *ὕβρις* in XIV [XV] 59 ff.:

"Ἵβρις, ἃ πλ[ούτων] δύνανται τε θεῶς
ἀλλότριον ὥπασεν, αὖτις
δ' ἐς βαθὺν πέμπει φθόρον.
κεῖνα καὶ ὑπερφιάλους
Γᾶς παῖδας ὤλεσσαν Γίγαντας.

"Insolence who swiftly gives a man his neighbor's wealth and power, but anon plunges him into a gulf of ruin,—she it was who destroyed the giants, overweening sons of earth".—Jebb. For the cardinal virtue of the Greeks is *σωφροσύνη*, measure moderation. Excess they condemned and deplored. They ring the changes on *μηδὲν ἄγαν*, nothing too much, the golden mean. Consciously or unconsciously they made this the canon of their art and literature and so they wrought the perfect work. In line with *σωφροσύνη* is the oft-repeated injunction to remember that we are mortals and can not venture too far. "Seek not to become Zeus", Pindar, I. 4(5), 14, *μὴ μάτευσ Ζεὺς γενέσθαι*. "Mortal things befit mortals", P. I. 5(4)20, *θνατὰ θνατοῖσι πρέπει*.

The brazen heavens are not to be mounted, P. X. 27. But Aristotle reaches a loftier note, Nic. Ethics, XI, 7, 8: "Let us not listen therefore to those who tell us that as men and mortals, we should mind only the things of man and mortality; but so far as we may, we should bear ourselves as immortals and do all that in us lies to live in accord with that element within us, that sovereign principle of reason, which is our true self, and which in capacity and dignity stands supreme". Aristotle de-

finest virtue as the mean between two extremes, excess and deficiency, and condemns alike the too much and the too little. Courage is a virtue, rashness and cowardice are both vices. They are the extremes and courage is the mean. Pride goeth before a fall is the teaching of Herodotus. "Il croit à l'existence d'une loi qui gouverne les événements . . . C'est la vieille loi de la morale religieuse et poétique, la loi de la Némésis. Toute faute attire à l'homme une punition, mais surtout l'orgueil, qui est la faute irrémissible. Les échecs de Xerxès n'ont pas d'autre cause".—Manuel d'Histoire de la Lit. Grecque, page 393. Bury, *Anc. Gk. Hist.*, p. 68, says that the Persian overthrow according to Herodotus is "a divine punishment of the insolence and rashness that are often born of prosperity". In the Greek drama presumptuous pride, ὕβρις, is punished and punished heavily by the gods. Ajax the bravest of the Greeks after Achilles, over-confident in his strength and bravery dares to set the gods at naught and this Sophokles makes the central thought of his play of this name.

"Yea", said the seer, "lives that have waxed too proud, and avail for good no more, are struck down by heavy misfortune from the gods, as often as one born to man's estate forgets it in thoughts too high for man. But Ajax even at his first going forth from home, was found foolish, when his sire spake well. His father said unto him: 'My son, seek victory in arms but seek it ever with the help of heaven'. Then haughtily and foolishly he answered: 'Father, with the help of gods e'en a man of nought might win the mastery; but I, even without their aid, trust to bring that glory within my grasp'. So proud was his vaunt. Then once again, in answer to divine Athena, when she was urging him onward and bidding him turn a deadly hand upon his foes,—in that hour he uttered a speech too dread for mortal lips: 'Queen, stand thou beside the other Greeks; where Ajax stands, battle will never break our line'. By such words it was that he brought upon him the appalling anger of the goddess since his thoughts were too great for man".—Jebb's *Ajax of Sophocles*, lines 758 to 777. And to Odysseus Athena speaks clearest words of warning because of the wretchedness and disgrace Ajax has brought upon himself. "Therefore beholding such things, look that thine own lips never speak a haughty word against the gods, and

assume no swelling port, if thou prevailest above another in prowess or by store of ample wealth. For a day can humble all human things, and a day can lift them up; but the wise of heart are loved of the gods, and the evil are abhorred".—Jebb's *Ajax of Sophocles*, Lines 127 to 134.

Ajax deserves his fate at the hands of Athena yet the poet in meting out to him the doom his haughty pride has brought upon him, has not failed to set forth most beautifully the other side of his nature so that with mingled emotions of pity, admiration, and blame we mourn the sad end of one who with all his faults, still was a man cast in heroic mould.

Aristotle puts the emotions of pity and fear in the forefront of tragedy. By the interplay of these, the most tragic effects, he maintains, are produced. The *Ajax* well illustrates this. The haughty pride and fierce resentment of the hero, his murderous onslaught foiled by Athena, his ungovernable nature that can not brook with patience a wrong, his terrible humiliation, all fill us with awe and fear. In *Ajax* we see portrayed human nature in its pride and arrogance, over-confident in bravery and strength, calling down upon itself in its own act utter ruin. And then again our hearts are filled with pity at injustice dealt out to him which has embittered his soul, at the moving spectacle of this mighty man of valor brought thus low, at his deep sense of shame and his pathetic resolve not to survive his disgrace. There are other figures on the canvas, the narrow-minded Menelaus with his angry resentment and hatred, the loving Tecmessa with her tender and unselfish devotion, the magnanimous Odysseus who sees beyond the limits of his own feelings into the great truths of human experience, and the blunt loyal Teucer who makes his brother's cause his own. It is strange that anyone should have made the word classic synonymous with something cold and formal when Greek drama is all aglow with life and feeling. The men and women are men and women of like passions with ourselves, the red blood courses through their arteries, their pulses are set throbbing with the emotions that sweep over their souls and so they make our own hearts vibrate in sympathetic accord with their every mood because the passion of grief, the agony of distress and sorrow is made real to us, and in these wonderful creations of the

poet's fancy, we see before us real people baffled or triumphant, suffering or rejoicing, receiving the just recompense of their acts, with righteousness vindicated and wrong punished. The Greek drama makes a profound appeal to human feelings and so it is ageless forever, for though the seasons wax and wane and the revolving years swiftly roll on in their course, year giving place to year, yet human nature does not change, and always the poet who knows how to touch the deep springs of our nature has lasting power to charm and delight. The Greek imagination was greatly stirred by the sight of greatness brought low, of a king in the moment of his triumph struck down, of great prosperity changed in the twinkling of an eye to the extreme of adversity. The vicissitudes of fortune, the brevity of life, the insecurity of high place and station, these are their constant theme. Not man doomed but man vital, acting with passion and vigor, loving life and exulting in his powers and strength, and in his very exuberance of life and joy provoking fortune to his undoing, this is what the Greeks give us again and again. Take Hippolytus whom Euripides has portrayed with exquisite charm. All the freshness and buoyancy and loveliness of youth is his while his pure soul, abhorring all that is evil, worships only at the shrine of the virgin goddess, the chaste Artemis. But while he honors with every honor his beloved Artemis, he turns away in scorn and loathing from Aphrodite and the goddess punishes him for his contemptuous neglect. His faithful retainer, wise with the experience of years, utters a warning word but the youth is too confident in himself to pay any heed. It is an altogether human document, this drama, though gods intervene and play their part with the rest. Here again is a fertile field for misconception. It must be remembered that the Greeks lived on terms of familiar intercourse with their gods and goddesses and conceived of them as beings like themselves, only moving on a higher plane and greater and grander than mortals of daily life. Then too the Greeks with their vivid personifying power create a divinity of major or minor importance for all that we see or feel. So with them Phaedra is the victim of Aphrodite where we would say she was under the spell of a mad passion for Hippolytus; she was infatuated with the beautiful youth; she was a love-sick queen; she was driven

to distraction by the conflicting emotions in her soul. Moreover the Greek gods and goddesses never hold themselves far aloof from mortals but sometimes even fight with them on the battlefield and appear to them in visible presence to advise and direct. That is why the *θεὸς ἀπὸ μηχανῆς* in the Greek play is so far from being what it is sometimes represented as being, the poet's device for solving a situation that has become too complex to be solved otherwise. The appearance of the god or goddess is not alien to actual experience as in the story Herodotus tells of Pan before the battle of Marathon, and the final word spoken by god or goddess is by no means the last resort of a poet tangled up in a plot too intricate to be unraveled but gives the seal and impress of divine sanction for the issue desired, and the word of prophecy for the happy outcome in the future. Calm after storm, subsidence of emotion into a sense of peace and harmony, strife and turmoil followed by quiet acquiescence in the universal law, this is the rule of tragedy and for this the god or goddess comes with authority that can not be gainsaid. The Hippolytus of Euripides well illustrates the somewhat contradictory view of the Greeks on free will and divine agencies, for they no more than we are perfectly consistent. Phaedra has brooded over the cause of the misery in the lives of mortals and her conclusion is that "We know and understand the good but do not carry it out in action". "Some because they set some pleasure before the good" etc. 380 ff. She is admirably portrayed. Right-minded, holding up to herself right standards, but weak and vacillating, she is ready to succumb to her passion. It is noteworthy that the god or goddess who influences any particular character and holds sway over him is the one that is in accord with his own nature. Aphrodite's victim is peculiarly fitted to be her victim and the chaste Hippolytus has the chaste Artemis for his companion and the object of his worship. In the prologue Aphrodite tells how she will punish the chaste but haughty Hippolytus through Phaedra and yet throughout the play we forget all about the goddess as we see Phaedra yielding and resisting, ashamed and yet secretly in her heart consenting to the base plan of her loyal nurse, and then when the withering scorn of Hippolytus has burnt into her soul, covering her nurse with reproaches. And the nurse shrewdly

and a little bitterly, knowing her mistress all too well, replies "If I had succeeded, then I should be reckoned with the wise, for our wisdom is measured by our success". But in the end when Phaedra "ere she perished blasted in a scroll the fame of him her swerving made not swerve", there is no mention of any god or goddess then. Phaedra herself and by herself made the plan and executed it. When Hippolytus is dying, Artemis says the Cyprian willed for this to happen to fill up the measure of her wrath for his haughty neglect of her worship. But Artemis condemns Theseus because he destroyed his son without first weighing evidence or consulting seers or waiting for time to prove or disprove the baleful charge. Moral responsibility is the opposite of fatalism and no one can read the Greek dramas in their entirety without feeling that whatever outside forces are at work, whatever the inheritance may be, still after all man is a free agent and makes his choice for weal or woe. He has his chance but so dull is he or so perverse that rarely does he seize the golden opportunity and hence *γνώθι σεαυτόν*; *γνώθι καιρόν* were put forth by the Wise men of Greece as the primal need for true living. "For a brief span hath opportunity (*καιρός*) for man, but of him it is known surely when it cometh, and he waiteth thereon, a servant but no slave".—Pindar, Pyth. IV. 286.

This word *καιρός* Mr. Butcher thus defines: "Time charged with opportunity; our own possession to be seized and vitalized by human energy. Time the inert transformed into purposeful activity" (Harvard Lectures, page 119). Cf. Sophokles, Elektra 75 and 76: *καιρὸς γάρ, ὅσπερ ἀνδράσιν μέγιστος ἔργου παντός ἐστ' ἐπιστάτης*, "For opportunity is the best captain of all enterprise." (Storr.)

Plato, in his tale of Er in which he represents souls choosing a life for themselves, says emphatically *αἰτία ἐλομένων· θεὸς ἀναίτιος*; but after the choice is made, they must abide by it. Is this fatalism? Plato sounds his note of warning that the most earnest study and thought must be given that the choice may be a wise one since everything is involved in the choice. Looking at life as we see it, do we not say practically the same thing: As ye sow, so shall ye reap. "Ye have sown to the wind and have reaped the whirlwind". Is it not the law of life that to us has been entrusted the choice in great measure

of what our lives shall be and do we not pay the penalty or reap the reward according to our choice? Perhaps the Greeks press home the truth more strongly than we, because Christian teaching puts its emphasis on the possibility of reform even for one deeply dyed in sin, but even so, we know that the consequences of sin are inevitable and no repentance or change of life will make the character and life what it would have been, if the choice had been of the beautiful and good. But though the Greeks emphasize the punishment that waits upon sin and folly, yet if the sin is not too great, there comes release from the punishment and a new chance. If one should read Pindar's 7th Olympian Ode, he would find the Greek conception of life voiced clearly. Nemesis not fate is what the Greeks dwelt upon. "Those who have sinned, who have forgotten, who were absent" paid the penalty but even so, there came "sweet recompense for grievous disaster". *λῦσε δὲ Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος Τιτᾶνας* (Pyth. IV. 291). "The heavy stone that from the hand is hurled we can not check, nor word that leaves the tongue".

I do not for a moment deny that fate and fortune play a part in Greek literature and life, but that is quite different from calling the Greeks fatalists. Even where some god or goddess lays a heavy hand upon a hero as upon Herakles in the Trachiniae of Sophokles, Herakles, the type of the man of toils and burdens, yet after all, it is his own folly that destroys him, for with time, according to the Trachiniae of Sophocles he would have had release from his relentless taskmaster, had not his passion for Iole worked his undoing. But even so, his patient endurance and hard won conquests are shown in the Philoctetes to have received rich reward in the apotheosis of the hero. There is a passage in the Prometheus of Aeschylus, 511-575, that is often brought forward to prove that the Greeks held fate to be supreme over the gods even over Zeus himself and this is cited as conclusive evidence that the Greeks were fatalists. In this play Prometheus says: "Fate, the all-fulfiller, has otherwise decreed the end of these things" (511-515). The Chorus asks, "Who then holds the helm of necessity?" Prometheus replies: "The triple Fates and the mindful Erinyes". "And is Zeus weaker than these"? they ask. "Yes", Prometheus answers, "and therefore he cannot escape what is fated". This

positive statement of the supremacy of the fates is the more remarkable because elsewhere Aeschylus exalts the power of Zeus in no uncertain terms as the supreme power. To cite a few passages out of many; in the *Suppliants* 1016 Tucker's edition, we have: "There is no o'erstepping the mighty impassable will of Zeus". And again in 875 ff.: "And regard thy suppliants, O almighty Zeus that swayest the earth (*γαῖόχε παγκράτης Ζεῷ*)". "Yet thine wholly is the beam of the balance and without thee, what cometh to pass for mortals?" (*Theognis* 157 uses the same figure: "Zeus inclines the balance one time one way and another, another.") *Supp.* 524 ff.: "King of kings, most blessed of the blest and most absolute of absolute powers, all-happy Zeus", *ἀναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε καὶ τελίων τελει- | ότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῷ*. Clearly in these passages there is no subordination of Zeus to fate but on the contrary, he is represented as wielding all power, the supreme ruler of the universe. Can we reconcile the passage in the *Prometheus* with this? In the first place, we must remember that Prometheus who says these words is the bitter opponent of Zeus, stubborn in his resistance, implacable in his resentment and with unbending will enduring more than mortal agony rather than yield to the authority of Zeus. The haughty defiance of Prometheus kindles our admiration even though the poet through the Chorus shows us that he has sinned and is suffering justly because he has sinned, though he proudly refuses to recognize the fact. Prometheus is a marvellous creation of the poet's genius, for he has sinned not for himself but to help poor helpless humanity and while Zeus is justified in punishing him, yet his care for the welfare of mankind and his superb arrogance towards sovereign Zeus whom he deems an upstart tyrant, makes him the ideal tragic hero, whom we admire and yet condemn, whom we pity and yet blame, before whose sublime courage we stand in awe while we shudder at the awful suffering that racks his frame but cannot subdue his inflexible resolve. We must remember that this is but one play of the trilogy. There was also a *Prometheus Unbound* of which only a few fragments have come down to us but from these we find that in the end Zeus triumphs and Prometheus confesses his sin. Thereafter he takes his place among the gods of Olym-

pus but wears henceforth a willow wreath, the token of repentance, upon his brows (Athenaeus XV, 672 E, 674 D). However, I am far from saying that the Greeks were consistent in their utterances or beliefs and while in general Zeus is exalted to the supreme place, sometimes we find passages that seem to give predominance to fate, and while in general man is free to work out his own destiny, sometimes there is a doom upon him which he cannot escape. But do we not see precisely this in life? However we may explain it, do we not sometimes feel the futility of human endeavor? Do we not have the homely proverb, "Man proposes, God disposes"? Does not Shakespeare say "There's a divinity that shapes our ends, rough hew them how we will"? (Hamlet A. 5 Sc. 2.) And again: "What fates impose, that men must needs abide". (Henry VI, P. III, A. IV, Sc. 3.) "But O vain boast, who can control his fate"? (Othello, A. V, Sc. 2.) "Fate steals along with silent tread, found oftenest in what least we dread", says Cowper, *A Fable*. Have we not wrestled with the problem of Almighty power and predestination, God's foreknowledge and man's free will? But we are not fatalists and the Greeks no more were fatalists. Take the story of Pelops as Pindar tells it in the first Olympian ode. Enamoured of the lovely Hippodameia, he resolves to enter the lists to win her, though failure will be certain death. Alone in the darkness he stands upon the seashore and invokes the aid of Poseidon with whom in the past he has found favor. He knows full well the peril, for thirteen suitors already have been slain but nevertheless with undaunted courage he says: "Forasmuch as men must die, wherefore should one sit vainly in the dark through a dull and nameless age, without lot in noble deeds? Not so, but I will dare this strife. Do thou give the issue I desire." The gods help those who help themselves, so Poseidon grants his aid and Hippodameia is won. This is the true Greek spirit: daring in the face of peril, confidence in ability to achieve success, love of glory and honor and of the deeds that bring fame, and this is the theme of poet and orator as well. Where is any fatalism in this story? Pelops has determined to hazard his life for the prize that he longs for, and, thus resolved, he invokes the aid of the god. "But what of Oedipus?" the believer in fatal-

ism of the Greeks will ask. His destiny does seem to have been marked out for him, I grant, and yet Sophocles plainly shows even in his case that his own traits of character brought on the catastrophe and augmented it. This play is but one and might be taken as an illustration of what I have said that sometimes emphasis is put upon that something that seems to defy forethought and calculation and in some lives seems to bring disaster upon disaster culminating in utter ruin in spite of every well meant effort to avert the impending woe. But this play to the Athenian audience had something to teach quite apart from the truth of prophecy and oracular decree. They saw in it the lesson that was brought home to them again and again, that man cannot tread his path with sure self-confidence, but it may happen that in his very effort to save himself from peril, he may be rushing straight on to the dreaded evil. The play is a wonderful exponent of the irony of destiny and abounds in dramatic irony. In his loyal devotion to the state, Oedipus pronounces an awful curse upon the murderer of Laius whose presence is polluting the city, little dreaming that he is the guilty man himself and that it is upon his own head he is calling down this fearful imprecation. This was what wrought upon the souls of the Athenian audience and thrilled them with pity and fear, the consciousness of man's blindness and ignorance, the possibility that the seeming good may be evil, that when in all men's eyes Oedipus stood forth great and wise and when he was at the very pinnacle of power and honor, at that precise moment came the crushing blow that hurled him down to the deepest depths of misery. The play is most dramatic in conception and most dramatically worked out from point to point but many misread its meaning. They see in it merely the fulfilment of the oracle, a man in the toils of fate, but that was not what quickened the imagination of the Greeks, I repeat. The play wrought powerfully upon their thought and feeling because it illustrated so forcefully the painful truth that great power, high station, riches, honor, rest on no secure basis and the higher the height attained, the greater the fall may be. As Sophocles expresses it in *Philoctetes* 501 ff. Save me, pity me, seeing how all human destiny is full of fear and peril that good fortune may be followed by evil. He who stands clear

of trouble should beware of dangers and when a man lives at ease, then it is that he should look most closely to his life lest ruin come upon him by stealth.

Moreover, in the case of Oedipus, we must not forget that we have contrast of the opposite kind in the beautiful play of Oedipus at Colonus. There Oedipus is an outcast and wanderer, old and blind, to all men most pitiable, but it is then when he has become chastened and humbled that the gods lift him up and give to him an ending of life glorious almost beyond belief.

Shaks. Henry VIII, Act III, Scene 2:

"This is the state of man: Today he puts forth
The tender leaves of hope, tomorrow blossoms,
And bears his blushing honors thick upon him;
The third day, comes a frost, a killing frost,
And,—when he thinks, good easy man, full surely
His greatness is a ripening,—nips his root,
And then he falls, as I do."

A few years ago the changes were rung upon heredity and environment. What we were for weal or woe, for good or evil, was all marked out for us from the cradle to the grave, and we were the merest automata with no more volition than marionettes. But in spite of all that was said, and said learnedly in confirmation, the sober sense of people rose in revolt. For we know that we can change our inheritance, that we can rise superior to circumstances, that there are currents and cross currents in life and even in a wretched environment there may be opened a door of opportunity and success. But heredity and environment are something to reckon with and they do lay a heavy hand on many. The family where there is the stain of a great crime, the family that has evil upon evil charged to its account, does fasten a taint upon the offspring, and unless he be of heroic mould and purpose, he too will follow on in the same way and add to the count of crime and wrong. Is not the life of the individual inextricably bound up with the life of the family? Does not the newborn come into life with the inherited blessing of the house shining bright upon him or with the curse casting its dark shadow over him? This truth the Greeks have embodied in those wonderful tales of illustrious but guilty families, but

even so, the case is not hopeless, for Orestes stays the curse on the Atreidae and the upright Thersander is proof against the evil of the Labdacidae. The Greeks have set forth the inherited blessing and curse so graphically that they have impressed men's minds with this to the exclusion of the rest of their teaching. While they did give this a place, they also saw other aspects of life and this was only one element in their poetry and far from being the central pivotal theme. Much more do they dwell upon this, that man is free, but while, exulting in his freedom, he ranges wide in thought and fancy, Zeus and his laws he must hold in reverence. "Insolence is the very child of impiety but from healthfulness of soul cometh what all desire and pray for—happiness."—Verrall's *Eumenides*, 536–540. In dealing with the Greeks, we must remember we are dealing with a people of vivid imagination to whom the created world was instinct not only with life and energy, but had something of the divine as well, and so the rippling laughing streams had their naiads and the murmuring swaying trees their dryads, and the forest glades and mountain hollows their nymphs while the fifty Nereids in radiant beauty danced amid ocean's dancing waves; and so, thought and fancy played over all nature, weaving and interweaving those many stranded myths of perennial freshness and charm. And not simply the world of the sensible realities but abstract qualities were not conceived of as cold abstractions but they too had the imprint of the divine, the warmth and the glow, *αἰδώς* reverence and compassion, and *δίκη* enthroned with Zeus, and *ὄρκος* oath, the servant of Zeus who witnesseth all things. So perhaps also *Μοῖρα* the allotment of Zeus to mortals, becomes a deity but only 3 times even in Homer do we find the *Μοῖραι* regarded as persons who at the birth of each man weave for him the lot of life and death. What is the meaning of this word *Μοῖρα*? It comes from *μεῖρομαι* to divide and means part, allotted portion. Each god has his own allotted portion or province—a certain department of nature or field of activity. Poseidon thus refers to Zeus, *Il. XV*, 187 ff.: *τρῆς γάρ τ' ἐκ Κρόνου εἰμὲν ἀδελφεοί . . . τριχθὰ δὲ πάντα δέδασται, ἕκαστος δ' ἔμμορε τιμῆς . . . καὶ κρατερός περ ἐών, μέντω τριτάτῃ ἐνὶ μοίρῃ*, "We are three brothers and in three lots are all things divided and each took his appointed domain (or privilege,

status) ; masterful though he be, let him stay quiet in his own third part." Compare these passages for the meaning of *μοῖρα* : Bacchylides IV 20, "to receive a full portion of blessings", *λαγχάνειν ἄπο μοῖρα[ν ἐσ]θλῶν*. Eur. Medea, 995: *δύστανε, μοίρας ὅσον παροίχῃ*, "Wretched man, you are at fault respecting your lot" (lit. have strayed beyond it).—Allen and Moore. "*μοίρας* here is *εὐδαιμονίας*"—Earle. Soph. Antig. 895: *κάτειμι, πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίου*, "I shall go down (to death) before the term of my life is spent". Soph. Antig. 170: *ὅτ' οὖν ἐκείνοι πρὸς διπλῆς μοίρας μίαν καθ' ἡμέραν ὤλοντο παῖσαντές τε καὶ πληγέντες αὐτόχειρι σὺν μιάσματι*, "Since then these have fallen in one day by a two-fold doom, each smitten by the other, each stained with a brother's blood". Here it has no more force than *θάνατος* death. Eur. Med. 987: *τοῖον εἰς ἔρκος πεσεῖται καὶ μοῖραν θανάτου δύστανος*, "Such is the snare into which she will fall and doom of death, poor girl". Eur. Med. 856: *πῶς δ' ὄμματα προσβαλοῦσα τέκνοις ἄδακρυν μοῖραν σχήσεις φόνου*; "and still without a tear retain thy blooded purpose" (doom of slaughter.—Coleridge). Eur. Med. 1281: *αὐτόχειρι μοῖρα κτενεῖς*, "You will slay with fate made by thine own hand". Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, Vol. V, p. 447: "We may be certain that *μοῖρα* and *τύχη* did not arise owing to the force of the conception of an over-ruling fate, but more probably as unpretentious daimones of birth, who gave his lot to the infant. As Democritus well said, 'Men have feigned an image of luck, a mask of their own folly' ". Eur. Iph. T. 205: *ἐξ ἀρχᾶς λόχαι στερεὰν παιδείαν Μοῖραι ξυντείνουσιν θεαί*, "From the beginning have the fates, the goddesses who presided at my birth, stretched out for me a cruel childhood". The fates are goddesses of childbirth here. Pindar, *Pyth.* IV, 145:

*Μοῖραι δ' ἀφίσταντ', εἰ τις ἐχθρὰ πέλει
δμογόνους αἰδῶ καλῶναι.*

Fairbanks, *Greek Religion*, p. 310: "*Μοῖρα* (often translated fate) is not any power higher than the gods, and therefore the ultimate background of the universe; it would be truer to call it the conscience of the gods. As men ought to uphold the moral order, ought not to act *ὑπὲρ μόρον*, so the gods feel under obligation to uphold the moral order of the universe. . . . The existence of natural law in the physical world and of eternal principles in the moral world early

made a deep impression on the Greek mind. . . . The precepts in the Works and Days of Hesiod, or in the poetry of Theognis and Solon, embody the thought of generations on law and order in the physical world and in the moral world". P. 140: "It is Zeus who dispenses good and evil to men, Zeus to whom the epic heroes commonly pray. . . . As an actor in the poem, however, Zeus cannot always follow his personal desires. When Sarpedon is hard pressed by Patroclus, Zeus questions whether to let his friend die or snatch him away to his home in Lycia till Hera reminds him that it is Sarpedon's lot to die at this time. 'Neither men nor gods can ward it off, when the baneful lot of death overtakes a man'. Is this lot or portion a fate higher than Zeus? Or is it part of the 'ancient decrees of the gods' which Zeus is bound to obey? The question is never asked in such form by the poet who recognizes no power higher than that of Zeus". "If Zeus saved Sarpedon, he would be acting *ὑπὲρ νόμον*, contrary to the 'ought' which he felt binding on himself", p. 141.

Cornford, F. M., *From Religion to Philosophy*, p. 13 f.: "Further, as in the Ionian philosopher, so in Homer, the ordinance of fate is not a mere blind and senseless barrier of impossibility: it is a moral decree—the boundary of right and wrong. We may even say that the two notions of Destiny and Right are hardly distinguished. This comes out in the phrase 'beyond what is ordained', 'beyond fate' (*ὑπὲρ νόμον*, *ὑπὲρ αἰσάν*), which in Homer halts between the two meanings: 'beyond what is destined, and so must be', and 'beyond what is right, and so ought to be'. Thus, when the first sense—destiny—is uppermost, it is denied that God can make anything happen 'beyond fate', Il. VI. 487. But elsewhere we find on the contrary that things do happen 'beyond fate'. In the Iliad XVI, 780, the Achaeans prevail for a time in battle *ὑπὲρ αἰσάν*. Od. I. 32, 'beyond what is ordained'. Here, it is evident, the moral sense is uppermost. The offenders went beyond, not their fate, but the bounds of morality. Hence in such cases the balance is redressed by swiftly following vengeance, which itself is 'beyond what is ordained' in the sense that the sinners brought it upon themselves by their own wickedness, so that they, and not fate, are responsible". When Croesus (Hdt. I. 91) blames the oracle for his defeat, Apollo throws the

responsibility upon Croesus because he took the interpretation that pleased him without further inquiry, and Croesus thereupon acknowledges that it was his fault and not that of the god. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, p. 79: "The casting the lots of Hector and Achilles into the scale cannot be interpreted as a questioning of the superior will of fate, for Zeus never does this elsewhere; the act might as naturally be explained as a divine method of drawing lots, or as Welcker prefers, as a symbol of his long and dubious reflection". Cf. Il. XXII, 209:

καὶ τότε δὴ χρύσεια πατὴρ ἐτίταινε τάλαντα,
ἐν δ' ἐτίθει δύο κῆρε ταπηλεγέος θανάτοιο,
ἔλκε δὲ μέσσα λαβών, ῥέπε δ' Ἑκτορος αἵσιμον ἡμᾶρ
ῥῆχετο δ' εἰς Ἀΐδαο, λίπεν δὲ ἐ Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,

"Then it was that the Father drew out to their length the golden scales and therein he put 2 lots of death that bringeth long woe, and lifted them off the ground and down sank for Hector the day of doom". See Note in Leaf and Bayfield's edition, Il. VIII. 69; XVI. 658; XIX. 223.

"Μοῖρα is a sort of natural law; man or god may act contrary to it; and if he does, man or god, the result is the same—he pays the penalty for his folly".—Fairbanks, *The Myth of Greece and Rome*, pp. 40, 41. αἶσα properly means measure. Cf. Il. XV. 207, "When a messenger showeth discretion", ὅτ' ἄγγελος αἴσιμα εἶδῃ.

The Μοῖραι in all periods received but scant worship. Zeus has the Cult name Μοιραγέτης the leader or guide of fate, in the Altis of Olympia, Paus. 5, 15, 5, and again in Arcadia, Paus. 8, 37, 1, and this "formula", Farnell says, "unconsciously expressed the deepest views of Greek philosophy. . . . The Stoic view had but little to do with the average belief, and the astrological aspect of destiny belongs mainly to the decadence of the Greek world".—*Cults*, I, p. 83.

After a careful study of all the passages in Sophokles bearing on the relation of Zeus to the Μοῖραι, Dr. Josef Kohn, *Zeus und sein Verhältnis zu den Moirai nach Sophokles*, reaches this result: that the Μοῖραι do have a personal existence; that they are subordinated to Zeus; that their activity is more or less completely in the background while Zeus appears as the sole ruler of the world and guide of the fate

allotted by him with wisdom to each one. Cf. El. 175: "Great still in heaven is Zeus, who sees and governs all",

ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ
Ζεὺς δὲ ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει.

Antig. 604 ff.: τεὰν, Ζεῦ, δύνασιν τίς ἀνδρῶν ὑπερβασία κατάσχοι;

Welcker, in his Griech. Goetterlehre, I, p. 185, has shown that in Homer the doom of god is habitual and he strongly denies that in the Homeric μοῖρα θεῶν, there is the conception of an overruling destiny to whose dictates even the gods must bow. Il. XXIV, 527 ff., δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει. Here Zeus is the dispenser of evil and good. Il. XV, 107:

φήσιν γὰρ ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσιν
κάρτεϊ τε σθένει τε διακριδὸν εἶναι ἄριστος.
τῷ ἔχεθ' ὅττι κεν ὕμμι κακὸν πέμπῃσιν ἐκάστω.

Zeus is supreme. Therefore be patient with whatever evil he sends upon each.

The word fate is used loosely in translation, as it is in common speech, and this leads to misconception. Soph. El. 1485 ff.:

τί γὰρ βροτῶν ἂν σὺν κακοῖς μεμιγμένων
θνήσκειν ὁ μέλλων τοῦ χρόνου κέρδος φέροι;

"When mortals are in the *meshes of fate*, how can such respite avail one who is to die?"—Jebb.

The great idea which Ionia contributed to human thought was that of the universal rule of law. It is one and the same law that runs through the physical and the moral world. "The sun will not overpass his bounds, or the Erinnyes, the ministers of justice, will find him out"; Heraklit. Fr. 29 (94), ἥλιος οὐχ ὑπερβήσεται μέτρα· εἰ δὲ μή, Ἑρινύες μιν δίκης ἐπικούροι ἐξευρήσουσι.

This recognition of order, law in the universe is embodied in proverbial sayings. Eur. Hel. 513-514:

λόγος γάρ ἐστιν, οὐκ ἐμός, σοφῶν δ' ἔπος,
δεινῆς ἀνάγκης οὐδὲν ἰσχύειν πλεον.

Soph. Antig. 1106, ἀνάγκη δ' οὐχὶ δυσμαχήμεον. Euripides shows the influence of philosophical speculations in his remarkable prayer in the Troades 884 ff.:

ὦ γῆς δχημα κάπ' ἡγῆς ἔχων ἔδραν,
δοῖς ποτ' εἰ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰλέναι,
Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεις εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν,
προσηνέξῃ σε.

And again the philosopher poet in the *Alkestis* (962 ff.) makes the Chorus say:

ἐγὼ καὶ διὰ μούσας
καὶ μετάρσιος ἤξα, καὶ
πλείστων ἀψάμενος λόγων
κρείσσον οὐδὲν Ἀνάγκας
ἦδρον,

"Myself have traced the muses' path, have soared amid the stars, have laid hold on many a theme and yet have found naught stronger than necessity".—Coleridge's translation. Cf. *Simonides* 3 (12), 16: ἀνάγκη δ' οὐδὲ θεοὶ μάχονται. But in these passages the word is ἀνάγκη, and such utterances had little influence in moulding daily life and thought. They have contributed much, however, towards a misunderstanding of the Greek attitude on such questions. The riddle of the universe is still a riddle, and if the Greeks, while maintaining the omnipotence of Zeus, sometimes talked of an over-ruling necessity, it is not to be wondered at, but too much stress ought not to be laid upon it. Lucian may exercise his wit upon it as in *Zeus, the Tragedian*, where he makes Zeus say, "We have nothing to do with taking vengeance but the fates weave his death for each man", but Zeus is still Zeus to the Greeks for all these stray utterances, and the ruler of the universe.

Ζεὺς τοι κολαστὴς τῶν ὑπερκόμπων ἄγαν
φρονημάτων ἔπεστιν, εὐθυνος βαρὺς,

"Zeus is a judge who visits heavily all whose self-glorious spirit vaults too high". (*Aesch. Persians* 827 f. with Bury's translation.)

A question of this kind, however, cannot be settled by citations and the statistical method, but is determined rather by the ideals and the general trend of life and especially by the way the heroes and heroines are delineated in literature. Take *Odysseus* and what do we find? A typical Greek, resourceful, ready to meet emergencies, quick-witted, and daring. We find in the *Odyssey* a curious interplay between divine agencies, and human strength and prowess. Of himself *Odysseus* gets the better of the Cyclops when his venturesomeness has nearly cost him his life and there is nothing cleverer in the whole story than the cunning by which he makes his escape, but in

his meeting with Circe he is fortified against her magic arts by the antidote that he has received from Hermes; on the other hand, he has strength in himself alone to hold out against Calypso of the radiant hair, not yielding even to the seductive lure of becoming an immortal but unwavering in his deep longing for his native land and those he has left behind. His companions are fine examples of those who are amply warned but, notwithstanding, perish through their own folly. It is his own heart that Odysseus chides and not the gods in XX, 18, when he is trying to regain his own upon his return to his own land, *τέτλαθι δῆ, κραδίη· καὶ κύντερον ἄλλο ποτ' ἔτλης*. As Odysseus is portrayed, ready for any emergency, with a keen love of knowledge, venturesome, energetic, resourceful, hopeful, sometimes cast down and in fear but soon gathering his forces together for new endeavor, alert, active, with mind quick to conceive and courage to execute, what has he in common with the stolid fatalist who grimly says, "If it must come, it must, and there is nothing I can do to change it".

Not man's impotence, but man's power, not his limitations but his achievements, is the favorite theme of the Greeks, as in the chorus of the Antigone: "Many wonders there are but nothing more wonderful than man".

332. *πολλὰ τὰ δεινὰ κούδεν ἀνθρώπου δεινότερον πέλει.*

360. *παντοπόρος ἄπορος ἐπ' οὐδέν ἐρχεται.*

The danger is that he will be led astray by his very strength and power. "Seek not to become Zeus", says Pindar, in the 4th Isthmian. "Mortal things befit mortals". This is the keynote of Greek teaching.

No dark, sinister fate hovers over them, chilling enterprise and benumbing their hearts. Their gods are not inflexible in their purpose or inexorable. In Il. XVI 523 ff. Glaukos prays Apollo to heal him of his wound that he may rescue Sarpedon's body, and Apollo grants him his wish. "The saying is, gifts persuade even the gods", Eur. Medea, 964,

πείθειν δῶρα καὶ θεοὺς λόγος.

The Greeks were wonderful interpreters of life. Clear-eyed they looked out upon the world and knew how to register what they saw so that it lives again to those who read. And what did they see? They saw what anyone who goes through

life and reflects upon it sees, that calculate as we will, forecast events as we may, however fortunate and successful we may be, there is an incalculable element with which we have to reckon, outside and beyond the reach of any effort of ours. Before this we stand powerless; the unforeseen intervenes, our purposes are frustrated, our endeavors baffled, our success changed to failure, our prosperity to ruin.

Life is a game of whist. From unseen sources
The cards are shuffled and the hands are dealt;
Blind are our efforts to control the forces
That though unseen are not less strongly felt.

—*Ironquill.*

We say "Mysterious are the workings of Providence." "We know not what a day will bring forth". "God's ways are inscrutable and past our finding out." "Verily Thou art a God that hidest Thyself". All of which means that there is some mysterious power working its will in the world in unaccountable ways and with tragic consequences at times.

"Count no man happy till his death", said the wise Solon, and this the Greeks repeat again and again in their literature. So, for example, Simonides 17 (46):

*"Ἀνθρώπος ἐὼν μήποτε φάσῃς ὃ τι γίγεται αὔριον,
μηδ' ἄνδρα ἰδὼν ὀλβιον, ὅσσον χρόνον ἔσσεται·
ὥκεια γάρ, οὐδὲ τανυπτερύγου μύλας
οὕτως ἂ μεταστάσις.*

What do the Greeks say?

They say: "Man is a free agent, but with an ancestral heritage for blessing or bane. Man is a free agent, but subject to forces he cannot control, happenings he cannot foresee. Man is a free agent, but the area of his powers is hedged about with impassable limits. Man is a free agent but he is mortal". Do not we say the same? Who has ever been able to set the bounds and mark out where free agency ends and divine working begins? But this does not prevent us any more than it prevented the Greeks from trying to carve out our fortunes, from believing that we are, measurably at least, masters of our fate.

Wherein was the greatness of the Greeks? Was it not in that creative genius essentially free and untrammelled which they possessed to such a marked degree and which found ex-

pression in their matchless literature and art? Was it not in the free play of thought and fancy that ranged at will and delighted in its ranging? Freedom of thought, freedom of action, love of the beautiful, incessant activity, joy in living, eager emulation in pursuit of honor and glory, fertility of resource and confidence in their own resolute daring, all this is incontestably theirs and all this is diametrically opposed to any fatalistic doctrine, to anything bordering on patient and unquestioning submission to the fixed and unalterable decrees of fate. But they did not deceive themselves.

"In a little moment groweth up the delight of men; yea, and in like sort falleth it to the ground, when a doom adverse hath shaken it. Things of a day—what are we, and what not? Man is a dream of shadows". Then comes the other note: "Nevertheless when a glory from God hath shined on them, a clear light abideth upon men and a serene life".—Pindar, *Pyth.* VIII. 92 ff:

ἐν δ' ὀλίγῃ βροτῶν
τὸ τεργνὸν αὖξεται· οὕτω δὲ καὶ πίτνει χαμαί,
ἀποτρόπῃ γνῶμῃ σσεισμένον.
ἐπάμεροι· τί δέ τις; τί δ' οὐ τις; σκιᾶς ὄναρ
ἀνθρώπος· ἀλλ' ὅταν αἴγλα διόσδοτος ἔλθῃ,
λαμπρὸν φέγγος ἔπεστιν ἀνδρῶν καὶ μελιχὸς αἰών.

ABBY LEACH.

II.—QUINTUS CURTIUS RUFUS.

If the work of Quintus Curtius Rufus ever contained any definite statements in regard to the writer and the time at which he wrote, these must have been in the first two books which have been lost. In the absence of such statements all conclusions must be based on inferences drawn from incidental allusions found in his work. Of this other writers are profoundly silent. We do indeed find in Tacitus, *Ann.* 11, 20, 10, and in Pliny, *Ep.* 7, 27 mention made of a Quintus Curtius who was governor of Africa, and in Suetonius, *de Rhet.* (p. 272 Roth's ed.) "Q. Curtius Rufus"; but of the literary work of these men we know absolutely nothing. And the same can be said with equal truth of the literary work of any Quintus Curtius who may be claimed to be the author of the history of Alexander.

The determination of the date of Curtius has furnished a fine field for critical and uncritical revelry. To say nothing of the large band placing Curtius in the reign of Claudius, Dosson, *Étude sur Quinte Curce*, pp. 18 ff., names more than three score writers who have placed him in various reigns from that of Augustus to that of Theodosius. But Curtius himself furnishes only two indefinite statements bearing on the date of publication.

Curtius mentions the Parthians four times, stating in 6, 2, 12 in *Parthienem perventum est, tunc ignobilem gentem, nunc caput omnium qui post Euphraten et Tigrin amnes siti rubro mari terminantur.* This shows that the writing could not have been later than 226 A. D., the date of the downfall of the Parthian power. But it can apply equally well to several periods later than the reign of Trajan, for it is stated by Rufus Festus, *Breviarium rerum gestarum populi Romani* 14 *sed postea, sub Antoninis, Marco et Vero, ac Severo Pertinace, ceterisque principibus Romanis, qui adversus Parthos eventu vario dimicaverunt, quater amissa, quater recepta Mesopotamia est.* The Parthians seem to have had control of Mesopotamia during

the earlier years of Alexander Severus, for he is reported to have said, Hist. Aug. 18, 56, 6, terras interamnās neglectas ab impura illa belua recepimus.

The city of Tyre was rebuilt after its capture by Alexander, but seems to have lost its political rights about the time of Septimius Severus, 193–211 A. D.; see Dosson, p. 28. Curtius says in 4, 4, 21 post excidium renata, longa pace refovente, sub tutela Romanae mansuetudinis adquiescit. The terms *longa pace*, *tutela*, *mansuetudinis* and *adquiescit* are all so flexible that they are useless for a rigid determination of years. We find in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* 38, 17 orationibus . . . mediis divi Augusti temporibus habitae, postquam longa temporum quies . . . omnia depacaverat, and there had been political quiet for only a few years. All of these terms might have been applied to Tyre at any time after Rome had secured control of the East.

I. LIVY.

The style of Curtius bears a close resemblance to that of Livy, and so close that one must have made a systematic use of the work of the other. The method of Livy has been discussed elsewhere, *The Historical Attitude of Livy*, A. J. P. XXV 40 ff., and here we need only point out some similar features in the work of Curtius. He sometimes states more than he believes 9, 1, 34 equidem plura transcribo quam credo: nam nec adfirmare sustineo, de quibus dubito, nec subducere, quae accepi; 10, 10, 12 traditum magis quam creditum refero. As does Livy, he interposes his own conclusions, in the singular (8, 4, 28; 8, 10, 15 credo; 4, 3, 23; 8, 1, 17; 6, 7, 35 dixerim), as well as in the plural (7, 8, 12 accepimus; 3, 1, 13; 10, 10, 5 comperimus; 7, 8, 11 perferemus; 5, 6, 9 dubitabimus aut credemus; cf. 5, 11, 10 eludant me licet. In a few passages the reference is general: 6, 6, 28 ubi prima quaeque damnamus; 8, 2, 1 non futura, sed transacta perpendimus; 3, 4, 2 munimenta quae manu ponimus; 3, 4, 2 ab aditu quo Ciliciam intramus.

There are also other forms of references similar to those found in Livy: 3, 12, 5 sicut paulo ante dictum est; 5, 1, 10; 9, 10, 24 ut supra dictum est; 6, 2, 4 dicentur; 5, 1, 35; 6, 1, 7; 8, 4, 14; 9, 1, 33 memoriae proditum est; 6, 11, 21 anceps con-

iectione est; 4, 4, 19 si famae libet credere; 5, 2, 9 ut fama est. The indefinite second person also occurs: 4, 10, 23; 8, 4, 12; 9, 4, 14 (twice); 9, 9, 16 crederes. The generalizing and restrictive clauses are also similar to those in Livy: 8, 14, 20 quod fere fit; 3, 3, 6; 8, 2, 34; 8, 10, 16 ut fere fit; 4, 1, 24; 6, 6, 27 ut solet; 4, 3, 7 quod in adversis rebus fieri solet; 6, 6, 32 sicut par erat. Similar also are some phrases with *ut*: 3, 2, 6 ut inter illas gentes; 9, 1, 14 ut in ea regione. A few temporal terms are used in comparisons: 3, 1, 2 illa tempestas; 4, 2, 11 ea t.; 4, 7, 2 quam nunc castra Alexandri vocant. These quotations are enough to show a close resemblance in the method of the two writers; but of far more importance in a study of the two is the descriptive material used by both.

The basis of the history of Alexander is Grecian, yet we find men and women and their environments presented with the same coloring by both writers. Some selections from Curtius with the parallel passages from Livy will clearly illustrate this fact: C. 3, 3, 1 praeceptum est a rege: opera eorum usum se in bello: L. 1, 26, 1 imperat Tullus: usum se eorum opera, si bellum foret; C. 3, 8, 15 circumduci, ut copias suas noscerent, satisque omnibus spectatis nuntiare, quae vidissent, regi suo iussit: L. 30, 29, 2 iussos visere omnia per castra, qua vellent, circumduci iussit; percunctatusque, satin' per commodum omnia explorassent, dimisit; 3, 8, 25 (Persae) itineri quam proelio aptiores: L. 33, 9, 5 (phalanx) aptior itineri quam pugnae; C. 4, 2, 21 lapidibus telisque incessebant; L. 26, 10, 7 lapidibus telisque incessebant; C. 4, 4, 12 saxa et quidquid fors in manus dederat, ingerentes subeuntibus; L. 2, 65, 4 saxa obiacentia pedibus ingerit in subeuntes; C. 4, 12, 15 quodsi supervenisset, ingens clades accipi potuit; L. 21, 34, 7 nisi firmata fuissent, ingens accipienda clades fuerit; C. 4, 14, 11 pro carissimis pignoribus corpora opponimus: L. 21, 9, 8 pro nudata moenibus patria corpora opponentibus. In C. 10, 6, 12 hastis scuta quatientibus is given a custom of the Macedonians similar to that of the Gauls as given in L. 7, 26, 1 quatients scutum hasta. An event preceding the capture of a city is stated the same in C. 9, 8, 12 duae turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant, as in L. 21, 8, 5 tres deinceps turres cum ingenti fragore prociderant; and the Indians are treated the same by Alexander, C. 7, 6, 16 signo, ut puberes interficerentur, dato

as the Saguntines by Hannibal, L. 21, 14, 3 signo dato, ut omnes puberes interficerentur.

The horses of Alexander are taken across the Tanais, C. 7, 9, 4 maior pars a puppe nantes equos loris trahebat, as those of Hannibal across the Rhone; L. 21, 27, 9 equorum pars magna nantes loris a puppibus trahebantur. The description of the Hydaspes in C. 8, 13, 10 ripae, quam equi virique compleverant, and in sec. 18 ut oculos hostium averteret, was modelled after statements in this same chapter of Livy: sec. 1 omnem ripam equites virique obtinentes; and sec. 2 quos ut averteret; while sec. 5 Hispani sine ulla mole in utres vestimentis coniectis ipsi caetris superpositis incubantes flumen tranavere, is varied a little in C. 7, 5, 17 utres quam plurimos stramentis refertos dividit, his incubantes transnavere amnem.

A number of statements associated with religious matters are also similar: Curtius says in 6, 2, 5 captivae iubebantur suo ritu canere inconditum et abhorrens peregrinis auribus carmen, while Livy describes a religious procession in 27, 37, 13 carmen canentes ibant, illa tempestate forsitan laudabile rudibus ingeniis nunc abhorrens et inconditum, si referatur. The account in C. 7, 10, 4-6 of some captives led to death by order of Alexander resembles that of some about to fight, of whom Livy says in 21, 42, 3 cum sui moris tripudiis arma raptim capiebat. The reverence shown by the men caring for the body of Alexander, C. 10, 10, 13 primo non sunt ausi admovere velut spiranti manus, deinde precati, ut ius fasque esset mortalibus attrectare deum, is akin to that shown by the Roman soldiers at Veii, L. 5, 22, 4 primo admoventes manus, quod id signum nisi certae gentis sacerdos adtrectare non esset solitus. Here also we may place the words in C. 6, 4, 24 experiendi clementiam regis, which are not greatly unlike those in L. 28, 34, 3 experta fide et clementia Scipionis.

A few references to disease and death are also parallel: C. 5, 1, 11 ingruentibus deinde morbis, quos odor cadaverum totis iacentium campis vulgaverat: L. 37, 23, 2 insolito odore ingruere morbi volgo. Alexander orders the burial of his dead in C. 7, 9, 21 ossa tumulo contegi, just as the Acarnanes ask for themselves in L. 26, 25, 13 uno tumulo contegerent. The resemblance is also noticeable between C. 9, 4, 6 ignem subiecere tectis seque ac liberos coniugesque incendio cremant,

and L. 21, 14, 4 inclusi cum coniugibus ac liberis domos super se ipsos concremaverant.

In Curtius and Livy are many pieces of personal coloring so alike that one suggests the other, though the wording may not be the same in both. A good illustration of this is the account of the death of Hypsides in C. 7, 7, 37 itaque subditis calcari-bus equo in medios hostes se inmisit et memorabili edita pugna obrutus telis est. Of this it might be truthfully said sic Livius de Hasdrubale scribit in 27, 49, 4 concitato equo se in cohortem Romanam inmisit. Ibi, ut patre Hamilcare et Hannibale fratre dignum erat, pugnans cecidit. The words, it is true, are not the same, yet there is a general resemblance which indicates that one of the writers when he wrote had in mind the portrayal of the other. It is not impossible, though not probable, that one name might have suggested the other, but the method is one of variational quotation, and the variation itself is suggestive of borrowing. Words and circumstances may differ, but the outlines of the picture remain the same. As might be expected, Alexander and Hannibal are presented with the same environment or as participating in the same activities.

The words assigned to Alexander in C. 9, 2, 28 oro quaesoque ne . . . alumnum commilitonem vestrum, ne dicam regem, deseratis, recall Hannibal as described by Livy in 21, 43, 18 alumnus prius omnium vestrum quam imperator; and Alexander at Arbela, C. 4, 16, 3 frendente Alexandro is like Hannibal leaving Italy, L. 30, 20, 1 frendens gemensque. The statement about Alexander at Gaza in C. 4, 6, 23 dum incautius subit is the same as that about Hannibal in L. 21, 7, 10. But similar descriptions are not confined to these two men, for others also have identical experiences. It is said of Alexander in C. 6, 1, 5 iactationem vulnerum haud facile tolerantem, as of the wounded Hanno in L. 30, 19, 5 sperans leniorem iactationem vulneris fore. The guides desert Alexander, C. 9, 9, 1 duces socordius adservati profugerant, just as Hasdrubal is deserted, L. 24, 47, 9 duces parum intente adservati, alter . . . subsedit, alter . . . tranavit. Porus, C. 8, 14, 37, hoc ultimo virtutis opere edito, is described in the words of Livy 30, 15, 10. Other men also are presented with the same verbal coloring: In C. 3, 11, 7 Dareus curru sublimis, at the battle of Arbela, reminds us of Livius in his triumph, L. 28, 9, 15. Abda-

lonymus, C. 4, 1, 20 intentus operi diurno strepitum armorum, qui totam Asiam concusserat, non exaudiebat, is another Archimedes, L. 25, 31, 9 in tanto tumultu, quantum *pavor* . . . ciere poterat, intentum formis, interfectum. The description of Roxana in C. 8, 4, 23 eximia corporis specie et decore habitus in barbaris raro, quae quamquam inter electas processerat, omnium tamen oculos convertit in se; and of the Spanish maiden in L. 26, 50, 1 virgo adeo eximia forma, ut, quacumque incedebat, converteret omnium oculos, are each suggestive of the other.

Though these may be enough to illustrate the close connection of the two histories yet a few others will be given: C. 7, 5, 37 Dareus existat ab inferis: L. 39, 37, 3 si existat hodie ab inferis Lycurgus, gaudeat; C. 4, 1, 26 magnae indolis specimen: L. 35, 15, 3 specimen sui dederat; C. 6, 9, 4 Parmenio illa aetate: L. 10, 3, 4 Fabium ea aetate; C. 4, 13, 35 laevum cornu Parmenioni tuendum datum: L. 22, 45, 8 Gemino Servilio media pugna tuenda data; C. 6, 7, 10 ab illo capite . . . incohaturos: L. 1, 25, 4 numen ab ipso capite orsum; C. 8, 7, 3 nostris malis didici: L. 36, 7, 20 bonis malisque meis didici; C. 6, 10, 15 impleturus omnes metu: L. 24, 26, 12 impleturae urbem metu. And though the phraseology differs, the account of the killing of Spitamenes by his wife in C. 8, 3, 9 is along the same lines as the account in Livy 38, 24, 9 describing the killing of the centurion by the wife of Argiagontes.

The characterizations of masses of men by the two writers indicate that one derived suggestions from the other. The multitude is the same in both, as in C. 4, 10, 7 inpotens, saeva, mutabilis: L. 2, 7, 5 ut sunt mutabiles volgi animi. Compare also C. 9, 4, 22 omnis multitudo et maxime militaris mobili impetu affertur; and C. 10, 7, 11 nullum profundum mare, nullum vastum fretum et procellosum tantos ciet fluctus, quantos multitudo motus habet, with L. 28, 27, 11 sed multitudo omnis sicut natura maris per se immobilis est; ut venti et aurae ciet, ita aut tranquillum aut procellae in vobis sunt. The sentence telling of the hostility of the Egyptians to the Persians in C. 4, 7, 1 Persarum opibus infensi, quippe avare et superbe imperitatum sibi esse credebant, differs only in the order of the adverbs from L. 21, 1, 3 superbe avareque crederent imperitatum victis esse; cf. C. 8, 3, 16; 9, 8, 9. A statement of Livy

in regard to the Gauls in 21, 20, 8 *ni auro, cuius avidissima gens est*, is parallel to that used to set forth the Persian view of the Macedonians in C. 5, 1, 6 *avidissima gens . . . satiaret se auro*, as well as to the account of the actions of Harpalus at Athens in C. 10, 2, 3 *pecunia conciliasse sibi principum animos*. Alexander encourages his men by telling them in C. 4, 14, 3 *nomina modo vana gentium ignotarum ne extimescerent*, just as Quintius does the Romans by his reference to the army of Antiochus in L. 35, 49, 8 *multa nomina gentium inauditarum*. Notice also in C. 4, 14, 4 *quod ignoti essent, ignobile esse*. We find in C. 5, 6, 18 *molliora ingenia* and in L. 21, 37, 6 *locis mollioribus et accollarum ingeniis*, while C. 5, 5, 7 *invisitata simulacra, non homines videbantur*, and L. 21, 40, 9 *effigies, immo umbrae hominum*, are variations of the same picture. Compare also C. 7, 4, 7 *Bessus circumferri merum largius iubet*, and L. 26, 13, 8 *poculum idem circumferetur*. We shall close the consideration of the personal descriptions with two passages of greater length. Of the revelers at Persepolis it is said in C. 5, 7, 4 "*quin igitur*", *inquit*, "*ulciscimur Graeciam et urbi faces subdimus*"? *Omnes incaluerant mero*. This is doubly suggestive of the Roman revelers described in L. 1, 57, 7 "*quin conscendimus equos, invisimus praesentes nostrarum ingenia*"? *incaluerant vino*. "*age sane*" *omnes*. The Macedonian lustration is described by C. in 10, 9, 12 *Macedonum reges ita lustrare soliti erant milites, ut discissae canis viscera . . . ab utraque abicerent parte, intra id spatium armati omnes starent*. Livy says of the same practice in 40, 6, 1 *cuius sollemne tale: caput mediae canis praecisae et pars ad dextram, cum extis posterior ad laevam viae ponitur; inter hanc hostiam copiae armatae traducuntur*.

Curtius and Livy sometimes describe external features and conditions in the same way. A hill is mentioned in C. 8, 11, 6 *petra non . . . in sublime fastigium crescit, sed in metae maxime modum erecta est . . . summa in acutum cacumen exurgunt*, as in L. 37, 27, 7 *ipse collis est in modum metae in acutum acumen a fundo satis lato fastigatus*. From this hill according to C., sec. 13 *ingentia saxa in subeuntes provolventibus barbaris*, while in the defiles of the Alps it is said in L. 21, 34, 6 *barbari ingentia saxa in agmen devolvunt*. Curtius tells us in 4, 15, 32 *prospectum oculorum nubes pulveris, quae ad caelum*

efferebatur, abstulerat; and again in 5, 13, 12 sed prospectum ademerat pulveris nubes, the latter varying but slightly from the account of conditions at Cannae as given in L. 22, 46, 9 ventus coortus multo pulvere in ipsa ora volvendo prospectum ademit. Compare also C. 10, 2, 1 Sunium—promunturium est Atticae terrae, and L. 32, 17, 3 Sunium Atticae terrae promunturium.

Of the many possible illustrations these will be enough to show that the rhetorical outlines and the verbal coloring are often the same for the two writers; that the actions of men as given by one suggest descriptions by the other; that the environment of the actors in one is often reproduced in the other. The facts of syntax and vocabulary also point to a close connection. If we have not counted incorrectly there are in Eichert's *Schulwörterbuch zu Quintus Curtius* 4682 words used by Curtius, or exclusive of proper names 4068, a very large percentage of which are found in Livy, while the chief work of the editor of Curtius is to call attention to similar syntactical phenomena in Livy. If we knew as little of Livy as we do of Curtius, either one might be justly considered as the antecedent writer. But as Livy has an accredited position given him by Roman critics, and Curtius has none, we must conclude that Livy was the original factor in the problem, and Curtius the remodeller. Passages already quoted are sufficient to show his general characteristics as a writer. He borrows material freely, retouches it, and so gives us an Alexander whose history is permeated with Roman coloring. But it is not from Livy alone that he gets material, for here and there are reminiscences and adaptations of the words of other writers.

2. VERGIL.

Charidemus describes the Greeks in C. 3, 2, 16 invicta bello manus, a slight variation from Vergil, *Aen.* 6, 878 invictaque bello | dextera, just as the words in C. 3, 8, 20 fortunam, qua adspirante are suggested by *Aen.* 2, 385 adspirat fortuna. Compare also the following: C. 4, 13, 18 morantes castigare: *Aen.* 4, 407 castigantque moras; C. 9, 6, 22 in his operibus extingui pulchrum est: *Aen.* 2, 317 pulchrumque mori in armis; C. 8, 9, 1 serendis rumoribus: *Aen.* 12, 228 rumoresque serit; C. 9, 4, 18 perpetuam noctem profundo incubantem mari: *Aen.*

1, 89 ponto nox incubat atra. It may be true that these and similar short statements had passed into the current of Latin, and that they may have been used without conscious reference to Vergil, but this is hardly true of the following: Vergil says in *Aen.* 2, 361

Quis cladem illius noctis, quis funera fando
Explicet, aut possit lacrimis aequare labores?

Curtius has a prose adaptation in 4, 16, 11 *quis tot ludibria fortunae, ducum, agminum fugam. clades nunc singulorum, nunc universorum aut animo adsequi queat aut oratione complecti?* M. Manilius in *Hermes* 47, 467 compares with the passage from Curtius, Cicero *Verr.* 2, 4, 26, 58 *nullo modo possum istius facta aut memoria consequi aut oratione complecti*, to which verbally the Curtian passage has a closer resemblance than it has to Vergil, but the environment in Curtius suggests the environment in Vergil. The account of the death of Priam is given in *Aen.* 2, 554

hic exitus illum
Sorte tulit, Troiam incensam et prolapsa videntem
Pergama, tot quondam populis terrisque superbum
Regnatorem Asiae,

words which suggest the description of the fall of Persepolis in *C.* 5, 7, 8 *hunc exitum habuit regia totius Orientis, unde tot gentes antea iura petebant, patria tot regum, unicus quondam Graeciae terror.*

3. HORACE.

A few phrases and passages may have been suggested by Horace. We find in *C.* 5, 9, 4 *pertinax fortuna*, as in Horace, *O.* 3, 29, 5. The statement of Alexander in *C.* 4, 13, 8 *quippe illorum votum unicum est fallere* has the same ring as that of Hannibal in Horace *O.* 4, 4, 51 *quos opimus | fallere et effugerest triumphus*. The words in *C.* 8, 5, 8 ff. *Herculemque et patrem Liberum et cum Polluce Castorem . . . iactabant*, and in sec. 11 *ne Herculem quidem et Patrem Liberum prius dicatos deos, quam vicissent secum viventium invidiam* are based on Horace, *Ep.* 2, 1, 5; 10 and 12

Romulus et Liber pater et cum Castore Pollux, . . .
diram qui contudit hydram . . .
comperit invidiam supremo fine domari.

In this last passage the reversal in the order of the words is similar to that in some of the adaptations from Livy, and the passages show that Curtius went outside of historical sources to find embellishments for his work; see also Manitius in *Hermes* 47, 466. The sure conclusion from all these citations is that Curtius wrote later than the age of Augustus, but no such certainty attaches to a discussion of his relations to writers of succeeding reigns. Still we may safely assert that of the writers of the time of Tiberius, Velleius Paterculus and Valerius Maximus did not influence him, nor he them.

4. VELLEIUS: VALERIUS MAXIMUS.

The parallel passages given by Manitius in *Hermes* 47, 465 ff., *Zu Curtius und Velleius*, e. g. *incepto desistere, in verba iurare, optime meritum de*, and *summa imis confundi* (cf. *Hor. O. 1, 34, 12 valet ima summis mutare*) show that these writers used at some points the phraseology in vogue among their predecessors. Curtius and Valerius Maximus are clearly distinct in their presentation of the work of Alexander. The account of the physician Philip in *C. 3, 6* and *Val. Max. 3, 8, Ext. 6* states the same facts but without verbal resemblances; and the same is true of what is said about the visit of Alexander to the wife and mother of Darius, *C. 3, 12, 15 ff.* and *Val. Max. 4, 7, Ext. 2*. The words used in setting forth the Alexander-Parmenio incident show no connection. Curtius in *4, 11, 11* gives ten lines to Parmenio when Alexander answers "et ego", inquit, "pecuniam quam gloriam mallet, si Parmenio essem", followed by five lines. We find in *Val. Max. 6, 4, Ext. 3* cum Parmenion dixisset se, si Alexander esset, usurum condicione, respondit "et ego uterer, si Parmenion essem". Other references to Alexander in *Val. Max.* are either not found in Curtius, or have only a general resemblance to what is given by Curtius. The reign of Tiberius then offers nothing aiding in the determination of the date of Curtius; and we turn to two writers, Lucan and Seneca who furnish evidence commonly held to be the most important bearing on the question. But let us not assume its weight till we have examined its validity, and Lucan will be examined first.

5. LUCAN.

C. Hosius in *Hermes* 48, 380 ff., *Lucan und seine Quellen*, discusses the relation of Lucan to Curtius, and on pages 391 ff. marshalls the material on which he bases judgment that Curtius made use of Lucan. Pichon, *Les Sources de Lucain*, pp. 252 ff., reviews and reverses this judgment. Both Curtius and Lucan drew freely from Livy, of whose work three-fourths has perished, and it is now an impossibility to determine how much of the material common to Curtius and Lucan was drawn from him. It is equally impossible, without other evidence than that furnished by parallel passages, to determine which was the prior writer. Both were rhetoricians, and either might with equal grace have borrowed from the other.

6. SENECA.

So far as the statements of facts are concerned Curtius and Seneca are independent of each other. We find in Seneca, B. 7, 2, 5 cum in Oceano Onesicritus praemissus explorator erraret, while Curtius has in two passages 9, 10, 3 and 10, 1, 10 Nearchus et Onesicritus, referring to the same event. Here different sources were followed, Seneca giving the version of Onesicritus, and Curtius the account of a more reliable authority, having probably learned the truth of what Arrian says in the *Anab.* 6, 2, 3 Ὀνησίκριτος . . . καὶ τοῦτο ἐπεύσατο. There are several discrepancies in statements of facts. Curtius says in 3, 6, 4 a Parmenione litteras accepit. Seneca has in *Dial.* 4, 23, 2 Qui (Alexander) cum legisset epistulam matris, qua admonebatur, ut a veneno Philippi medici caveret, acceptam potionem non deterritus bibit, forgetting that the letter of his mother was in regard to Lyncestes Alexander; see *Diodorus* 17, 32, 1-2; *Justinus* 12, 14, 3; cf. C. 7, 1, 12 and 36. The story that Lysimachus was thrown to a lion is rejected by Curtius in 8, 1, 17 fabulam, quae obiectum leoni a rege Lysimachum temere vulgavit, ab eo casu, quem supra diximus, ortam esse crediderim; Seneca accepts it in good faith in *Dial.* 5, 17, 2 Lysimachum leoni obiecit. The wounded Alexander said according to Curtius in 8, 10, 29 dixisse fertur se quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis aegri vitia sentire. Seneca gives a different statement in *Ep.* 59, 12 omnes iurant esse me Iovis

filium, sed volnus hoc hominem esse me clamat, words which resemble those given by Curtius no more than they do those given by Sen. Rhet. in Suas. 1, 5 nam cum (deum) se vellet videri et vulneratus esset, viso sanguine eius philosophus mirari se dixerat, quod non esset *ἰχώρ, οὐλὸς πέρ τε ῥέει μακάρεσσιν θεοῖσιν*, though Plutarch, Alex. 28, ascribes these words to Alexander himself.

There are two items of natural history in Seneca's works not derived from Curtius. He states in Ep. 84, 4 aiunt inveniri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut ros illius coeli aut ipsius arundinis humor dulcis et pinguior gignit. Something similar was found by Alexander in the region near the Caspian Sea according to Curtius 6, 2, 22 frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur. In N. Q. 3, 26, 4 after quoting some lines about the Lycus Seneca continues Idem et in Oriente Tigris facit: absorbetur et desideratus diu tandem e longe remoto loco, non tamen dubius an idem sit, emergit. The same fact is again referred to in N. Q. 6, 8, 2. Diodorus in 17, 75, 2 refers to the disappearance of the Stiboites which Curtius in 6, 4, 4-7 calls the Ziobetes, which per ccc stadia conditus labitur rursusque velut ex alio fonte conceptus editur et novum alveum intendit. Alexander's proof of the identity of the two streams is also given.

Seneca's summary in Ep. 94, 62-63 of the work of Alexander is condemnatory; that of Curtius is favorable in 10, 5, 26 bona naturae, vitia vel fortunae vel aetatis. In one thing they agree. Curtius in 8, 8, 21 and Seneca in N. Q. 6, 23, 2 in writing of Callisthenes, give the account which according to Arrian, Anab. 4, 14, 3 was given by Ptolemy, instead of that given by Aristobulus, and which occurs also in Justinus 15, 3, 4. If we base our judgment solely on the statement of facts in the two writers we must hold that there was no connection between them. But there are some statements which the one may have borrowed from the other, either Curtius from Seneca, or Seneca from Curtius, though the common view is that they were borrowed by Seneca and definitely determine the date of Curtius.

a. The first of these passages is in Curtius 7, 1, 4 horum cogitatio subibat exercitum, seditiosaeque voces referebantur ad regem. Quis ille haud sane motus, satisque prudens, otii vitia

negotio discuti, edicit ut omnes in vestibulo regiae praesto sint. Seneca has in Ep. 56, 9 magni imperatores, cum male parere militem vident, aliquo labore compescunt et expeditionibus detinent. Numquam vacat lascivire districtis, nihilque tam certum est quam otii vitia negotio discuti. Contrasts of *otium* and *negotium* go back at least as far as the days of Cato, and the words *otii vitia* | *negotio discuti* have a jingle and a meaning that admirably fit them for a school-room motto. We can not believe that it was not till the days of Seneca that this jingling sententia was formulated. But as it is given to us it reveals absolutely nothing as to its source, and *per se* proves that Curtius copied from Seneca as much as it does that Seneca quoted from Curtius.

b. It is said of Alexander in C. 7, 3, 5 ipse rex nationem [Parapamisadae appellantur] ne finitimis quidem satis notam . . . intravit; and again in 9, 10, 27 ff. haec munimenta contemplantem Alexandrum consiliiue incertum, quia nec cavernas nisi aggere poterat implere, nec tormenta aliter muris admove, quidam e muro sagitta percussit eum. Forte in suram incidit telum: cuius spiculo evulso admoveri equum iussit; quo vectus, ne obligato quidem vulnere, haud segnius destinata exsequebatur. Ceterum cum crus saucium penderet, et cruore siccato frigescens vulnus aggravaret dolorem, dixisse fertur "se quidem Iovis filium dici, sed corporis vitia sentire." Similar statements are found combined in Sen. Ep. 59, 12 Alexander cum iam in India vagaretur et gentes, ne finitimis quidem satis notas bello vastaret, in obsidione cuiusdam urbis, *dum* circumit muros, et imbecillissima moenium quaerit, sagitta ictus diu persedere et incepta agere perseveravit. Deinde cum, represso sanguine, sicci vulneris dolor cresceret et crus suspensum equo paulatim obtorpuisset, coactus absistere: "omnes" inquit "iurant esse me Iovis filium, sed vulnus hoc hominem esse me clamat". This passage illustrates what has already been shown that Seneca is not acquainted with facts stated by Curtius. The event is located in India, the words *dum circumit muros* (implying that he was riding) and *imbecillissima moenium quaerit* are at variance with the description of the situation given by Curtius, who also says that Alexander made a statement, which in form differs from that given by Seneca, and that he kept on till he had finished his

work. Seneca says *coactus absistere* after *incepta agere perseveravit*. The details in regard to the suffering are similar, but neither account reveals to us, even if there has been borrowing, whether Seneca combined two widely separated items from Curtius, or Curtius distributed the statements of Seneca. We can be sure of only one thing, and that is that Curtius got a part of his description from the Greek ; cf. Arrian 6, 10, 2 *ἵσταντο μὲν ἐν θερμὸν ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ αἷμα*.

c. More important than a and b, and, if solved, carrying with it the solution of both, is the relation of Curtius 10, 9, 3-6 and Seneca Dial. 11, 13, 1. The words of Curtius are as follows : *populus Romanus salutem se principi suo debere profiteri, qui noctis, quam paene supremam habuimus, novum sidus inluxit, huius, hercule, non solis ortus lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent. Quot ille tum extinxit faces! Quot condidit gladios! Quantam tempestatem subita serenitate discussit! Non ergo revirescit solum, sed etiam floret imperium. Absit modo invidia, excipiet huius saeculi tempora eiusdem domus utinam perpetua, certe diuturna posteritas. Seneca briefly says sidus hoc, quod praecipitato in profundum et demerso in tenebras orbi refulsit, semper luceat. In these passages *sidus* and the darkened world are all that is in common. By the time of Claudius *sidus* seems to have become a common term of adulation, as it was used by the populace to welcome Caligula; see Suetonius, Caligula 13. The *sidus* of Seneca refers to Claudius. But when we ask to whom the word in Curtius refers we are confronted by the fact that of the words in the passage of Curtius, *sidus* is used by Seneca referring to Claudius; that Orosius has in 7, 9, 1 *tempestate discussa, tranquilla . . . serenitas rediit*, referring to the reign of Vespasian; and that Florus has in Praef. 8 *senectus imperii quasi reddita iuventute reviruit*, referring to Trajan. With the three passages before us, we cannot conclude that the *sidus* in Curtius must refer to Claudius. The conception of Seneca is that of a ruined world, while Curtius has in mind a world on the verge of ruin, *lucem caliganti reddidit mundo, cum sine suo capite discordia membra trepidarent*. Neither the use of *sidus*, which was at hand for any flatterer who wished to use it, nor the view presented of the state indicates that both writers referred to Claudius, nor does the passage in Curtius necessarily refer to him.*

Cicero in Ver. 2, 1, 46, 121 apologizes for using the pun *Verrinum ius*, and we do not believe that a scrupulous rhetorician would transgress the bounds set by the master Cicero, and allow himself to use the words *caliganti mundo* to indicate a Caligulizing world, but in contrast with *solis ortus*. The clause *cum . . . trepidarent* gives conditions bearing some resemblance to the quiet scene portrayed by Suetonius in Claudius 11, and elsewhere (see Dosson, 39 ff.), but without a trace of the *facès*, *gladii* and *tempestas* which are given in the picture of Curtius.

7. PLINY N. H.

There are a few statements common to Pliny N. H. and the work of Curtius. C. 4, 9, 16 *Persica lingua tigrin sagittam appellant*: Pliny N. H. 6, 127 *ita appellant Medi sagittam*; C. 7, 4, 24 *siros vocabant scrobes . . . in his conditae fruges erant*: N. H. 18, 306 *servantur in s. quos siros vocant*. Practically the same information, but stated in different ways, is given in regard to the Red Sea in C. 8, 9, 14; 10, 1, 14; and N. H. 6, 107; concerning Meron in C. 8, 10, 12; and N. H. 6, 79; and about the poison with which Alexander may have been killed in C. 10, 10, 17; and N. H. 30, 149. Curtius gives among other pieces of information brought back to Alexander by Nearchus and Onesicritus, some about an island, 10, 1, 10 *auro abundare, inopem equorum: singulos eos compererant . . . singulis talentis emi*: Pliny N. H. states the fact, and then adds. *Clitarchus vero Alexandro regi renuntiatum adeo divitem ut equos incolae talentis auri permutarent*, giving the authority for the statement. We find in N. H. 6, 182 *nec tamen arma Romana ibi solitudinem fecerunt*; in C. 8, 8, 10 *veni in Asiam . . . nec ut dimidia parte terrarum solitudinem facerem*; and affirmatively stated in Tac. Agr. 30, 22 *ubi solitudinem faciunt, pacem appellant*; as also in C. 9, 2, 24.

8. TACITUS.

One of the characteristics of Roman writers in the utilization of material drawn from their predecessors is the variation in quotation. This is seen in the passages taken by Curtius from Livy, as also in those taken from Sallust by Tacitus, and collected by Sçhönfeld, *De Taciti studiis Sallustianis*. There is need of but few quotations from this mass to illustrate that

form of originality which showed itself in the creation of a new rhythm and a new euphony. Sall. Iug. 42, 5 ad inceptum redeo: Tac. H. 2, 38, 17 nunc ad rerum ordinem redeo (Schönfeld, p. 51); Iug. 17, 7 sed qui mortales initio Africam habuerint: Agr. 11, 1 ceterum Britanniam qui mortales initio coluerint (S., p. 52); Cat. 46, 1 at illum ingens cura atque laetitia simul occupavere: nam laetabatur: Ann. 1, 52, 1 nuntiata ea Tiberium laetitia cura adfecere (S., p. 58). These show the maintenance of thought with changes in the order of words, and less noticeably the use of synonyms. This characteristic in the *Dialogus de Oratoribus* is often the sure proof of borrowing from Cicero, and is the most prominent feature in the material common to Curtius and to Tacitus. Friedrich Walter, *Studien zu Tacitus und Curtius*, München, 1887, has collected 600 parallel passages (pp. 12-47), and from these a few must suffice. Curt. 4, 8, 3 cognoscendae vetustatis avidum (Alexandrum): Tac. Ann. 2, 59, 1 Germanicus proficiscitur cognoscendae antiquitatis; C. 6, 9, 28 velut truncum corpus dempto capite: H. 3, 74, 14 absciso capite truncum corpus; C. 8, 3, 4 acinacem strinxit: Ann. 12, 51, 9 destrinxit acinacem (both in the midst of an account of a man attempting to kill his wife); cf. C. 7, 4, 19; C. 10, 7, 5 in iuvenem . . . intendens (or *ingerens*) probra: Ann. 3, 36, 11 probra sibi et minae intenduntur. A few of the statements in varying form are common to Sallust, Tacitus and Curtius: Sall. Cat. 10, 4 omnia venalia habere: Tac. H. 1, 7, 13 venalia cuncta: C. 5, 12, 2 omnia habere venalia; Iug. 28, 1 in animo haeserat: H. 1, 47, 6 haesisse animo: C. 6, 2, 8 in animo haerebant; Sall. H. I, 7 D vitio humani ingenii: H. 1, 22, 16 cupidine i. C. 8, 14, 1 humani i. vitio. Sall. fr. I. 96 D equi sine rectore exterriti: Agr. 36 vagi currus, exterriti sine rectoribus equi: C. 8, 14, 9 currus vagari sine rectoribus vidit. In some of these passages the arrangement of Curtius agrees with that of Sallust while Tacitus varies. And in such instances it is possible that Curtius, varying from Tacitus who varied from Sallust, may have restored the arrangement of Sallust.

9. POMPEIUS TROGUS: JUSTINUS.

The extent to which Curtius may have drawn from Pompeius Trogus is an insoluble problem. Justinus in his preface says "cognitione quaeque dignissima excerpti", so that in



Justinus we have selected statements of Trogus woven into the texture of a new narrative. We may safely assume, judging by the quotation given above, that the method of Justinus was similar to that of Orosius, who more than once (see index) mentions Pompeius and Justinus, though he gives us a systematic adaptation of the words of Justinus, e. g. in Orosius 3, 16, 5 *inde nuntiato sibi Darii cum magnis copiis adventu, timens angustias quibus inerat locorum, Taurum montem mira celeritate transcendit et quingentis stadiis una die cursu transmissis, Tarsum venit, ibique cum sudans in Cydnum praefrigidum amnem descendisset, obrigit contactuque nervorum proximus morti fuit. Interea Darius cum ccc milibus peditum et c milibus equitum in aciem procedit. Justinus has in 11, 8, 1 haec illi agenti nuntiatur Dareum cum ingenti exercitu adventare. Itaque timens angustias magna celeritate Taurum transcendit, in qua festinatione quingenta stadia cursu fecit. Cum Tarsum venisset . . . in praefrigidam undam se proiecit: tum repente tantus nervos eius occupavit rigor . . . ut . . . nec dilatio periculi inveniretur; and further in 9, 1 *interea Dareus cum ccc milibus peditum ac centum milibus equitum in aciem procedit. What was omitted by Justinus can not be restored, nor have we any means of knowing how fully the different topics were developed by Trogus. We find in Just. 11, 13, 7 Dareus vix denis Armeniis singulos hostes, si divisio fieret, evenire dicebat, while Curtius in 4, 14, 9 ff. gives the speech, two pages in length; and the speech of Alexander in C. 4, 14, 1 ff., a page in length, takes up but ten lines in Justinus. More noticeable is Just. 11, 14, 9-12 where are mentioned the treasures of Susa, the destruction of Persepolis and the conference of the mutilated Greeks with Alexander, topics which fill the larger part of the work of Curtius from 5, 2, 9 to 5, 7, 12. In the same way Justinus in 12, 7, 1-3 barely mentions the death of Callisthenes and many leaders of the Macedonians, a subject which in Curtius is one of the strongest rhetorical elements, extending from 8, 5, 5 to 8, 8, 23. The topics mentioned in several parts of Curtius are not mentioned at all in Justinus, as the acts of Darius following the battle of Arbela, Curtius 5, 8 to 5, 12, 19; the operations of the Scythians, Curtius 7, 6, 14 to 7, 9, 16; and of the other operations to the end of Book VII Justinus has but two sentences 12, 5, 12-13.**

Contrasted with these condensations in the history of Alexander is the more extended account in 11, 7 of Gordius, and in 13, 1, 8-15 of the attitude of the leaders and of the common soldiers. It will thus be seen that at most points the presentation by Justinus is short in comparison with that given by Curtius; but there are instances also of less fully developed subjects in Curtius.

The two accounts noticeably vary from each other at some points, especially in the numbers given, and in the order of events in the Indian campaign. There are also differences in statement found elsewhere. It is said in Just. 11, 9, 13 that Alexander went to the wife and mother of Darius and they asked for permission to bury the body of Darius, but Curtius says that Alexander sent Leonnatus to see them, and he informed them that Darius was still alive, and the next day Alexander made a visit with Hephaestion. The events following the death of Alexander are not given in the same order. Justinus says in 13, 2, 5 *Perdicca censet Roxanes expectari partum . . . Meleager negat differenda consilia*, suggesting Hercules and Arridaeus. Ptolemaeus recusat regem Arridaeum . . . vicit Perdiccae sententia. According to Curtius in 10, 6, 10 *haec Perdicca . . . tum Nearchus . . . tum Ptolemaeus . . . tum Aristonius*. The writers also differ in regard to the wonderful plant that cured Ptolemy: Just. says in 12, 10, 3 *qua in potu accepta*; Curt. in 9, 6, 27 *vulneri imposuit*, though both are possibly true, for Diodorus says in 17, 103, 8 *καὶ τρίψας, τὸ τε σῶμα . . . καὶ πιεῖν δοὺς ὑγιῇ κατέστησε*.

Justinus gives a few statements in regard to Alexander tending to lower the ethical estimate of him, and these Curtius either omits or modifies. Justinus says of the Tyrians in 11, 10, 14 *per prodicionem capiuntur*, but of this Curtius in 4, 4, 10 ff. does not give a hint. Curtius does not give as a motive for visiting the shrine of Hammon *matrem infamia liberare*, as it is given in Just. 11, 11, 6, nor does he have words corresponding to sec. 12 *hinc illi aucta insolentia mirusque animo increvit tumor exempta comitate, quam et Graecorum litteris et Macedonum institutis didicerat*. The account of Cleophis in Curt. 8, 10, 34 ff., closing with the words *puero certe postea ex ea utcumque genito Alexandro fuit nomen*, differs much in tone from Just. 12, 7, 9-11 having among other statements

filium ab eo genitum Alexandrum nominavit . . . Cleopis regina propter prostratam pudicitiam scortum regium ab Indis exinde appellata est. Similar to this is Just. 11, 12, 6 in itinere nuntiatur uxorem eius ex conlisione abiecti partus decessisse; but in Curtius 4, 10, 19 itineris continui labore animique aegritudine fatigata . . . extincta. Curtius in 10, 6, 11 and 13 merely mentions the son of Barsine, while Justinus states in 11, 10 2 tunc et Barsinen captivam diligere . . . a qua postea susceptum puerum Herculem vocavit.

If the work of Justinus is a quasi mechanical reduction of the work of Trogus, variation from either would be apt to be a variation from both. For that reason we cannot tell whether Curtius varied from the Trogus-Justinus account of Alexander, or whether Justinus retained in his abbreviation some statements in which Curtius had varied from Trogus. Other data throw no light on the question. In the use of the formula *non modo, sed etiam* Curtius reproduces the usage of Livy, while Justinus is akin to the Senecas, the Plinies and Quintilian in using *non tantum, verum etiam*; see Steele, The Formula Non Modo, Sed Etiam and Its Equivalents p. 26. The future participle expressing purpose occurs more freely in Curtius than in Justinus, and the reverse is true of the supine. These phenomena indicate a later date for the substance in Curtius than that in Justinus, but this settles nothing excepting that Curtius is later than Trogus.

10. OROSIIUS.

The work of Orosius throws no light on the question under discussion. In the Praef. to Orosius, p. 15, Zangemeister says, Hoc constat, Curtii ab Orosio ad Historias adhibiti nullum exstare vestigium. Yet Orosius has in 2, 18, 4 quis enim cladem illius temporis, quis fando funera explicet, aut aequare possit dolores? The source of this is Verg. Aen. 2, 361 which is adapted by Curtius 4, 16, 11. Two other passages are similar. Curtius has in 8, 4, 14 memoriae proditum est, quosdam adplicatos arborum truncis et non solum viventibus, sed inter se conloquentibus etiam similes esse conspectos durante adhuc habitu, in quo mors quemque deprenderat. The corresponding passage is in Orosius 5, 18, 19 oppressi exanimatique nivibus miserabili morte riguerunt. Namque ita, ut attoniti timore hostium steterant, alii stirpibus vel saxis reclines, alii

armis suis innitentes, patentibus cuncti oculis dentibusque nudatis viventium in modum visebantur; nec ullum erat procucl intuentibus mortis indicium nisi diuturna immobilitas, quam nullo modo humanae vitae vegetatio diu perpeti potest. Orosius got his material from Livy at this point, and from him Curtius also drew. As the resemblance in these passages is due to common sources, the same may be true of the passage in Curtius 10, 9, 5 and Orosius 7, 9, 1, of which Zangemeister says *Fortasse enim Orosius hunc flosculum disciplinae rhetoricae vel collectaneis rhetoricis debuit*; or we may as well believe that it came from some part of Livy's work that has perished. Compare Curtius, 9, 2, 9 *insatiabilis cupido famae*; Florus 2, 9, 6 *inexplebilis honorum Marii fames*; and Orosius 5, 18, 19 *quasi inexplebilis venter consumens cuncta*. Curtius 2, 9, 6 *ultimae sortis*; Livy, Per. 19; Florus 1, 30, 3. Curtius 8, 10, 18 *quis neget eximiam quoque gloriam saepius fortunae quam virtutis esse beneficium*, is a reflection of the truth stated in Florus 2, 17, 11 *en quanto efficacior est fortuna quam virtus*; cf. Curtius 10, 5, 35.

The syntax of Curtius has much that is common with that of Livy even in minor particulars, e. g. C. 4, 4, 19 *Tyros septimo mense, quam oppugnari coepta erat, capta*, which is a rearrangement of Livy 21, 15, 3 *octavo mense, quam coeptum oppugnari, captum Saguntum*. Yet with many identities as in the use of *non modo sed etiam*, *haud dubie*, and *quavis*, there are marked differences indicating that the style of Curtius has some elements developed without reference to Livy. This is noticeable in the use of certain particles of time. *Statim* seems to be freely used by writers, as Tacitus, Suetonius and Florus, but not by Curtius, who strongly inclines to *protinus*, as does Quintilian. Tacitus has neither *confestim* nor *continuo*, Curtius has *confestim* twice, while Livy strongly favors *extemplo*. *Velut*, *quasi*, and *tamquam* occur in the order given in both Justinus and Curtius, and in the use of the last he agrees with Suetonius and Florus. All these writers differ from Livy in the use of *quasi*, and Suetonius and Florus in the use of *velut*. *Quippe* with the relative which is characteristic of Livy is found in Curtius but once, and in the general use of the particle he more closely resembles Justinus, Tacitus and Florus than he does Livy.

In the use of the affirmative final clauses there are some noticeable differences. Curtius and Florus do not have *causa* with the genitive of gerund or gerundive, and the percentage is low for Tacitus and Justinus. In the frequency of the supine the order is Tacitus, Florus, Suetonius, Curtius,—and Justinus is far removed from Livy. For the future participle the order is Tacitus, Suetonius, Florus, Justinus, Curtius, the last, with the exception of Ammianus Marcellinus, having this form the most frequently of the writers examined. In the use of dative of the ger. Curtius ranks with Suetonius. The usage with the temporal clauses does not entirely agree with that of Livy. *Quoad* occurs in C. 9, 10, 3 *progressi quoad tuto possent*, adapted from Livy 22, 6, 6 *progressi quoad capitibus umerisque extare possunt*, and its absence as well as that of *ubi* as a temporal particle places Curtius with writers at some distance from Livy. Curtius prefers *antequam* with the subjunctive as does Tacitus, while Livy has a decided preference for *priusquam*. These are differences not capable of exact mathematical demonstration, but merely indicating that Curtius can justly be put at a considerable distance from Livy. And two inferences which can be drawn from the words of Curtius are not at variance with this assignment.

Curtius tells in 7, 5, 41 of the wonderful skill of an archer *adeo certo ictu destinata feriebat, ut aves quoque exciperet*. And then he adds *nunc forsitan sagittandi tam celebri usu, minus admirabilis videri ars haec possit: tum ingens visentibus miraculum magnoque honori Cateni fuit*. The introduction of Catenes in connection with the death of Bessus is surprising, but still more so the statement in regard to archery. These words may not have been written at a time when they would have the greatest force, but we know of none more favorable than in a generation that had seen or heard of the wonderful feats of Commodus in the Roman arena; see Gibbon, *Decline and Fall*, Ch. IV.

Among the good traits of Alexander, Curtius mentions in 10, 5, 30 *iam pietas erga parentes, quorum Olympiada immortalitati consecrare decreverat*, a desire which he makes Alexander express in 9, 6, 26. It is somewhat strange that such marked filial devotion did not find expression at the shrine of Ammon, where Alexander seems to have been concerned only

about himself and his father. As he did only this, we interpret the words of Curtius as a revelation not concerning Alexander but concerning the environments of the author. Such a suggested act of piety would have found no favor in the eyes of Tiberius (see Tacitus, *Annals* 5, 2, 5), would have been useless under Claudius, perhaps acceptable during the first years of the reign of Nero, and not again till Alexander Severus, ruled by his mother, ruled the Roman empire. If written during the first years of this Alexander's reign, the statement would have its greatest force, as also the word *sidus* in 10, 9, 3, for it was applied to Alexander the Great by Curtius in 9, 5, 8 *hoc Macedoniae columnen ac sidus*, terms also used by the writer of the *Octavia* to describe Britannicus (157) *modo sidus orbis columnen augustae domus Britannice heu me*. Its application to Alexander Severus would be suggested by the sign at his birth, *Hist. Aug.* 18, 13, 5 *fertur die prima natalis toto die apud Arcam Caesaream stella primae magnitudinis visa*.

The assumption that Curtius wrote during the first years of the reign of Alexander Severus gives the deepest meaning to the passages which we have just presented, and to the word *sidus*. This time suits what we know of Tyre and of the Parthian power as stated by Curtius. More than this it renders possible a uniform interpretation of the resemblances of his style to that of other Roman writers, especially to that of Livy and to that of Tacitus. Above all it enables us to assume an ethical object in his history—the instruction of the new Alexander, in whose life was found a reflection of the ethical teachings of Curtius. This is shown by what is said in *Hist. Aug.* 18, 64, 3 *se Magnum Alexandrum videri volebat*; and again in 18, 30, 3 *legit etiam vitam Alexandri, quem praecipue imitatus est, etsi in eo condemnabat ebrietatem et crudelitatem in amicos*.

Looking Romanward the form and content of the work of Curtius seem to indicate a date much later than the reign of Claudius. But this conclusion forces us to frankly face the proposition that he wrote later than the time of Arrian, and that he made use of his *Anabasis*.

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III.—STUDIES IN THE FINANCIAL ADMINISTRATION OF ATHENS.¹

During the process of transformation from a city-state to a municipality which went on in the Hellenistic age under the Macedonian and later under the Roman Empire, Athens faced many administrative problems, and not the least of these was that of determining the best and most economical method of managing the public revenues. In her many experiments extending over nearly two hundred years the most notable feature is the steady growth of the idea of centralization. When the Athenian Empire was flourishing, the office-loving democracy had built up an elaborate administrative machinery which became superfluous when the Peloponnesian War ended the tribute and crippled the financial resources of the state. The framers of the constitution of 411 B. C. recommended the closer coöperation of some of the departments, but the recommendation was never acted upon. The office of the Hellenotamiae was abolished at the close of the war when there was nothing for them to do, and the Boards which controlled the treasures of Athena and the other gods were united for a time, only to be separated when a measure of prosperity returned. About 350 B. C. Eubulus succeeded in bringing several departments under the same administration, but in spite of the advantages of his innovation, the prejudice of tradition could not easily be overcome, and more than a generation passed before any financial departments were legally united under one efficient head. Thereafter progress was more rapid, and our

¹This investigation was first undertaken in 1910 for a paper of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens. The revision and correction of the chronology of the inscriptions in the period under discussion required that much of the material which I had gathered should be rearranged in conformity with the new dating. There has been some addition as well because of the inscriptions published in the *editio minor* of the Attic Inscriptions by Kirchner. The results of this study give additional and striking confirmation of the outline of political events in the third century as published in AJP (1913), 381 ff; and CP (1914), 248 ff.

records show the disappearance of one board after another until at the beginning of the second century the process of centralization appears to be carried to completion, and all important financial powers were vested in the stewardship of the military funds.

In the fifth century the revenues of imperial Athens were more than ample, and even after lavish expenditures on public works there were six thousand talents in reserve before the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War. Under such circumstances no democracy, much less the Athenian, could practice economy. After the war, conditions had utterly changed. The government was no longer supplied with funds by tributary states, but had to be supported by taxation or private subscriptions. The general impoverishment of the treasury must have greatly curtailed the duties of many of the financial officers and boards. There was no particular honor in holding an office which gave the incumbent little to do and no promise of personal gain or distinction through efficient administration. Moreover the taxpayer, already heavily burdened, must have viewed with increasing dislike the number of petty offices filled oftentimes by inefficient men who dissipated the revenues without any satisfactory control beyond the audit at the end of the year, which could check dishonesty but had no power to repair the losses due to inexperience or incapability. Under such conditions we need not be surprised when Eubulus gradually brought under the Theoric Board the administration of many other departments of the government.¹ The state allowed Lycurgus to exercise the same power² and he in turn after twelve years of service was succeeded by Menesaechmus.³ The reforms of 322/1 B. C. may have dealt with the reorganization of the financial system,⁴ though the evidence is too meagre to draw any definite conclusions. The Apodectae and the Theoric Board are not found in the extant records after this date, and the Military Steward disappears until the year 307/6 B. C. Very few inscriptions are preserved which belong to the years 318-307 B. C., so we must not infer that the lack

¹ Aeschines III. 25. Cf. scholium ad loc.

² Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vitae X Oratorum*, 841 B.

³ Dion. Hal. 660. 6.

⁴ Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, 23 ff.

of evidence is proof that these departments of the government did not exist. It would indeed be a drastic step if the three most important financial offices under the democracy were abrogated at one time and their duties taken over by a Minister of the Administration. At any rate, it may be seriously doubted whether such a step would have been taken by the reformers of 321 B. C. They did not remove the Steward of the Assembly. It may also be doubted if they could dispense with the services of the Military Steward. This office was apparently as important, if not more important than the Department of the Administration.

None of the inscriptions preserved from the régime of Demetrius of Phalerum are complete enough to inform us about the system of financial administration. It is probable that the mechanical organization of the democracy was retained. Demetrius in his capacity as *Epimeletes* may have exercised general oversight of the administration of finance.¹

When Demetrius of Phalerum gave way to Demetrius Poliorcetes the official documents for the first time record a Department of Administration which in 307/6 B. C. was managed by Habron, son of Lycurgus.² His appointment is a sufficient guarantee of the importance of the post, and we are further told by Pollux that the Minister of the Administration was placed in charge of revenues and expenditures. These duties are plainly an extension of those of the Apodectae, and if the latter board was not abolished in 321 B. C. there is at least no doubt that it did not exist after 307 B. C. The creation of the new department marks a great step forward in the history of financial administration at Athens. The principle of centralization had been in the air for some time, but its application had been more or less haphazard and perhaps not always altogether legal. Eubulus had worked through the Theoric Board and Lycurgus probably through the agency of the Military Steward. The state had realized the advantages of concentrating the financial administration in the hands of a capable individual, but had been slow in taking steps to abolish long-standing democratic institutions. The best testimony to

¹ Diodorus XVIII. 74. 3; XX. 45. 2.

² No. 463. Unless otherwise specified all numbers of inscriptions are quoted as in IG II. and III., Ed. Min.

the efficiency of the new department is seen in the fact that after its creation we note the gradual disappearance of one financial board after another from the official records. In the state decrees throughout the third and second centuries we find practically only this department and the Military Steward sometimes working in close coöperation, or again quite distinct. Finally, in the second century, the Military Steward is the only officer recorded in the decrees, and apparently the functions of the Department of Administration were absorbed by him after 190 B. C.

The Department of Administration has a continuous history for more than a hundred years after its appearance in the epigraphical records in 307/6 B. C.¹ Its control is vested, now in a single minister, now in a board. These changes are not due to caprice in the government but reflect in general a radical change in the party which controls the government. When the Nationalists were in power and Athens was independent, we find a Board in charge of the Administration Under a tyranny, or when Athens was under the kings, this department was controlled by a single individual. The method of administration is therefore of vital importance in studying the history of Athens in the third century.² Furthermore, if we can delimit the periods of varying control with some degree of definiteness, we have a formula which is by no means unimportant in dating the Athenian documents of the third and second centuries.³

¹For earlier discussions see Homolle, BCH (1891), 364 ff; Kolbe, AM, XXX. 97 ff; Brandis, P.-W., s. v. *διοίκησις*; Ferguson, Klio, V. 155 ff. (The best discussion of the early period); Sundwall, De institutis reipublicae Atheniensium post Aristotelis aetatem commutatis, 14.

²Lehmann-Haupt (Klio, V. 382) wished very much to find an inscription with the Board of Administration dated in the years 273-2 B. C. to prove his theory about the relations of Athens to the coalitions of the times. The results of this investigation support Tarn's objections to the conclusions of Lehmann-Haupt (Antigonos Gonatas, 442 ff.).

³A due observance of this formula would have helped Kirchner in dating many of the documents in his edition of the Attic Inscriptions. He makes two divisions only: *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* 295/4-276/5, *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοίκησει* 275/4-229/8. There is no evidence for the Board before 288 B. C. and apparently he has failed to note its reestablishment during the Chremonidean War.

We have already stated that the Department of Administration first appears in the decrees of the year 307/6 B. C. The exact date of its establishment can not be determined with the evidence at hand. Fellner held that it was created in 378 B. C.¹ Philippi thought that Eubulus was the first Minister of Administration.² Wilamowitz dated the organization in 307/6 B. C.³ Gilbert believed that the new department was created by Demetrius of Phalerum or Demetrius Poliorcetes.⁴ Ferguson placed it amongst the reforms of 321 B. C.⁵ Sundwall ascribed its organization to Demetrius of Phalerum in 317 B. C. The evidence may here be stated as briefly as possible.

It is clear that the Athenians had some form of centralized financial administration before the Persian invasion and the growth of their empire. Aristides was *epimeletes* of the public revenues, and it is evident that he had large powers in their administration if the stories of his treatment of those who misappropriated the funds are true.⁶ Under the empire there is no reference to any similar position. The Hellenotamiae and the Treasurers of Athena, probably because of the large revenues at command, became the dominating financial organizations in Athens.

Aristotle makes no reference to any particular division of the government known as ἡ διοίκησις in his history of the Athenian constitution. Moreover in discussing the ἀντιγραφεὺς he mentions only the Senatorial Auditor and says nothing of his companion in the Department of Administration (Harpocraton, s. v.). This silence of Aristotle has been taken as proof that the department was not in existence when the book was written (326-4 B. C.). This inference is probably correct though not necessarily so, for he makes no reference to the

¹ Zur Gesch. d. ath. Finanzverw., 51 ff., 378.

² Rh. Mus., XXXIV. 612. Schaefer (Dem. u. s. Zeit, I. 212) thinks that Lycurgus held this post.

³ Aristoteles und Athen, I. 218.

⁴ Handbuch d. gr. Staatsalterth., 276 ff. Sundwall, l. c.

⁵ op. cit., 23.

⁶ Plutarch, Aristides, IV. Plutarch here copies Idomeneus who wrote at a time when the Department of Administration was prominent at Athens. This statement may be due to anachronism and must be used with caution.

Steward of the Assembly, although this officer appears constantly in the decrees of the fourth century.

In the Attic Orators we find frequent mention of ἡ διοίκησις but it is impossible to infer that a department of the government was known by that name.¹ Demosthenes complains that those who manage the public funds grow wealthy,² and in his speech against Timocrates he argues that the law proposed by the latter will seriously affect the administration of public monies from which the expenses of the senate, assembly, sacrifices, cavalry, and other matters are defrayed.³ Aphobetus was elected by show of hands ἐπὶ τὴν κοινὴν διοίκησιν, and in that capacity he took care of the Athenian revenues efficiently and honestly.⁴ He may have been one of the Theoric Board or of the Apodectae. In 337/6 Demosthenes received ten talents from the Administration (ἐκ τῆς διοικήσεως) to rebuild the walls.⁵ This money probably came from the Apodectae in the shape of an appropriation to the military funds. Hyperides says that Lycurgus was appointed in charge of the administration and discovered new sources of revenue.⁶ Lycurgus wrote a speech entitled περὶ διοικήσεως which may have been a defence of his policies. All our authorities are agreed that Lycurgus was the commanding genius in the financial administration of Athens for twelve years, but it is impossible to determine precisely in what capacity or through what department he worked. If it were the Department of Administra-

¹ Some of the most important references are: Lysias XXX. 22; Dem., XIX. 2, 6; XX. 33; XXII. 33, 69; XXIII. 209; XXIV. 27, 96-98, 102, 176; Aeschines II. 149; III. 31. It might be urged that the use of the phrase ἡ διοίκησις in the Orators does not necessarily imply the abstract idea "administration" but rather that it means "the public funds". In inscriptions as well ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει might be translated as "the officer in charge of the public funds". However, it seems difficult to transfer a word with the abstract suffix to such mundane and concrete uses.

² XXIII. 209.

³ XXIV. 96-98.

⁴ Aeschines II. 149. Apollonius, Vit. Aes., 10; Ἀφόβητον δὲ τὸν νεώτατον αὐτῶν ἀδελφὸν . . . ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως γενόμενον καλῶς τῶν δημοσίων προσόδων ἐπιμεληθῆναι. This is plainly a restatement of the passage in Aeschines.

⁵ Aeschines III. 31.

⁶ Fr. 118.

tion, then Aristotle must have known it and could not have passed it by in silence.¹ The title *ταμίας τῆς κοινῆς προσόδου* in the decree proposed by Stratocles is otherwise unknown and is probably a coinage by the summarizer of the decree. The biographer of Lycurgus says that he controlled the policies of the administration personally or through his nominees to office. Of the three important financial organizations mentioned by Aristotle, two are managed by boards, and the military funds by a single treasurer. The Apodectae had already been shorn of their prestige by Eubulus² and the Theoric Board suffered in like manner when Demosthenes carried his proposal that all the revenues should go into the war chest.³ Since Lycurgus could control the election of the Military Steward much more easily than a board of ten, there is little doubt that he worked through the agency of this department.

The only direct evidence which might support the theory that there was some central administrative department in existence before 307/6 is found in the title of a speech of Dinarchus *κατὰ Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*.⁴ Dinarchus went into exile in 307/6 B. C. and did not return to Athens until 293/2 B. C. The evidence is in favor of the assumption that this speech was delivered before 307 B. C. This title, however, does not prove the existence of a Minister of Administration at Athens any more than the statement of Hyperides or the speech of Lycurgus *περὶ διοικήσεως*. Any theory which maintains that this department was created before 307/6 B. C. may be dismissed as not proved. But since its institution is more consistent with the policy of a tyranny than an oligarchic democracy, we are inclined to agree with Gilbert in assigning the establishment of the new department to Demetrius of Phalerum or Demetrius Poliorcetes.

From Pollux we learn that the Minister of Administration was appointed in charge of the public receipts and expenditures.⁵ Inscriptions tell us very little more. The department

¹ Diodorus XVI. 88; Pseudo-Plutarch, *Vitae X Oratorum*, 852 B; cf. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 475.

² Aeschines III. 25.

³ Philochorus Fr. 135.

⁴ Dion. Hal., *Dinarchus*, p. 652.

⁵ Pollux VIII, 113: *ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως αἰρετὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῶν προσίωντων καὶ ἀναλίσκομένων*.

had a secretary and an auditor.¹ The latter was at first appointed, but later (perhaps after 288 B. C.), he was chosen by lot.² The Minister coöperated with the Architect and Poetae in dividing up the walls to be repaired and in assigning contracts.³ He had to care for the making of statutes and crowns, and to arrange for the proclamation of the latter.⁴ He paid the cost of sacrifices.⁵ This department made appropriations to defray the cost of inscriptions, or sometimes paid over the money out of a special fund for that purpose. In special emergencies there was close coöperation with other departments, as for instance, with the *Sitonaë* in 288–280,⁶ and with the War Department during the Chremonidean War.⁷ The gradual disappearance of other boards and offices in the early part of the third century probably implies the complete ascendancy of the Department of Administration in this period.⁸

Habron is the only Minister of Administration, if we except Dionysius, whom we know by name. Demochares may have been a member of the board which he reorganized on his return in 288 B. C. The appointment was probably annual, for Habron was nominated to the position in 307/6 and in the following year was Military Steward.⁹ The method of election was probably by appointment from the Ecclesia if the word *αἰρετός* is used in Pollux as in Aristotle.¹⁰

In the following pages we shall follow the history of the Department of Administration from its first appearance in the records in 307/6 B. C. until it disappears early in the second century. In the delimitation of periods, however, we are chiefly concerned with the question of the Department which defrays the cost of recording the decrees on stone.

¹ Ditt., Syll.² 505, Pollux VIII. 98: ὁ ἀντιγραφεὺς πρότερον μὲν αἰρετός αὖθις δὲ κληρωτός ἦν . . . δύο δ' ἦσαν, ὁ μὲν τῆς βουλῆς, ὁ δὲ τῆς διοικήσεως.

² Pollux VIII. 98, Harpocration, s. v.

³ No. 463.

⁴ Nos. 677, 682, 708.

⁵ Nos. 674 etc.

⁶ Ditt. Syll.² 505.

⁷ No. 674.

⁸ The Stewards of the Assembly do not appear after 301 B. C. Stewards of Athena were in office 298 B. C. (IG. II. 612) but are not recorded after that date. The Exetastes and the Trittyarchs do not appear as a financial board after 295 B. C.

⁹ No. 463, IG. II. 737.

¹⁰ Constitution of Athens, XXII. 23 and Sandys' note on the election of archons.

I. 307/6-304/3 B. C.

In this period the Steward of the Assembly pays the cost of inscribing the decrees from the fund which the Assembly has for this purpose. The Apodectae had been accustomed to make an annual appropriation to the Assembly for the cost of decrees. The same plan seems to have been followed in the new régime by the Minister of Administration. The latter officer is seldom recorded in the decrees of this period.¹

II. 303/2-302/1 (eleventh prytany).

We can not determine definitely from the inscriptions when the Minister of Administration took over the duties of the Steward of the Assembly. The years following the war with Cassander were full of political unrest. Demetrius and Stratocles formed an all-powerful combination when both were in Athens, but Stratocles alone was not always powerful enough to curb the anti-Demetrian element.²

The *ταμίης τοῦ δήμου* paid the charges for the inscriptions in 305/4 B. C.³ No decrees definitely dated in 304/3 record the officer who discharges this duty. It is probable, however, that No. 558 should be dated in this year. This decree praises Oxythemis, a favorite of Demetrius, and he is honored with a golden crown *κατὰ τὸν νόμον*. This phrase in the formula bestowing crowns indicates that the decree was probably passed shortly after the end of the "four years' war" (307-4 B. C.). A crown conferred in 306/5 B. C. is given a specific value, but this is the last datable example of the phrase *ἀπὸ δραχμῶν* in connection with the bestowal of these gifts.⁴ During the next two years only two honorary decrees are preserved and in these, olive wreaths of no pecuniary value are given. The change in procedure by which the formula *κατὰ τὸν νόμον* was substituted for a specific value was probably made at the close of the war. In that case we may date No. 558 in the interval between the end of the war and the departure of Demetrius for the Peloponnese. During the absence of the king, Stratocles and his party were temporarily overthrown by

¹ Nos. 463, 555. Possibly also Nos. 510, 708.

² Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 121.

³ Nos. 478, 479.

⁴ No. 467. I do not think that Kirchner's restoration of No. 493, L 28, can be accepted (cf. *AJA* (1913), 506 ff.).

the ultra-democrats under Demochares. Demetrius very soon reestablished his authority and Demochares went into exile. No inscriptions are preserved belonging to the régime of Demochares, so we can not tell whether the administrative changes were made by him or by the king.¹ The Steward disappears for a time, and two inscriptions which belong to this period give clear proof of the change.²

III. 302/1 (twelfth prytany)—/301/0 (July?)

Some indication of the political unrest at Athens in the year 302/1 B. C. is given by the fact that the financial boards which paid for the cost of inscriptions were changed in the course of the year. In No. 505 the Steward replaces the Minister of Administration. Does this imply also a change in political parties, and if so when was the change made? The government of Demetrius had been steadily growing more unpopular, and after he had gone to Asia, a revolt against Stratocles is

¹ AJA (1914), 180 ff. The view there expressed is not the only possible solution. The opponents of Demetrius might prefer to retain the traditional forms of administrative machinery. It may be more reasonable to ascribe the substitution of the Minister of Administration for the Steward of the Assembly to the oligarchical party which must have developed after the exile of Demochares following the return of Demetrius.

² Nos. 500, 496+507. Possibly No. 488, line 26, may be restored [τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει] instead of [τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ δήμου] and placed in this period. Nos. 570, 571, and 709 are probably contemporary. It may be noted that in No. 507 the Minister acts as paymaster (δοῦναι) while in No. 500 he is instructed to make an appropriation (μερῆσαι). Wilhelm (AM. XXXIX. 271) joins Nos. 493 and 518. If this combination is correct, the Steward of the Assembly paid for inscriptions in the twelfth prytany of the archonship of Leostratus. Two days before No. 493 was passed, however, the Minister of Administration paid for the inscription (Nos. 496+507, AM. XXXIX. 274), and it seems very improbable that any change was made in the financial organization in the last three days of the year. In the following year the Minister alone is found (No. 500). The dimensions of the two stones do not support Wilhelm's combination. No. 493 is 0.355 m. broad, 0.08 thick and the letters 0.007 high. No. 518 is fragmentary but the breadth may be calculated on the basis of the lettering as 0.414 wide, 0.08 thick and lettering 0.006 high. Since most stones are thicker towards the bottom, tapering gradually towards the top, these measurements seem to show that the two fragments do not belong together.

quite conceivable.¹ In a long decree, passed in the twelfth prytany, Nicander and Polyzelus received the thanks of the state for the many services which they had rendered.² It is signifi-

¹For an explanation of the fragment of papyrus found at Oxyrhynchus which speaks of the tyranny of Lachares in the archonship of Nicocles see Wilamowitz, *Neue Jahrb. f. cl. Ph.*, (1914). 245. From this fragment (Oxyr. Papr. X, p. 81) we learn that the seventy-ninth (?) play of Menander was written for publication in the archonship of Nicocles, but the Dionysia were not held because of the tyrant Lachares and so the play was presented later. Wilamowitz having in mind that the tyranny of Lachares was established in the archonship of Nicias, proposed that we should read ἐπὶ Νεικίου instead of ἐπὶ Νεικοκλέους. The avoidance of one difficulty has led him into a greater one, for on this theory Menander must have written three plays a year up to 295 B. C., and at least nine in each of the remaining years of his life (not six a year as Wilamowitz reckons, for the tyranny of Lachares began in the spring of 295 B. C. and Menander died in the archonship of Philippus, and therefore not later than June 292 B. C., cf. Ferguson, *Hellenistic Athens*, p. 140, note 2; CP (1914), 248 ff. At least twenty-nine plays were written in these three years if this theory is correct). The correct solution of the fragment of papyrus now seems to be as follows: After the departure of Demetrius for Asia it would seem that Lachares leading a strong opposition to Stratocles became so powerful (perhaps through the help of Cassander) that he seriously menaced the authority of Demetrius, and in the general disturbance, prevented the celebration of the Dionysia. If we are correct in our explanation of the third period he succeeded in completely ousting Stratocles in the twelfth prytany. He restored the older machinery of government at least to the extent of replacing the Minister of Administration by the Steward of the Assembly in paying for decrees. Stratocles, however, was not easily beaten and he succeeded in reestablishing himself early in the following year, perhaps by the aid of the forces of Demetrius which had been left in Greece or because Lachares did not receive the aid which may have been promised by Cassander. When the news of the defeat at Ipsus came, Stratocles was no longer able to stem the power of the opposition and he discreetly withdrew, leaving Lachares and his party in control. We are inclined to think that this is the true interpretation of the history of the period, and that the reading of the papyrus, ἐπὶ Νεικοκλέους, must stand. Professor Capps suggests that, since Lachares was known to contemporary and later historians as the tyrant of Athens, the compiler of this catalogue simply used the epithet to identify the man without implying necessarily that a tyranny was established in the archonship of Nicocles. Thus we say that the sculptor Phidias was born in the fifth century without implying that he was a full-fledged sculptor when he was born.

²No. 505.

cant that no mention is made of the kings. While this *argumentum ex silentio* does not necessarily prove that Athens was independent of Demetrius, yet if we combine it with the fact that the financial boards were changed we may conclude that the Athenians had actually declared their independence of Demetrius a second time. Since Stratocles was the mover of a decree in Thargelion in 301 B. C.¹ and again three months later on the twenty-eighth of Metagitnion² the revolt, if such it was, must have had only temporary success. At any rate Stratocles regained control of the government sometime before the defeat of the kings at Ipsus. It is probable that on his return to power he reestablished the organizations of the second period, but no inscriptions are preserved which definitely determine this.

IV. 301/0 (after the battle of Ipsus)—296/5 B. C.

After the death of Antigonos and the defeat of Demetrius at Ipsus, the Moderates effected a general reform in the administrative machinery.³ The Steward of the Assembly disappears from the records henceforth and the cost of inscriptions is paid by a new board composed of the *exetastes* and the *trittyrarchi*.⁴ The former was elected by show of hands.⁵ In the few inscriptions of this period the Department of Administration is not recorded. This is probably due to chance and need not be taken as proof that the office was temporarily abolished.

The lower limit of the fourth period is uncertain. The most logical date for any change is in the spring of 295 B. C. when Lachares seized control of the government and became tyrant of Athens.⁶ Some officers were reelected in the new régime.⁷ Undoubtedly others were removed, and since a tyrant would prefer to deal with an individual rather than a board or committee, Lachares probably installed a Minister of Administration in charge of the public moneys.

V. 296/5 (spring)—289/8 B. C.

The tyranny of Lachares was overthrown in 294 B. C. and Demetrius reestablished his authority once more in Athens

¹ No. 503.

² Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 124 ff.

³ *Εφ. Ἀρχ.* (1900), 131.

⁴ Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 132 ff.

⁵ No. 640.

⁶ Nos. 641, 643.

⁷ Otto, *GGA* (1914), 645 ff.

There is no evidence that he changed the organization which Lachares adopted. The Department of Administration was a Demetrian institution and naturally was retained. In this period the Minister apparently acted only as paymaster, defraying the cost of inscriptions from the fund appropriated for that purpose. The *exetastes* and the *tritttyarchi* seemingly controlled the appropriations, for they were authorized in two instances to set apart funds for the expenses in connection with statues (Nos. 646, 648). This is apparently a complete reversal of the powers of the two departments in the previous period.

Athens acknowledged Demetrius as overlord until the revolution of 288 B. C. No decrees are completely preserved from the period between 294 and 289, but we may assume that the system of financial administration employed in 295/4 B. C. was followed throughout. This may not prove to be the case, for in the stormy times which followed the return of Demetrius, some of the democratic organizations may have been in abeyance. The decree which records the career of Phaedrus gives a picture of the disturbances preceding and during his generalship in the year 292/1 B. C. and suggests that some of the forms of the democracy were maintained and handed on with great difficulty.¹ Since the financial officers were probably responsible directly to Lachares and Demetrius, it is unlikely that any change in the method of administration was made in the fifth period which ended with the downfall of Demetrius.

VI. 288/7-280/79 B. C.

When Athens established her independence in 288 B. C., the spirit of the old democracy was revived.² Under the leadership of Demochares, who returned from exile, the financial system was reformed. The Department of Administration was retained but the control was vested in a board instead of a single individual. This board was probably composed of twelve with a representative from each of the Attic tribes, and became the peculiar possession of the Democratic or Nationalist party in the third century. Inscriptions may be

¹ No. 682. Cf. CP (1914), 248 ff.

² Tarn, *Antigonos Gonatas*, 415 ff.

ascribed to the periods of Macedonian control or of independence according as a single officer or a committee is in charge of the Administration. In all the inscriptions of the sixth period we find the Board of Administration which is authorized to make appropriations for the cost of decrees by the Assembly.¹ Apparently an annual appropriation was still made for inscriptions, and from this a separate payment was awarded for each document to be recorded on stone. This practice seems to be characteristic of the Nationalists, for it recurs again during the Chremonidean War and was revived later by Euryclides.

The Department of Administration and the *sitonae* had a common secretary for some time during this period.² This close coöperation is significant, for it indicates that the food supply was not all that might be desired. Perhaps we may find in this coöperation an additional argument to support the view that Antigonus held the harbor throughout these years.

The end of this period is certainly coincident with the fall of Athens. The date must be inferred almost entirely from our epigraphical records, for there is no direct reference to the event in literature. There can be no question that Athens asserted her freedom from the king in the year 288 B. C. and that Diocles is the first archon elected by the Nationalists.³ The Board of Administration is our main index of the independence of the city for that year in whose records it is found. It is also beyond question that the archons Diocles, Diotimus, Isaeus, Euthius, Gorgias, Urius, Sosistratus (whose name I restore in No. 672), and Nicias Otryneus must be placed within this period.⁴ Moreover, we must include Menecles, for it is evident that the same administration is still in power as under the Nationalists.⁵ Therefore the earliest date for the

¹ Nos. 652, 663 (288/7), 653 (287/6), 657 (285/4), 660 (283/2), 672 (282/1), 665, 668 (280/79). The general fund for inscriptions is mentioned in Nos. 657, 672.

² Ditt. Syll.³ 505.

³ Tarn, l. c. Cf. CP (1914), 248 ff.

⁴ The Board is found in the decrees of the archons Diocles, Diotimus, Euthius, Urius, Sosistratus (No. 672), and Nicias Otryneus. On the date of Isaeus see Tarn, l. c. Gorgias must also be included because the decree honoring Demochares on his retirement from public life was passed in his archonship.

⁵ Ditt. Syll.³ 505.

fall of Athens is the year 280/79 B. C. Fortunately we can date this more precisely in the archonship of Nicias Otryneus when the *agonothete* was deposed in the course of the year, and the second appointee was the Antigonic supporter Phaedrus.¹ This procedure has only one possible interpretation in Athenian history. A radical change in the government must have been effected and since an Antigonic was elected, we must conclude that the independence of Athens was at an end. We may now bring a single undated literary reference into relation to this event. Polyænus² tells us that Antigonus, despairing of taking the city by direct attack, made a truce and withdrew in the early autumn. The Athenians sowed their grain without reserving any supply against contingencies. In the spring Antigonus suddenly returned and laid siege to the city. The Athenians had no food and could not reap their harvest. Accordingly they made terms and received Antigonus into the city. It now remains to determine the date of this exploit. As we have shown above, the earliest possible date is 280/79 B. C. Since the secretary-cycle places the archon Nicias Otryneus in this year,³ there is little doubt that we must accept the evidence of the cycle and date the capture of Athens in the spring of 279 B. C.

VII. 279/8-268/7 B. C.

Epigraphical evidence for the seventh period is comparatively slight, but all of it goes to prove that Athens was subject to Macedon throughout the entire period. Apparently the reins were lightly held by the king. Indeed he was in no position to act otherwise during many of these years, and if the Nationalists had been strong enough they might have easily thrown off the yoke, but the rule of his chief minister,

¹Tarn, l. c.

²Polyænus IV. 6. 20.

³CP (1914), 248 ff. Otto, GGA (1914), 647 takes exception to this date, but without advancing any valid argument. He is apparently unaware of or ignores Beloch's certain emendation of the passage in the *Vita* by which Gorgias is dated in 284/3 B. C. (CP, l. c., p. 250) and he is in error when he claims that an Athenian led the Greek forces at Thermopylae against the Gauls. Callippus only led the small Athenian contingent (Pausanias I. 3). The general political situation which Otto believes existed is merely inferred from a theoretical secretary-cycle, and can only be accepted if the cycle is correct.

Phaedrus, was apparently just and lenient. Besides, Antigonus held the harbors and the Athenians knew how difficult it was to storm the strong garrisons there, and how hard it was to live without control of the sea. The traditions of the nation could not have allowed for a moment an alliance with the Gauls to purchase their own freedom, nor could they, during the Gallic invasion, have declared their independence of Antigonus. They would have been shut out of the sea by the king and would have run a very serious risk of being starved out by land, if the Gauls had succeeded in forcing their way so far south. The fact that a small Athenian contingent (a tenth of that of the Thebans apart from cavalry) fought at Thermopylae¹ does not prove that Athens was independent of Antigonus. If we can trust the account in Pausanias the whole Greek world was panic-stricken when the hordes of barbarians began their onward sweep and there was no thought of freedom, but only of stemming the tide. Athens fought as did the others, but there is no evidence that she was independent. In the meeting of the Amphietyonic Council in that very year, it is significant that Athens had no representative.² When Athens was subject to Antigonus she sent no members to the Council.³ We must therefore conclude that she had not asserted her independence. The risk was too great. She might have gained it, but she stood to lose far more at that crisis of Greek culture and civilization.

A son of Phaedrus was elected *agonothete* for the archonship of Eubulus (276/5 B. C.).⁴ Athens was still pro-Antigonid in the latter part of the year 277/6 B. C. when the elections were held. There can not be any doubt that she had owed allegiance throughout, for Antigonus could not have recaptured the city when he was endeavouring to drive the Gauls out of his Macedonian domain. In the archonship of Eubulus, and in the following year when No. 682 was passed there is no doubt that the city was still loyal. For a moment when Pyrrhus gained his astonishing successes in Macedon, the Nationalist party dared hope, and they sent an embassy to the victor asking him to come to Athens to help them.⁵ What sort of help did they want? If Athens was independent and

¹ Pausanias X. 20.² IG. II. 551.³ Tarn, *op. cit.*, 213 f.⁴ No. 682.⁵ Justin XXV. 3 ff.

Antigonus a nonentity what could they need Pyrrhus for? He did not heed their invitation but went to Sparta instead. He had no equipment for siege works nor the patience for that kind of warfare. We must therefore conclude that the Nationalists desired his help to drive out the forces of Antigonus and that the city was not independent when the embassy was sent. In the archonship of Polyeuctus loyalty had become servility and sacrifices were offered to Antigonus and in the following year the official who had performed them was given an official vote of thanks.¹ But how can we reconcile these sacrifices to Antigonus with the fact that in the same year the Aetolians were received at Athens and delivered an invitation to partake in the *Soteria*? Apparently Antigonus and Aetolia came to some understanding in this year whereby Antigonus conceded to the latter the right to manage the Amphictyonic Council while the Aetolians agreed to take no active part against Antigonus nor to give support to his enemies.²

The decree of Laches in the archonship of Pytharatus in honor of Demochares is no proof that Athens was independent.³ The conversation between Demochares and Zeno recorded by Diogenes Laertius shows that Demochares had been reconciled to the son of his former overlord. The guarded wording of the decree is evidence of the relation of Athens to Antigonus. The services of Demochares under Demetrius are emphasized, and Athens is said at that time to have been a democracy. Would the Nationalists have so styled the government of that period?

If the archon Glaucippus were dated in the year 277/6 the supporters of the theory that Athens was independent in a part of that year might find some support since the inscriptions are paid for by the Board of Administration. There is, however, no evidence for the existence of the Board between 279 and 268 B. C. Athens was not at war in 277 and sacrifices for safety were not required. Finally there is no vacancy for a secretary from the tribe Pandionis between 280 and 276 B. C.

¹ CP (1914), 259.

² Tarn, (op. cit., 288, 347) would place this understanding later—perhaps at the beginning of the Chremonidean war.

³ CP (1914), 275 f.

Glaucippus must be assigned to the period of the Chremonidean War where the evidence of the secretary-cycle, formulas, and prosopography places him.

A fragment of the *Hypobolimaheus* of Alexis has been interpreted as proof that Athens was independent of Macedon and allied with Egypt about 274 B. C.¹ In the reference to Ptolemy and Arsinoe in this fragment it has always been assumed that brother and sister were married and sharing the throne of Egypt. In my opinion this assumption is unwarranted. Alexis was born in 372 B. C.² and Arsinoe married her brother in 274 B. C. The comedy must have been written in the poet's 99th year or later. Surely such a theory is untenable. Arsinoe was the power behind the throne when she was queen of Macedon, and it is possible that we should date this play at some time when Athens was on friendly terms with Egypt and Macedon in the earlier part of the century (ca. 299-5 B. C.).

Athens sent no representatives to the Amphictyonic Council at any time between 279 and 268 B. C.³ so far as we can determine from the extant evidence. This fact adds force to our contention that Athens was under Macedonian rule throughout the seventh period. There is, at least, no evidence that she was independent at any time. The meagre epigraphical and literary evidence proves very little, but all the inscriptions, which must, beyond question, be dated in this period, show that the governing body was under the control of Antigonos. The Department of Administration was placed in charge of a Minister instead of a Board and all the inscriptions of the state are paid for by him, with the sole exception of the inventory of the treasures of the temple of Asclepius which were apparently regarded as a possible source of supply for the military funds.⁴

The few decrees of the state belonging to this period⁵ show

¹ Kock, II. p. 386, No. 244.

² Capps, AJP. XXI. 59.

³ CP (1914), 272 ff. A fuller study of this problem will be published in the near future.

⁴ IG. II. 835. The appearance of the Military Steward here is unusual. The Minister of Administration undoubtedly existed at this time (cf. No. 682).

⁵ Most of the inscriptions from this period are incomplete. The following record the department which pays for them: Nos. 677 (after 275), 682 (275/4), 766 (270/69).

that Antigonus appointed a Minister in charge of the Department of Administration, thus restoring the same financial organization which had been in use in his father's administration. The fact that the Minister is so characteristic of Macedonian rule might support the view that the office was first created by Demetrius Poliorcetes.

VIII. 267/6-262/1 (archon Antipater).

The eighth period is conterminous with the Chremonidean war, the beginning of which is determined largely by the date of the archon Peithidemus in whose year of office the decree of Chremonides was passed.¹ The evidence comes largely from literary sources but the interpretation of it has been somewhat clouded in recent years.² When Ferguson first applied his theory of the rotation of tribes in the appointment of secretaries, he dated Peithidemus in 267/6 B. C. on the basis of the literary evidence.³ I have not yet been able to discover why he was led to place this archon in the year 266/5 on the basis of the rotation of tribes in the election of the Priests of Asclepius.⁴ I quote the following sentence which is the sole argument advanced for the revised date: "Philokrates can not now be ejected from 268/7, and since the capture of Athens came in the fall of 262, five military seasons had then elapsed, if the war began in the summer of 266 (Peithidemus)".⁵ Both Kirchner and Lehmann-Haupt⁶ have hailed this conditional statement as indisputable proof that Peithidemus must be placed in 266/5. It must be observed, however, that the statement that the war lasted five, and only five campaigns, is derived apparently from the dates of the archons in the first cycle which is now universally discarded, and therefore can have no value as proof. Furthermore, if there were satisfactory evidence that the war lasted five years, must we not date the Chremonidean decree in 267 instead of 266, be-

¹ No. 686, 687.

² Cf. Beloch, *Gr. Gesch.* III. 2. 54 ff. After dating Philokrates in 267/6 by his cycle Beloch was forced to interpret the literary evidence to suit the cycle. We have all sinned in the same way.

³ *Athenian Archons*, Cornell Studies X. p. 28.

⁴ *Priests of Asclepius*, University of California Publications, I. 5.

⁵ *loc. cit.*, 171 (1st ed.).

⁶ Kirchner, *BPW* (1906), 980 ff. Lehmann-Haupt, *BPW* (1906), 1265.

cause the decree was passed so late that no military campaign could be begun that season? The evidence must be reëxamined. The decree of Chremonides was passed in the late summer of the archonship of Peithidemus and too late for any campaign that year. In the following spring Antigonus marched against Athens and her allies. Fortunately for them his mercenaries rose in revolt at Megara and he halted to face this new menace.¹ The mutineers were thoroughly beaten and he won such prestige that the Egyptians and Spartans decided to return home. In the following year Antigonus met Areus at Corinth, defeated and slew him.² According to Diodorus³ Areus became king of Sparta in 309/8 B. C. and reigned 44 years. If we reckon according to the usual Greek method, Areus died in 266/5 B. C.⁴ The latest possible date for the decree of Chremonides, if we date the death of Areus in the spring of 265, is in the fall of 267/6 B. C. We may now summon the secretary-cycle to our aid, and since it shows that Peithidemus can not be placed earlier than this, we must assign him to the year 267/6 B. C.⁵

The end of the war came in the archonship of Antipater in September, 262 B. C.⁶ The archon and secretary were changed. The Board of Administration was replaced by a Minister of Administration.⁷ The date is definitely determined by a pas-

¹ Justin XXVI. 2.

² Trogus XXVI.

³ XX. 29.

⁴ Ed. Meyer (Forschungen, II. 510 f.) who was not concerned in formulating any secretary-cycle, established this date on the basis of the literary evidence. Lehmann-Haupt accepted this before he recanted under the influence of the cycle of the Priests of Asclepius (Klio, III. 170, IV. 121). Cf. Droysen, Hellenismus, III. 1. 233; Dittenberger, Syll. 163. n. 1; Kirchner, Hermes, XXXVII 435 ff.; PW, s. v., Peithidemus; Pros. Att. s. v. It is very interesting to note that, since Ferguson published his work on the Priests of Asclepius, everyone has accepted his date for Peithidemus apparently without examining the evidence. Even Kolbe makes no defence of the literary tradition but interprets it to suit the cycle. Lehmann-Haupt remarks: Wer also Areus Tod ins Jahr 264 setzen will, wird überzeugende Gründe gegen Diodors Daten oder gegen deren organische Verwertung vorbringen müssen (Klio, IV. 122). So far no one has done this.

⁵ CP (1914), 277; (1915), 457-9.

⁶ Tarn, op. cit., 306.

⁷ The decree of the archonship of Arrheneides proves this (Diog. Laert., VII. 9). It is absolutely unwarranted to emend the text and read *τοὺς* instead of *τὸν ἐπὶ τῆς διοικήσεως*. The Minister is found all through the regimen of Antigonus, but the Board never appears.

sage in Apollodorus which says that thirty-nine years and three months elapsed from the archonship of Clearchus (301/0) to the archonship of Arrheneides.¹ By inclusive reckoning Arrheneides entered upon his office in October, 262 B. C.

The Nationalists established their cherished forms of government in 267 and the Board at once took the place of the Minister of Administration, and is found in all the documents of the period. Occasionally the Board coöperates with the Military Steward in making the appropriations. The wisdom of this plan can readily be seen, for all the energies of Athens were bent on the war and all her financial resources had to be conserved and expenditures subordinated to the demands of the War Department.²

IX. 262/1-231/0 B. C.

Athens fell in the autumn of 262 B. C. Antigonus was not disposed to treat the conquered city as lightly as he did before. Those officers of the government who had been elected by the Nationalists were dismissed and replaced by the candidates of Antigonus. The Department of Administration was placed at once under the control of a Minister instead of a Board.³ This change is what we have come to regard as characteristic of Macedonian authority, and we should expect to find that all

¹ Ferguson, *Priests of Asclepius*, 153: ἀπὸ Κλεάρχου γὰρ ἐπ' Ἀρρήνειδην ἐφ' οὗ σημειωθῆναι τετελευτηκέναι Ζήνωνα, ἔτη ἐστὶν ἐννέα καὶ τριάκοντα καὶ μῆνες τρεῖς. The general assumption that this remark of Apollodorus refers to the scholarchate of Zeno seems to me unjustifiable. It is a simple chronological statement of the length of time which elapsed from Clearchus to Arrheneides. Zeno died in the archonship of the latter, probably just before the decree recorded by Diogenes Laertius was passed. Cf. *AJP* (1913), 393.

² To this period belong Nos. 686 + 687 (267/6), 689 (265/4), 690 (267-2), 674, 676 (263/2). I am not convinced about the accuracy of Wilhelm's restoration of No. 675. The addition of No. 525 (AM. XXXIX. 266) to this same document seems to me well-nigh impossible. I think that this fragment and the conclusion (at least) of No. 675 must belong to a decree of the fourth century. Otherwise, we have a new treasurer in this period to defray expenses (cf. *CP* (1914), 430). Kirchner's note to No. 689 is contradicted by the evidence of No. 687. On the date of the former inscription see *CP* (1914), 431. The general fund for inscriptions reappears in No. 674.

³ The decree honoring the memory of Zeno, copied by Diogenes Laertius (VII. 9), was set up by the Minister.

the decrees of this period are paid for by an appropriation from the funds by this Minister. One possible exception is found in No. 793 where instructions are given for setting up a statue of Antigonos and an inscription. For these the *ταμίαι τῶν δόσιων* (cf. IG. II. 414?) are to pay. Since it is not clear whether the inscription is the decree or that on the base of the statue, we may claim the benefit of the doubt and assume that the decree itself is recorded and paid for in the usual way.

A few inscriptions have been placed in this period without regard to the official who pays the expenses. No. 789 is dated ca. 250, apparently on the basis of lettering. The Military Steward discharges the costs, however, and on this basis the document should be assigned to the next period. Wilhelm dated No. 808 between 239 and 229 B. C., but allowed the restoration [τοὺς] ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει to stand in spite of the fact that there is no evidence for the Board at any time in this period. Since many of the lines in this decree are not of the full length it is quite permissible to restore [τόν] instead of [τοὺς] and we must do so if the decree belongs here.¹

The relations of Athens and Macedon between 233 and 229 are still somewhat obscure. It is apparent that the city was independent in 232 B. C. The new tribe Ptolemais was created and the new government was launched under the control of Euryclides, who in the following year took the important post of Military Steward.² Macedon still controlled the harbors and until they could be regained, Attica could not be wholly free. We now find a departure from precedent, for Euryclides apparently made no change in the financial organization of the city until Piraeus was handed over. The Minister of Administration continued to make the appropriations for the inscriptions, but it is evident that the Military Steward was the more important officer not only because of the heading of No. 791, but also because this office was held by Euryclides himself, and then by other members of his family.³ Hereafter it will be seen that the change in the financial department is

¹ The documents which belong to this period are Diog. Laert., VII. 9 (262/1), No. 775 (248/7), 787 (237/6), 788 (236/5), 780 (235/4), 791 (231/0). The following may also belong here: Nos. 725, 802, 803, 808, 811, 812.

² No. 791.

³ IG. II. 379.

not any longer coincident with any political change, but is generally a matter of internal reform.

X. 230/29-219/8 B. C.

If we date the emancipation of all Attica from Macedon ca. 230 B. C., we may place the inauguration of the new financial system in the following year. At any rate in No. 792 the Military Steward pays for the cost of the decree, and there are a few inscriptions which can not be precisely dated, though there is little doubt that they belong to this period where the Military Steward is found as paymaster.¹ Strangely enough, the only two inscriptions which can be dated give us the limits of the period, which does not seem to be determined by any party change in this case. No. 792 is probably to be dated in the year 229 B. C. and this is the upper limit for this period. In 218/7 B. C. the Military Steward coöperates with the Board of Administration in discharging the expenses in connection with decrees.² In the first decree on IG. II. 310, only the Military Steward is found. The second document on this stone is dated in the archonship of some man whose name ends in *-ρος*, *-ρας*, or *-ρης*. Undoubtedly we must restore the name *Ἡλιόδωρος* and date the first decree at the end of the preceding year. The limits of the tenth period may therefore be closely defined. In the reorganization of 229 B. C. it is likely that the Department of Administration was placed under the same Board which is characteristic of independent government.

XI. 218/7-202/1 B. C.?

It may be that the Department of Administration and the Military Steward coöperated in making all appropriations in the preceding period, but there is no formal recognition of it in the records until we come to the year 218/7 B. C.³ The change in formula is not, so far as known, due to any change in the government, but may either be ascribed to a desire for

¹ Nos. 792 (230/29), IG. II. 310 (219/8). Nos. 806, 809, 810, possibly also No. 813, IG. II. 375, 380, 396, 400, 510, II. 5. 407 h, 513 f. In No. 801 we should probably restore τὸ[ν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν] and date it here.

² Dating Heliodorus in 218/7 B. C. AJP (1913), 387 ff.

³ IG. II. 5. 385 c.

greater accuracy of expression, or preferably, it marks a change in administrative methods in which Euryclides and his party sought to gain greater efficiency by uniting the two departments.

The lower limit of this period can not be definitely determined. In a copy of an Attic decree found at Magnesia¹ we find that the two departments were still working together in 209/8 B. C. and there is no reason to doubt that there was a similar coördination from the year 218/7 B. C.² Between 208 and 202 B. C. inscriptions are lacking and the evidence from literary sources does not give much help. Euryclides and Micion died about this time and the rumor spread that they were poisoned by agents of Philip.³ If we could date the archons Nicophon and Dionysius⁴ we might be able to determine when these statesmen were put to death. They must have been alive as late as 209/8 B. C. at least.⁵ Whether a Macedonian party gained control of the government after their death we are unable to say. If any of the inscriptions which are paid for by the Minister of Administration are to be placed anterior to 199 B. C., they must belong to the period immediately following the death of Euryclides and Micion.⁶ None of those which have the deme of the secretary preserved can be placed here if the tribal rotation was maintained in the election of the secretary, and none can belong to the period when there were thirteen tribes. In view of the lack of evidence to the contrary, we may bring the eleventh period down to the reforms which appear to have been carried out in the

¹ Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 37. For date see AJP (1913), 413 f.

² The evidence against placing IG. II. 431 in this period is stated in AJP (1913), 411. Cf. AJP (1914), 79-80. Euryclides and Micion were still in power in 212 B. C., and it would be incomprehensible if they had changed the management of the Department from a Board to a single Minister and then returned to the old system in 209 B. C. It should be noted also that this inscription belongs to the class of decrees conferring honors on various prytanies which seem to have been in fashion during the twelfth period.

³ Pausanias II. 9. 4.

⁴ IG. II. 401, II. 5. 623 b, 1161 b.

⁵ Ferguson, *Hell. Ath.*, 256 n. 2. The earliest date for Nicophon is perhaps 212/1 or 210/9. Dionysius can not be earlier than 210/9 or 209/8 B. C.

⁶ Ferguson, l. c.

year 202/1 B. C. This lower limit is purely provisional but it is the most logical date, for about this time the tribes Demetrias and Antigonis were abrogated and this necessitated other constitutional reforms.¹ The Senate lost a hundred members and various boards which were composed of members from each tribe were reduced. We may suppose that the Department of Administration suffered a more radical change. Apparently government by committee had been given a thorough trial by Euryclides and his party, but finally they decided to break with the traditions of the Nationalists in favor of the less cumbersome, more direct, and more efficient system of the Macedonian party. In other words they had learned the advantages of centralization.²

XII. 201/0 ?-191/0 B. C. ?

In the twelfth period we find the Minister of Administration in charge of the appropriations, but we can not accuse Athens of pro-Macedonian affiliations at any point in these years. The city was generally pro-Roman, though there were occasionally symptoms of a strong leaning towards Antiochus. His supporters apparently were never strong enough to get control of the government.³

The limits of this period are still problematical. Perhaps the earliest inscription is IG. II. 392. There are two decrees on this stone, of which the second is dated in the archonship following that of Phanarchides (202/1 B. C. ?). The first decree is probably earlier in the year and authorizes the Minister to make the usual appropriation. If the two Macedonian tribes were removed from the lists in the archonship of Pha-

¹The exact date of the abrogation of the tribes is still problematical. If IG. II. 5. 385 c is correctly dated in the year 205/4 (AJP (1913), 414) the thirteen tribes were still in existence in that year. Ferguson thinks that these tribes were disbanded about 202 B. C. (op. cit., 256 n. 2).

²In the eleventh period belong IG. II. 5. 385 c (218/7), II. 327, No. 786, Kern, *Inscripfen von Magnesia*, 37 (209/8). Wilhelm (AM. XXXIX. 303) combines II. 327 with IG. II. 416 and dates the decree in 188/7. But there are 55 letters in a line in II. 327 and 31 in II. 416. Moreover the formulas are quite unlike those of 188/7 when the board *ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* did not exist. I therefore think that this combination can not be correct, and we should probably date II. 327 in the eleventh period.

³Ferguson, op. cit., c. VII.

narchides, that year is probably the upper limit.¹ The lower limit is also purely conjectural. The last inscription which has a record of the Minister is probably IG. II. 431, and if we can rely upon the secretary-cycle as a means of dating inscriptions in the first decade of the century, we must put this document in the year 192/1 B. C. In 188/7 B. C. the Military Steward takes the place of the Minister² and the change was made at some point after 192 B. C. Possibly there was some form of reorganization after the battle of Magnesia at which time the supporters of Antiochus disappeared and left a conservative democracy which was friendly to Rome in undisputed possession of the government.³

XIII. 191/0-

The conservative democracy of the second century was virtually an aristocracy supported by Rome. In carrying out their reforms about 190 B. C.,⁴ they took a further step in centralizing the administrative offices in the financial department,

¹In a decree from the archonship of Phanarchides (IG. II. 5. 385 c) the Military Steward makes an appropriation for the expenses of an embassy to Crete. Nothing is said about the cost of cutting the decree, and this document may therefore be regarded as outside the limits of this study. It is significant, however, that the Military Steward has the power of making appropriations alone. It may be that we have to do with a separate period between 209/8 and 202/1. More likely the sending of the embassy was regarded in a sense as a war measure and the Steward is paying only from the military funds.

²The inscriptions of this year call for a word of comment. In IG. II. 417 the Board of Administration is restored with some hesitation by Boeckh on the basis of a very dubious reading in the last line. In view of the fact that the Board did not exist in the second century, and since the other inscriptions of the same year are paid for by the Military Steward, there is little doubt that the reading of the last line in IG. II. 417 must be emended, and restored *τὸν ταμίαν τῶν στρατιωτικῶν*. If not, we must assume that a Board of Administration was created after 191 B. C., and that in 188/7 some violent change in the government took place, for which there is absolutely no evidence. In fact the evidence is all opposed to such a theory. On Wilhelm's dating IG. II. 327 in this period see note 2, p. 448.

³To this period belong IG. II. 392 (201/0), 391 and 393 (197/6 ?), 390 (193/2), 431 (192/1), 394, 398 + 407 (AM. XXXIX. 310), 453, 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. (1903), 61; *ibid.* (1911), 228, 231. It may be noted that all but one of these are decrees in praise of various prytanies.

⁴Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 287 ff.

and the power of making the appropriations was hereafter vested in the hands of the Military Steward instead of the Minister of Administration who now disappears from the records. The Military Steward discharged this duty throughout the second century. For the next century there is little evidence. When Athens went over to the side of Mithridates against Rome we might expect that, according to precedent, some change was made. If so, the evidence has yet to be discovered. After Sulla had reestablished the authority of Rome we know but little of the machinery of the financial department. Only one inscription¹ dated after Sulla's conquest gives any information on this point, and from it we learn that the Military Steward was instructed to make an appropriation for the necessary expenses in the year 49/8 B. C. Thereafter the records are silent in regard to the question of payment for the decrees.²

In tracing the history of the various boards which are authorized by the senate or assembly to pay for the decrees from the end of the fourth century until Athens was incorporated into the Roman Empire the conclusion is obvious that when we find a change in the method of payment we must expect to find some corresponding change in the affiliations or allegiance of the state, or in the later period some measure of internal reform in the government itself. The old-time Democracy preferred to control the Department of Administration through a committee. The Macedonian rulers always placed a Minister in charge, and this policy was finally adopted by the Conservatives in the second century. The Military Stew-

¹ IG. II. 5. 489 c. Other inscriptions which can not be precisely dated may also belong to this later period.

² The following inscriptions in the thirteenth period can be dated: IG. II. 417, 417 b, 417 c + 451 g (188/7), 420 (186/5), 440 (185/4), 451 b (probably 178/7), 427 + 441 f (169/8), 477 b, 477 c (165/4), 459 (131/0), 471 (122/1), 469 (118/7), 465 (117/6), 470 (106/5), 467 (100/99), 464 (117-81), 478 (archon Nicander), 479 (archon Apolexis), 489 c (49/8). To this list may be added the following undated decrees: IG. II. 400, 411, 423, 425, 426, 438, 441, 442, 455, 456, 468, 490. II. 5. 432 d, 451 c, 489 d, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. (1903), 67. In the following the Military Steward is to be assumed or restored: IG. II. 375, 466, 480, II. 5. 432 b, 432 c, 485 b, 'Eφ. 'Aρχ. (1911), 235, *ibid.* (1912), 248, AM. XXXIII. 206, XXXIX. 304. IG. II. 591 and 592 are decrees by Athenian *kleruchs* who apparently have the same organization as the home government.

ard does not take a very prominent place in the decrees in his earlier history, but he must have been one of the most important officers of the state when Athens was at war. Habron held this post in the Four Years' War, and in the Chremonidean war this department takes precedence over that of Administration. A generation later the office gained prestige when it was held by Euryclides and members of his family. Towards the close of the third century the Department of Administration seems to have been steadily encroached upon until finally its power of making appropriations falls to the Military Steward with whom the history of Athenian financial administration closes.¹

Conspectus of the political history of Athens and of the Departments which paid for the decrees of the state in the different periods.

- | | |
|--|--|
| I. 307/6-304/3 δ ταμίας τοῦ δήμου | Democracy as restored by Demetrius, gradually developing into an extreme oligarchy. The ultra-democrats asserted themselves for a short time at the close of the period. |
| II. 303/2-302/1 (May) δ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει | Oligarchy under Stratocles. |

¹ The following inscriptions which Kirchner places anterior to the Chremonidean War may be more precisely dated: No. 706 has the same limitation in the value of the property which can be acquired by a foreigner as that set in the régime of Euryclides and may therefore be dated ca. 232-0 B. C. No. 707 is a citizenship decree which omits the scrutiny and the restrictions in enrollment. It must be later than 279 B. C. The formulas in No. 708 are exactly similar to those of No. 555, and they are probably contemporary (307-4 B. C.). In No. 709 the Minister of Administration pays (δοῦναι) for the inscription out of the special fund appropriated for that purpose. The same procedure is found in No. 507 (303/2) and again in No. 648 (295/4), but never in the later periods. In No. 710 the right of enrollment is limited as in 288-0 B. C. No. 711 is probably contemporary. In No. 712 no scrutiny of the gift is required. Since this is never omitted in the sixth period, this decree must go in the eighth. Prosopographical reasons favor placing No. 713 in the sixth period, but it may be as late as the eighth. The restoration of No. 714 is uncertain. No. 721 may be restored τ[ὸς ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει] as well as τ[ὸν ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει]. The formulas seem to belong to the sixth period. No. 725 apparently belongs to the ninth period. No. 741 is too fragmentary to be dated.

- III. 302/1 (June)-301/0 (July) *ὁ ταμίης τοῦ δήμου* Temporary overthrow of Stratocles. Restoration of democratic forms under leadership of Lachares.
- IV. 301/0 (October)-296/5 (Nicias πρότερος) *ὁ ἐξεταστής καὶ οἱ τριττῶν ἄρχοι* Rule of the Moderates.
- V. (a) 296/5 (Nicias ὕστερος) *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Tyranny of Lachares.
 -295/4 [*ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει*]
 (b) 295/4-289/8 *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Demetrian government.
- VI. 288/7-280/79 (April) *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Nationalists.
- VII. 280/79 (May)-268/7 *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Under Antigonous.
- VIII. 267/6-262/1 (Antipater) *οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Nationalists.
- IX. 262/1 (Arrheneides)-231/0 *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Attica under Macedon until 232. Athens then became independent.
- X. 230/29-219/8 *ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* Attica free of foreign garrisons. Conservative democracy.
- XI. 218/7-202/1? *ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ οἱ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Internal reforms. Coöperation in financial administration. Conservative democracy.
- XII. 201/0-191/0? *ὁ ἐπὶ τῇ διοικήσει* Concentration in financial administration. Conservative democracy.
- XIII. 190/89- *ὁ ταμίης τῶν στρατιωτικῶν* Athens a ward of Rome.

ALLAN CHESTER JOHNSON.

PRINCETON.

REVIEWS AND BOOK NOTICES.

De Iliadis Fontibus et Compositione, scripsit MATTHAEUS VALETON, litt. hum. dr., gymn. Arnh. conr. (Lugduni Batavorum apud E. J. Brill, 1915. 8vo, pp. VII + 337).

In this volume are collected the seven articles relating to the rise of the Tale of Troy and the genesis of the Iliad, which Valetton published between the years 1912 and 1915 in the *Mnemosyne*. That students of the Homeric question will be glad to have access to these essays in this more convenient form is a matter of course. Their joy must, however, be tempered by the fact that the articles are—in the most literal sense—reprinted. Such a method of publication inevitably entails a dropping behind of the work; especially when, as seems true in the present case, the composition is essentially a unit. As the separate articles passed through the press, references to later works were sometimes added in the footnotes; but in the *addenda* no such effort has been made, and thus the book is nearly four years old at the moment of its birth. The misprints, also, have had to stand exactly as they first appeared. That they are many is shown by the list of *corrigenda et addenda* extending over seven double-column pages; although obvious errors—such as misspellings, and false accents—are ignored, and a number of *δεύτεραι φροντίδες* in the later chapters had already supplemented or corrected earlier statements.

The book's most prominent defect is the limited acquaintance shown with the work done by others upon the subject of which it treats. In part this comes from the author's belief that linguistics and archaeology can contribute little or nothing to the solution of the problem. To this point I shall return later, noting here merely the fact that the author has thus been led to confine his reading to studies in mythology and analyses of the poem. Even within these limits he seems governed by certain national prepossessions. He is familiar with the works of Naber and van Leeuwen, and with a fair selection of German writings. But of works in French—not to speak of Italian,—I have noted not a single citation; while those from English writings are so sporadic, that they may be repeated here: Grote, *History of Greece* (p. 254); Leaf, a work not specified (p. 126) and *A Companion to the Iliad* (p. 246); Agnes M. Clerke, *Familiar Studies in Homer* (p. 178);

and Shewan, *The Lay of Dolon* (p. 250). To these must be added the mention, p. 2, of Andrew Lang as a Unitarian.

Every effort to study the composition of the *Iliad* must rest upon some belief about the source and trustworthiness of our text; and in my opinion the chance of success must depend very largely upon the degree of clearness with which the student grasps this most fundamental aspect of the problem. To the first half of the question Valetón's answer is to be found, pp. 259-66, in his discussion of the recension of Peisistratos. Space forbids the following out of his argument—which I believe could be strengthened—but his conclusions seem in the main correct. There was an early Attic edition due to Solon, Peisistratos or Hipparchos—the name does not matter—which was not the first reduction of the poem to writing, but the (essentially successful) re-establishment of its earlier form, increased by the Athenian interpolations. Here exception must be taken to the idea of restoring the poem to its earlier form. The Athenian statesman who imported the Ionian text can have had no antiquarian interests. What he wanted was simply a poem as good as possible for recitation at the festival of the Panathenaia, and he secured it according to his lights. He had no scruples to deter him from altering the poem whenever he thought he could better adapt it to his needs—that would seem merely improving it. One thing we can say of his work in general: free composition on a large scale was beyond his power, otherwise the stamp of sixth century Athens would be on the poem even plainer than it now is. From this edition our *Iliad* is descended.

At this point Valetón drops the problem, and hence it may fairly be assumed that his views are like those since expressed by Bethe, who holds, *Homer I* 50-6, that the text of Aristarchos was essentially identical with that of Peisistratos, and the text of Ludwich with that of Aristarchos. The last proposition will have to be appreciably modified in the light of my article, *The Archetype of our Iliad and the Papyri*, A. J. P. XXXV 125-48, and of additional evidence which I now have ready for publication. The former simply flies in the face of the positive proofs for the fluctuation of the Homeric text in the third, fourth and fifth centuries—a brilliant presentation of which has been given by Gilbert Murray, R. G. E., pp. 298-325, in the chapter headed *From Known to Unknown*. The foundation for the error seems to be a belief that the writing of the text must have stereotyped the epos—an idea sufficiently refuted—cf. Meier, *Werden u. Leben des Volksepos*, pp. 28 f. and note 107—by parallels from the *epê* of other peoples.

There is thus a factor in the solution of the problem—the later fluctuation of the text—of which Valetón is apparently

unaware, and which Bethe explicitly denies. To a great extent this factor is an x and must remain so; but it is one thing to carry it consciously as such—cf. Robert, *Studien zur Ilias*, pp. 575 f.—and quite another thing to believe that it does not exist.

I turn next to Valetton's theory of the composition of the *Iliad*. The nucleus was a poem on the Wrath of Achilles. The greater complexity of its plot distinguished it from the innumerable poems, in which the Tale of Troy had previously been developed, and made it a more artistic sort of poetry, the opening of a new era. Its author is the principle author of the *Iliad* and may be termed Homer. The name, to which no historical value is attached, may also be employed as a collective designation for all who have worked upon the poem.

The contradiction between the *Πρεσβεία* and the *Πατρόκλεια* is taken (p. 177) as the fundament of the analysis. The point has, of course, been repeatedly made, and is, to my mind, perfectly obvious. The most plausible attempt to explain it away, Lang, *The World of Homer*, pp. 234 ff., is unknown to Valetton; though it deserves discussion on account of its ingeniousness, and the fascination of the literary form in which it is presented. Valetton does well to point to the fact that Rothe, *Ilias*, p. 281, is driven to assume that the beginning of *Π* is interpolated. His treatment must, however, suffer from the inevitable comparison with the original and brilliant interpretation of the passages which has meanwhile been published by Bethe, *Homer I* 70 ff.

This leads to the alternative: either the *Πατρόκλεια*, or the *Πρεσβεία* with its pendant the *Μηνίδος ἀπόρρησις* was not part of the original *Achilleis*. Valetton's contribution is the rejection of the *Πατρόκλεια*. The general course of the poem, as he conceives it, was a defeat of the Greeks, now found in *Δ-O*, terminated by the setting of the sun, © 485 ff., a successful Embassy to Achilles, and the Renunciation of his Wrath as the close of the poem.

The hypothesis is about as unattractive as can well be imagined. Yet, if looked at in itself, simply as a problem in analysis, it must be pronounced possible. The conclusion I should draw from this and from the other analyses published in recent years is the need of controlling them by some more objective criteria. It is well to recall the words addressed by Wilhelm v. Humboldt to Wolf: "The *cardo rerum* lies in my opinion entirely in the fact that there will be differences of style, language, etc., in the *Iliad*". To them we may add that, thanks above all to the archaeological work inaugurated by Schliemann, we now have independently of the poem, a knowledge of the development of civilization about the shores of the Aegean, which may serve as a further check upon any attempt at analysis.

Such ideas are very curtly thrust aside by Valeton (pp. 172, 174), in a way that brings him into harmony with thoughts expressed by many unitarians—cf. most recently Shewan's industrious article, *The Oneness of the Homeric Language*, *Class. Phil.* X (1915) 151-65. The question is too vast for discussion here. I can merely record my conviction that more has already been accomplished than our unitarian friends realize. Bechtel's excellent book, for instance, is not to be discarded with a reference to a hypothesis that A is the latest part of the *Iliad* (especially not by one who has no faith in that hypothesis)—it is the hypothesis that must go. And furthermore, there is good ground for hope of progress in this direction. It will have to come slowly, with a distinction of what is reasonably certain, from what is probable, or merely possible. Otherwise it will not carry conviction. It will be impeded also by two difficulties: the necessity of clearing away some modern misunderstandings; and, what is much more difficult, the need of grappling as closely as possible with the problem of the corruption of the text in later antiquity.

Even at present we are in a position to test Valeton's hypothesis. Without going any further than the question of style—we may trust to the *ἄλογος αἰσθησις* to discriminate between I and T or between T and A; not to mention the finer but obvious differences between A and I. Valeton himself declares (p. 173) "*auctoribus nonnullarum Iliadis partium ut librorum Y-Ω, perlegentem vix fugere potest, sermonem epicum temporis decursu rigidiorum factum, ad mentem clare enuntiamdam non prorsus suffecisse*", quoting Ed. Meyer's, *Gesch. d. Altert.* II, p. 405, similar statement about T-Ω. Of the six books named by Meyer none produces this impression more strongly than T, and this fact alone is sufficient ground for rejecting Valeton's hypothesis. The stylistic impression can be confirmed by comparing Bechtel for the contract forms, and for the digamma, my article, *A. J. P.* XXXIII, p. 417.

Valeton's reconstruction of his *Achilleis*¹ in detail runs somewhat as follows. Up to B 49 as in our *Iliad* except that a mention (A 145-7) of Idomeneus, who does not figure in the original poem, has been interpolated, and perhaps the return of Chryseis. The *Διάπειρα* is set aside as referring to the tenth year of the war, and the poem resumes with B 442-83; the Catalogue is also an intrusion, and B 786-815. Γ 1-14 brings to a close this portion of the poem. Disregarding minor episodes ΓΔΕ are a unit, the same is true of ΖΗ; the second group is by a different hand but presupposes the former. The attitude of Zeus to Hera is so fundamentally different in Δ 5 ff. from what it is in A 517 ff. that it is impossible to assign

¹ Its text is printed, pp. 267-324, as an *Excursus*.

them to the same author. The *Κόλος μάχη* is also rejected because of the knowledge (474) of the *Πατρόκλεια*, and its indebtedness to all parts of the *Iliad*. The close of the book 485 ff. is the transition to the Embassy, and stood after the close of O in the original poem. For the *Δολώνεια* there is no room; but with A we resume the course of the Achilleis. The opening of that book (1-84) is rejected, and also of course 501-20, 575-848 the references to the *Πατρόκλεια*. With its close is involved the opening of the *Τειχομαχία*, which also assumes a ten years' duration of the war. The close of the battle begun in A is found in N 136-55, O 592-5, 653-8, 674-746 the only parts of NΞO regarded as coming from the Achilleis. Its termination is brought about by the setting of the sun © 485-565, which is followed by the Embassy, altered so as to make it successful (I 1-317, 344-7, 356-64, 378, 379, 388-92, 421-648. II 60-3, *νῦν δ' ἦτοι μὲν ἐγὼ παῦα χόλον· ὥς γὰρ ἄμεινον*, I 649, 656-63, 669-77,

*κεῖνος μνησθὼν ἐθέλει σβέσαι ἢ δὲ δέχεσθαι
δῶρα τὰ οἱ δώσεις· νόστιον δὲ ἐ θυμὸς ἀνώγει
ὅππως κεν νῆας τε σοῦ καὶ λαὸν Ἀχαιῶν.*

688-90, 712-3.) And finally, T 1-2, 40-208, 215-76, The Renunciation of the Wrath.

Some poet proposed to give a different account of the return of Achilles to the battle. For this purpose he cut away the ending of the poem—beginning © 485—and substituted the *Πατρόκλεια* with its necessary consequence the *Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσις*.¹ Certain inconsistencies were entailed by this procedure, but were either not observed or were accepted. The poem has afterwards been interpolated, and Valeton endeavors to determine its original extent which he defines, pp. 222 f. Ψ and Ω are later additions.

The fusion of the two poems was made by a *διασκευαστής* whose only contribution was the *Κόλος μάχη*. Many of the additions to the poem are older than his work, and Valeton thinks that for these the following order may be determined: bulk of ΓΔΕ, *Τειχοσκοπία*, wounding of Eurypylos, *Τειχομαχία*, the bulk of NΞO. Whether the *Διάπειρα* and the Catalogue are older or younger than © is uncertain; but the Catalogue is younger than the *Διάπειρα*, which NΞO surpass in age. Younger than the Catalogue are the battle of Achilles and Aineias, the mention of Asteropaios and the *Δολώνεια*, of which the last is younger than ©. Before the *Διάπειρα* is to be placed ZH which are, however, not equal to the *Τειχομαχία* in age.

To enter into a discussion of these details would be fruitless for one who cannot agree with the fundamental hypothesis of

¹A *Ἑκτορος ἀναίρεσις* is the necessary consequence to the *Πατρόκλεια*; that our X and the nucleus of II have the same origin, does not follow.

the author. Instead I may call attention to the remaining section of this portion of the book, pp. 243-59, which is devoted to a refutation of the arguments intended to exclude all hypotheses that assume a plurality of authorship. Muelder, Rothe, van Leeuwen, and Bethe are the authors whose views are chiefly discussed; and the selection, though far from complete, is fairly typical. Some of the arguments stand or fall with Valeton's own hypothesis; but many of the other points are well taken, and deserve careful consideration. It is in my opinion the best portion of the book.

The remainder of the work, pp. 1-168, is devoted to a study in *Sagenverschiebung*. The Tale of Troy built up *sescentorum poetarum ope* is here traced back to some fourteen poems or cycles of poems, the subject matter of which, their place of origin and their relative chronology Valeton believes he can determine. Certain general convictions again forbid my entering upon a detailed discussion of his views. The Tale of Troy is undoubtedly very complex in its origin, and at times we do seem to get illuminating glimpses into the process of its growth—for instance in the combats of Idomeneus with Phaistos, of Tlepolemus with Sarpedon. But to believe that we can start from the Iliad alone and work out a solution of any considerable probability requires a faith in our powers of divination stronger than I can muster in view of the very tangled epic legends of other peoples—cf. Meier, p. 7 f.—which have been unravelled only in the light of historical information.

To attempt to simplify the problem—by supposing that the legends existed only in poetical form, that the growth of the saga was completed before the composition of the Achilleis, that the geographical horizon of the legends was necessarily limited, seems to me but shutting our speculations into bounds within which error alone can prevail. For each of these hypotheses, however convenient it may be, is in itself extremely improbable, to say the least.

Historical information we must have, and for it it is futile to look to late writers. We have seen theories built on that basis, and Crusius has shown how they crumple like houses built upon the sand. Hector of Thebes finds no favor in Valeton's eyes; Paris is still to be sure a Peloponnesian, but Aeneas of Gaza is not cited as proof. Ister, however, is quoted and Bethe's interpretation "Alexander, the Thessalian Paris" defended against Crusius; although it should be evident that Ister, whatever he may have said, is not a competent witness to the fact he is adduced to prove. It is to geography and archaeology that we must look for aid. Starting from this point, Mr. Leaf in his splendid book, *Troy, A Study in Homeric Geography* (1912) has gone far towards determining the nu-

cleus of historic fact around which the Trojan saga has grown. There are details in the book which may be questioned, but that the outlines at least of the Trojan legend are rooted in historical reality seems to me indisputable. That is the one firm point from which we can start, and it at once puts hypotheses such as Valeton's out of consideration.

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Zeus. A Study in Ancient Religion. Vol. i. Zeus, God of the Bright Sky. By ARTHUR BERNARD COOK. 8vo, xliii+885 pp. Cambridge University Press. \$13.50.

The last comprehensive monograph on Zeus was published by T. B. Emeric-David at Paris in 1833. Since that time a large amount of new material has come to light, which has been worked up in numerous discussions of various phases of the Zeus-religion. But for a comprehensive treatment of the whole subject we are dependent upon the summary accounts of Preller-Robert, *Griechische Mythologie* (1894), Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States* (vol. i, 1896), and Gruppe, *Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* (vol. ii, 1906). Mr. Cook now offers us a volume of over 900 pages by way of a first instalment with the promise of another volume that bids fair to be of equal magnitude.

In the earlier sections—the book has but one chapter—the author attempts to show that originally Zeus, 'the Bright One', was conceived 'not in anthropomorphic fashion as the bright sky-god, but simply as the bright sky itself'. In some cases the evidence which he presents in favour of this view is of very doubtful value. Then follows a discussion of the mountain-cults of Zeus. These can be classified in a roughly chronological order according as they involve a mere altar, or an altar with a statue of the god, or an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple. Of special interest is a series of cult-monuments in the form of rude thrones found on the tops of mountains in Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and even Greece itself. These were cut out of the living rock 'by some unknown people at some unknown date—possibly by the Hittites in the fourteenth and following centuries B. C.—' and later by the Greeks brought into connection with their own mountain-god.

The main topic of the book is 'Zeus in relation to the Sun', pp. 186-730. This is divided into sub-topics corresponding to the various objects that were popularly identified with the sun, viz., an eye, a wheel, a bird, a ram, a bull, and a bronze man.

These in turn are again subdivided with reference to the various myths or cults connected with these objects. In this maze of topics the reader will sometimes wonder what has become of Zeus. We follow, for instance, the course of the solar wheel for ninety pages through the varying fortunes of Ixion, typifying 'a whole series of Ixions, who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god'; of Triptolemos, whose wheeled seat was 'simply an early expression to denote the sun'; of Kirke, who 'began life as a solar hawk', and later, 'under the influence of folk-etymology may have been brought into connection with ideas of the solar circle'; of Medeia with her chariot and winged snakes; and of Nemesis, originally 'the Greek counterpart of the Italian Diana Nemorensis'—only to be told at the end that the only possible connection between Zeus and the wheel is to be found in the fact that a Celtic god, 'sometimes equated with the Roman Jupiter', is represented on several monuments as carrying a wheel, and that Tzetzes, a twelfth century commentator, explains the term *Gyrapsios*, 'He of the Round Wheel,' in Lykophron's *Alexandra* (l. 538) as a cult-title of Zeus.

The Ram does not suggest so many topics but shows more connection with Zeus. As the principal beast of a pastoral population and the obvious embodiment of procreative power, he becomes associated with the fertilizing sky-god, and with the all-generating sun thus supplying a *tertium comparationis* for bringing together the Hellenic Zeus and the barbaric sun-god, as is seen in the cults of Zeus Ammon and Zeus Sabazios. The Bull seems to have performed a like function in the case of Zeus Adados (Jupiter Heliopolitanus) and Zeus Dolichaios (Jupiter Dolichenus). In this section on 'the Sun and the Bull' (pp. 430-718) the author considers a long list of topics, ranging from 'the Labyrinth at Knossos', which he regards as an orchestra or arena for the performance of a mimetic dance, 'perhaps to be identified with the paved rectangular space near the north-west corner of the Cnossian palace', to the 'Origin of Tragedy', which he finds in the mimetic performances given at the Lenaia in commemoration of the birth (and passion) of Dionysos,—the City Dionysia, held ten months earlier in honor of his conception, giving rise to comedy.

Zeus as a moon-god appears only in quasi-Greek states. Even the conception of Zeus as the consort of the moon-goddess is restricted to certain well-defined areas and 'savours of non-Hellenic influence'. Occasionally, but not often, Zeus appears in Greek literature and art as god of the starry sky. As such he plays an important part in astronomy and astrology. The general relation of Zeus to the heavenly bodies is summed up in these words (p. 777):

'In short, Zeus was brought into close connection with any and every celestial luminary. But, though this is undoubtedly the case, it must be steadily borne in mind that genuine Hellenic religion never identified Zeus with sun or moon or star. If an inscription records the cult of Zeus Helios, if a coin represents Zeus with the moon on his head, if a myth tells of Zeus transforming himself into a star, we may be reasonably sure that inscription, coin, and myth alike belong to the Hellenistic age, when—as Cicero puts it—a Greek border was woven on to the barbarian robe'.

As compared with some recent works on Greek religion, the book shows a large measure of sanity and self-restraint on the part of its author. Scholars will doubtless differ with him as to the weight that should be given to some of the evidence that he presents. But it must be granted that in the main he has used his evidence with discretion and has been careful to indicate the varying degrees of certainty with which his conclusions are held. A significant feature of the book is its very complete presentation of the evidence under discussion. Inscriptions are invariably quoted; and monuments, coins, and other graphic representations are reproduced in 42 full-page plates and 569 minor illustrations. The second volume, which deals with 'Zeus god of the Dark Sky', is said to be already far advanced in the manuscript. We echo the author's hope that its publication will not be unduly delayed.

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Grammaire du Vieux Perse; A. MEILLET, *Paris*, 1915.

In his *Grammaire du Vieux Perse* Prof. Meillet presents an exhaustive and scholarly treatment of the Ancient Persian language, and his work is a contribution worthy of the author's many years of labor in the field of Comparative Philology. The introduction is devoted to an illuminating discussion of the ancient language in reference to the early and late dialects of the Iranian territory and the influence of formal and legal style on the Achaemenidan phraseology. It is reasonable to suppose that such examples of unexpected phonetic changes as *s* and *z* for the regular *θ* < I. E. *k* and *d* < I. E. *ǵ* show a borrowing from, or at least an admixture of, other dialect forms which became stereotyped in religious and official diction; e. g. *adānā*, 'he knew' (New Pers. *dānad*, Turfan MSS *dānēm*) < I. E. *ǵn-nā*- (Keller, K. Z. 39.159) but *-zana* in *paruzana*, *vispazana* from root *zan*, 'give birth' < I. E. *ǵen* where the *z* of the other dialects appears. The latter compound illustrates in addition to the *z* another non-Persian peculiarity *sp* in *vispa*, Vedic *viçva* 'all' for the regular *visa* as a single word and in the compound *visadahyu*. Formulaic influence is

seen in fixed expressions as the oft-recurring phrase *θātiy Dārayavauš xšāyathiya*, 'says Darius the King', in spite of the fact that in all other cases the ancient Persian word-order places the subject before the verb.

In his discussion of the phonetic system the author gives the consonantal rendering of the cuneiform syllabary instead of attempting to preserve its inherent syllabic function, e. g. *abrm* for *ab^{ra}ma*, *abaram* 'I bore'. The ambiguity of this syllabary allows, as is well known, a divergence of theories unless the form of a word can be positively fixed by etymology. It is therefore perfectly admissible for Prof. Meillet to incorporate his oft published opinion as to the vocalic value of the sign *ra*.

For many years the author has consistently advocated that the sign has the function of the Sanskrit *ṛ* in such forms as *ap^{ra}asam*, Skt. *prcchati*, Av. *parəsaiti*, New Pers. *pursam*; *k^{ra}ata*, Skt. *kṛta*; *vaz^{ra}raka*, New Pers. *buzurg*; *t^{ra}əsatiy*, Av. *tərəsaiti*; *ad^{ra}əšnauš*, Skt. *dhṛṣṇoti*; *ag^{ra}əbāyam*, Skt. *grbhāyati*; *uvām^{ra}əšiyu*, Skt. *mṛtyu*. This leads the author to postulate for initial *a* in *aršti*, 'spear', Skt. *ṛṣṭi*, and in the proper names *Aršāma*, *Artavardiya*, *Artaxšaθra*, the function of the Semitic aleph, e. g. 'ršti, 'ršāma, etc. His argument is largely based on the transliteration of the Persian *ra* through the Elamite *ir* in the case of proper names, and on its representation in the modern dialects, e. g. *ap^{ra}asam*, New Pers. *pursam*. With this theory the reviewer is not in sympathy. It seems in his judgment to lack sufficient phonetic data. The Elamite and Babylonian rendering of proper names in the Behistan Inscription is often inconsistent. It is interesting to note, for example, that Elam. *pir* seems to represent the *fa^{ra}* in Pers. *Fravarti* as well as the *pa-ar* in the Bab. equivalent *Pa-ar-u-mar-ti-iš*. Surely Prof. Meillet would not argue for Elam. transliteration *ir* as representing vocalic *ṛ* in this case. The author cites the change of *ra* to *ur* in New Persian as indicative of the vocalic character of the sign, but the modern dialects show *ur* < *ar*, e. g. Av. *taršna*, 'thirst', Sargoli, *tūr* (ī), Baluci, *tunnag*. So too the Indian dialects exhibit the same change, e. g. Skt. *mudgara*, 'club', Bangali, *mugur*; Skt. *manorama*, 'pleasing', Sinhalese, *manuramaka*, New Sinh. *manuburā*. In fact against the New Pers. examples in *ur* on which Prof. Meillet relies can be mustered such forms as Ossetic *farsum*, Tagaurish, *farsin*, derived from Anc. Pers. *ap^{ra}asam*; Afyān *marya*, 'bird', Oss. *mary* from Anc. Pers. **marəga*, Av. *mərəya*; New Pers. *tarsidan* from Anc. Pers. *tərəsatiy*, Av. *tərəsaiti*. Furthermore the Greek rendering of Persian proper names containing *ra* points to the sound *ar*, e. g. Ἀριοβαρζάνης, Pers. *ariya* + GAv. *vərəzāna*: Ἀράβατος, **arta*, Av. *arəta* + *pāta* 'protected by law'.

The author leaves lacunae to mark the cruxes of the inscriptions, e. g. *abicariš gaiṭāmā maniyamā viṭbišcā*, le et les biens et la maison et les, p. 199, where the interpretation of *gaiṭāmā maniyamā* is now settled through the phrase in the recently recovered Aramaic fragments נכסיהם ובתיהם 'their possessions and their houses' (Tolman PAPA. 42, 53.)

Professor Meillet approves the view that the inscriptions of the kings Artaxerxes II and III, were written by redactors not familiar with the Persian language, and the barbarous style of their monuments does much to justify this belief, but one should use with extreme caution the attractive 'ignorant scribe' theory lest it leave the way open for reckless critics to make the boldest conjectures even to the point of rewriting disputed portions of the text.

The undersigned feels that we see something of the unsafe influence of this method in the favor given the attempted 'emendation' *upariyāya*, Bh. I, 23 (accepted by Meillet, p. 30) for the clear reading *apariyāy* ^a on the stone.

The thorough treatment of the phenomena of the language by the author is evinced by the fact that from the meager data of the Achaemenidan inscriptions Professor Meillet presents a grammatical treatise of 232 pages which will remain forever of great value to all Iranian scholars.

H. C. TOLMAN.

VANDERBILT UNIVERSITY, August 12, 1915.

Herondae Mimiambi Novis Fragmentis Adiectis edidit OTTO CRUSIUS. Editio minor quinta aucta et correcta. Lipsiae in aedibus B. G. Teubner, 1914. Pp. 156. Geh. M. 2.40; geb. M. 2.80.

It speaks well for the vitality of classical studies, or at all events of philological interests, that four reworkings of the standard edition of this slight and difficult, though extremely interesting text should be required within less than a quarter of a century. It is indeed a standard edition, for rarely does it fall to the lot of an editor so thoroughly to master the whole field of activity of an ancient author as Crusius, through his profound knowledge of the fable, the proverb and the mime, has made Herondas, and all that concerns the *genre* by him represented, his parish. And a reworking it also is, no less, not a mere "new edition" to supply a gap in a publisher's stock. Almost every page manifests revision of judgment, enrichment of *apparatus*, *testimonia* and parallels, with here and there a new interpretation suggested, and the occasional inaccuracies of the fourth edition removed—everywhere in evidence the *δεύτεραι φροντίδες*.

As might have been expected, the changes in the text of Herondas himself are not numerous, for a *textus receptus* has finally been attained, yet with what an expenditure of ingenuity and erudition the elaborate *apparatus* gives mute but eloquent testimony. The few improvements upon the fourth edition, like $\xi(\chi)\omega$ for $\epsilon(\rho)\omega$ in II 15, or $\pi\acute{o}(\rho)vas$ for $\pi\acute{\epsilon}(\rho)vas$ in II 18, though substantial are hardly worth singling out for special comment. The *Ἀμφισβητήσιμα καὶ Ψευδεπίγραφα* are differently grouped, one new frg., No. 67 (from Photius) being added, and frg. 65 (ed. 4) now being recognized as belonging to Callimachus, since the publication of Pap. Oxyrh. 1011. An interesting aid to the appreciation of Horace Epod. XVII is given (p. 98) by the observation that theme and style are probably borrowed from some mimiamb. In the *Χαρίτιον* and the *Μοιχεύτρια* from Oxyrhynchus Crusius, gift of divination and felicitous supplement shows itself to the best advantage, and a brilliant piece of reconstruction has been accomplished. Even though we may never be sure that the supplements are correct, most, if not all, fully deserve to be.

Especially notable among the additions of new material in this edition are the *<Ἐπιδικαζομένη>* (cf. p. 121 for justification of the title), which appeared in the Archiv f. Papyrusforschung VI (1913); the Anonymus Hermopolites from Pap. Soc. Ital. 149; the Anonymus Marissaeus (an inscription from Marissa, first published in 1905); the *Κωμάζων* from an ostrakon (Mélanges Perrot); the abstract of an *<Ἀποκεκλειμένος>* from a neglected passage in Aristaenetus; the Mimi Clausula from Suetonius, Aug. 99 (cf. Philol. LXXIII, 320), which Crusius emends and restores in a convincing manner; and the *ΕΚΥΡΑ ΥΠΟΘΕΣΙΣ* from an ancient lamp—in all twenty-two pages of new matter as compared with the fourth edition.

The few slight typographical errors are nowhere disturbing, and all the more easily excusable as the condition of the editor's eyes made it necessary for him to call upon the assistance of friends for the proof-reading. The whole is not merely a standard work maintained at the forefront of science, but a real addition to knowledge and a broader and securer basis for renewed researches.

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REPORTS.

RHEINISCHES MUSEUM FUER PHILOGIE, Vol. LXX (1915),
1 and 2.

Pp. 1-41. Wilhelm Heraeus, ΠΡΟΠΕΙΝ. In Martial 12, 82, 11 all the editors read *Fumosae feret ipse tropin de faece lagonae*, whereas the reading of all the MSS is *propin*. *tropin* is the reading of the editio Romana (1473), and from this edition it passed into the Aldine (1501) and later editions. The word has been variously derived from *τροπήν* and *τρόπις*, and is translated "Bodensatz" in Friedlaender's edition. Heraeus proposes to restore the MS *propin* (i. e. *προπεῖν*, which arose from *προπιεῖν* in the same manner as *ὑγεία* from *ὑγίεια*, *ὑγεῖός* from *ὑγεινός*, *ἐπίκεια* from *ἐπιείκεια*, and *ταμείον* from *ταμείον*). In view of the widespread ignorance concerning the use of *πῖν*, *πίν* and their compounds, Heraeus has taken the pains to collect the scattered evidence, and to the marshaling and consideration of this evidence he has devoted pages 10-17. The key to the meaning of *propin* in the passage cited above is furnished by another Martial passage, 5, 78, 3, where *προπίνειν* does not mean "to drink to the health" (= *propinare*), but "to take an antepast" (of sweetened wine, or cold relishes, or both). *Fumosae feret ipse propin de faece lagonae* would therefore mean: "He himself will serve you with an antepast of the dregs of the smoky flask". Heraeus has also detected the word *propin* in Petronius 28, 3: *et cum plurimum rixantes effunderent, Trimalchio hoc suum propinasse dicebat*. *propinasse* is unsatisfactory and should be emended to *propin esse*. To these literary examples Heraeus would add CIL V 5272, lines 13 and 25, *oleum et propin*, and CIL V 4449, line 34, *oleo et prop* (abbreviation for *propin*), where *propin* and *prop* have heretofore been regarded as abbreviations of *propinationem* and *propinatione* respectively.

Pp. 42-55. H. F. Mueller, Glosseme und Dittographien in den Enneaden des Plotinos. The editor of the Weidmann text of Plotinus discusses a number of glosses and dittographies in Plotinus. He points out the danger of too great a conservatism in adhering to MS readings, and the corresponding danger of too great a haste in eliminating seeming dittographies. He incidentally corrects some of his own and of Volkmann's shortcomings in the constitution of the text.

Pp. 56-106. G. Funaioli, Scolii Filargiriani. The Scholia Bernensia ad Vergili Bucolica atque Georgica, the Explanatio

in *Bucolica Vergilii* and the *Brevis Expositio Vergilii Georgicorum* are all derived from a single collection of scholia, the bulk of which was composed by Philargyrius and the remainder by Servius. Hagen's failure to perceive this, and the generally unscientific nature of Hagen's edition of the Appendix Serviana, led Funaioli to undertake the task of preparing a new edition of the genuine scholia of Philargyrius. This work necessitated the examination of all the relevant MSS of the libraries of Europe, and the present article gives a statement of some of the results of these researches. The first part of the article is devoted 1) to an elaborate description of the MSS (eleven in number) upon which the new edition of Philargyrius is to be based; 2) to a briefer account of the other MSS (59 in number) that contain Philargyrian material, or the Donatian or the Bernensian Life of Vergil; and 3) to a still briefer enumeration of a number of MSS that contain other lives of Vergil. The second part gives a history of the Philargyrian recension from the earliest indications that are afforded by the Irish glosses of some of the MSS down to Brummer's *Vitae Vergilianae* (Lipsiae 1912), in which Brummer has printed under the name of Philargyrius a vita that is shown by Funaioli to be nothing but a medieval manipulation of the Donatian vita.

Pp. 107-144. Josef Mesk, Lukians Timon. The article is an attempt to give a final answer to the much disputed question as to whether Lucian's Timon is based on a definite comedy or not. The author first takes up the arguments that have been advanced for and against the hypothesis of a comic model, and shows that there is not a single conclusive argument in favor of the positive side of the question, while there is much weight in some of the arguments on the negative side. In the next place, he analyses the thoughts, motifs, and technique of the Timon as compared with other Lucianic dialogues and brings out the fact that the essential elements of the form of the Timon and not a small portion of the material that entered into the composition of this dialogue are found in the earlier works of Lucian and reappear in his later works. Finally, the author traces Lucian's contributions to the legend of Timon, and, more especially, makes use of the inconsistency in the representation of the character of Timon that is revealed by a comparison of sections 31-40 with sections 1-6 and 41 ff., to show that the whole philosophic discussion on the value of poverty that is comprised in sections 31-40 is a distinctly Lucianic addition. These threefold results have led Mesk to the conclusion that the basis of the Timon was not a comedy but the legend of Timon, which, with reminiscences from old and new comedy and from the works of Menippus was moulded by Lucian into the dramatic form of a Menippean dialogue.

Pp. 145-160. *Miszellen*. P. 145. J. M. Stahl, *Βάους* und *βάδην*. Use of the two words as hunting terms. Pp. 145-7, W. Schmid, *Zu Kallimachos Epigr. 28 u. 52*. In 28 the comma belongs after *ἤχῳ*, not before. The Theocritus of 52 is the poet Theocritus. Pp. 147-9. M. Wallies, *Zur doppelten Rezension des siebenten Buches der aristotelischen Physik*. Interpretation of 242 a 18 sq. and 247 b 1 sq. Pp. 149-151. Wilhelm Heraeus, *Priapeum XXXII*. At verse 7, read *cui suco caret os putrisque pulmo*. Pp. 151-5. Carl Weyman, *Zu lateinischen Schriftstellern*. 1. *Hor. carm. I 3, 29 ff.* 2. *Sen. De prov. 3, 12, medicamentum immortalitatis*. 3. *Ambros. comm. Luc. IV 64 p. 171, 7 ff.* (Schenkl), *vale . . . amicum lumen*. 4. *Prud. Peristeph. VIII, ipse loci est dominus*. 5. *Isidor. epigr. Hieronym. v. 3* (Quellen u. Unters. z. lat. Philol. des Mittelalt. IV 2, p. 160). 6. *Sententiae Varronis, 45* (Germann, *Studien z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Altert. III 6, p. 33*). 7. In L. Baur, *Die philosophischen Werke des Rob. Grosseteste, Bischofs von Lincoln, p. 285, 8 f.*, the name *Sicius* stands for *Esicius* or *Isicius* i. e. *Hesychius*. Pp. 155 f. A. Abt, *Die älteste Darstellung eines Skeletts*. Pp. 156-160. A. Brinkmann, *Lueckenbuesser*. 17. In *Texte u. Untersuch. 37, 2, p. 152*, *Dobschuetz' κομῳάτῳ* must be rejected; the MS *μητάτῳ* (v. l. *μῑτάτῳ*) (=Lat. *metatum*) is correct. 18. A list of improved readings of the text of *Arethas' encomium on the Edessene confessors*. 19. Discussion of the MSS of the *Miracula S. Georgii* apropos of Aufhauser's edition.

Pp. 161-223. Friedrich Wilhelm, *Die Oeconomica der Neupythagoreer Bryson, Kallikratidas, Periktione, Phintys*. The fragments of Bryson, Kallikratidas, and Periktione may now be consulted most conveniently in the Wachsmuth-Hense *Stobaeus*, vol. 5, pp. 680-693, and those of Phintys in vol. 4, pp. 588-593. Wilhelm presents a minute analysis of these fragments with a copious supply of parallel passages. The treatises in question were probably lectures originally, and the authors' names, which are those of members of the early Pythagorean school, are fictitious and were added at the time of publication. Though products of the Neo-Pythagorean school these works contain precipitates of the early oeconomic literature. Bryson shows a predilection for Peripatetic material; Kallikratidas draws upon Platonic and Stoic sources as well; Periktione, while borrowing most extensively from Stoic sources, reveals other elements also, among them some of Epicurean origin; Phintys favors Peripatetic and Stoic elements alike. They are all eclectics but show no distinctively Neo-Platonic features. The use of the Doric and Ionic dialects in these writings argues against an early date, for the literary revival of these dialects belongs to the second century of our era.

Pp. 224-252. Thomas Stangl, *Lactantiana*. This is the first instalment of a series of critical, grammatical, and stylistic notes, which, as the author says, are to serve as a contribution to the revision of Samuel Brandt's text of Lactantius published in vols. XIX, XXVII 1 and XXVII 2 of the Vienna corpus. The present instalment comprises thirty-eight notes on the *Divinae institutiones* and six notes on the *Institutionum epitome*.

Pp. 253-314. Th. Birt, *Die Fuenfzahl und die Properz-chronologie*. The prevailing chronology of Propertius' life and writings is impossible. As a matter of fact, he was born in the year 56 or 57 B. C.—not, as is commonly supposed, about 49 B. C.—and he died about the age of forty. Propertius wrote his first poem in 40 B. C. so that his literary activity began almost contemporaneously with that of Vergil and Horace, and preceded that of Tibullus. But for a long time after Vergil and Horace had given their allegiance to Octavian, Propertius held aloof. Finally, in 32 B. C., the publication of the *monobiblos* won for Propertius the sympathy and the admiration of critics, and, soon after, the fall of Marc Antony enabled him to make a change of party and to become a good "Augustan". Hitherto the years 40-30 B. C. that separate Gallus from Tibullus seemed to constitute a gap in the history of Roman elegy, but this gap is now seen to be filled by the twenty-two elegies of Propertius' *monobiblos*. The poet's friendship with Lycinna and Cynthia belongs to the early period of his youth. As Cynthia doubtless lived at Rome, Lycinna must have lived there also. Propertius must have come to Rome in 42 or 41 B. C., immediately after leaving the boys' school. Though at first intending to prepare for an oratorical career, he soon devoted himself to writing poetry (IV 1, 133 f.). His intimacy with Cynthia did not last longer than three years. The comparison of III 15, 7 with III 24, 23 shows that in the latter passage five is a round number. While it is impossible to give exact dates for the period of the love experiences described by Propertius, they probably fall between the years 41 and 38 B. C. All of the books but the first, and even a portion of that, were composed after Propertius had broken off his relations with Cynthia. Cynthia is rightly made to say in IV 7, 50, *longa mea in libris regna fuere tuis*. The sway referred to was a sway of the pen, not a sway of the heart. In fact, elegy IV 8, the most realistic of all the elegies, is the latest in time of composition, and the most remote from the period of the actual association of the lovers.

Pp. 315-325. Franz Ruehl, *Die griechischen Briefe des Brutus*. The article is mainly a refutation of the arguments of Marcks against the genuineness of the Greek letters of

Brutus. The argument that the letters are unworthy of a general and that, in particular, the letters to the Bithynians are ridiculous, Ruehl condemns as purely subjective reasoning. The argument that the letters yield no historical information is answered by the statement that the specific matter of the letters is just what one would expect to find in the letters of a general. The alleged inconsistencies in the letters to the Coans and in the letters to the Cyzicenes are shown not to exist. The lack of agreement between a few of the letters of Brutus and the tradition of Plutarch and Appian is demonstrated to have no bearing on the question of genuineness. The author feels that arguments of a far more serious character must be advanced to establish the spuriousness of the letters in question.

Pp. 326-336. *Miszellen*. P. 326. J. M. Stahl, Zu Sophokles Elektra. The meaning of ὦδ' (v. 43) was intended to be made clear by a gesture. Pp. 328-330. K. Preisendanz, Zu drei Epigrammen der Anth. Pal. In XI, 305 read θρέμμ' ἀκορίης for θρέμμα μορίης. VI 332, 2 for δοῦα λίτα πολυδαίδαλα read λίτα δοί' ἃ πολυδαίδαλα. XII, 168 for φερεκάστου read φέρ' ἐκάστου (= ἐκατέρου). Pp. 331-334. L. Radermacher, Ἀφροδίσιον. Fl. Petr. Pap. III 42, H 7 (= Witkowski, Epistulae pr. gr.² 5), ἀφροδίσιον means 'gift offered on the occasion of the Ἀρσινόεια'. Cf. Plutarch. Thes. 21, where ἀφροδίσιον is 'wedding-gift'. Pp. 334 f. W. Meyer-Luebbe, Lateinisch *baia* "Hafen"? *Baia* in the sense of 'bay' is to be struck from the lat. lexica. Isidore's gloss XIV, 8, 40 is based upon an imperfect understanding of Servius on Vergil, IX 707. Pp. 335 f. A. Brinkmann, Lueckenbuesser. Notes on Choricus.

C. W. E. MILLER.

PHILOLOGUS. Bd. LXXIII (N. F. Bd. XXVII), 1914. Heft 1-2.

I, pp. 1-18. M. Boas, Die Sylloge Rufiniana. The epigrams of Rufinus constitute about a third of Book V, 1-102 of the Anthologia Palatina. Epigrams 1 and 102 are by Rufinus and correspond in their phraseology. Kephala excerpted the Rufinian collection before his other sources; he used it only in this section and interspersed epigrams by other poets. The list of Rufinian epigrams as revised by Boas includes: 1, 8, 10-11, 13-14, 17-18, 20-21, 25-27, 34-35, 40, 42, 46-47, (49), 53-55, 59-61, 65, 68-69, 72-75, 86-87, (88-89), 91-93, (94), 96-97, 102. As it cannot be proved that Martial I, 57 was modeled on ep. 41, and as in any case ep. 41 appears not to have belonged to the Rufinian core of Book V, our only point for the dating of Rufinus is the fact that Ausonius' ep. 12

(p. 199 S) is modeled on A. P. V 20, and ep. 83 (p. 218 S) on V 87.

II. pp. 19-60. J. Baunack. Hesychiana III. Continued from Philologus LXX. 353-396. 449-491 and Xenia Nicolaitana (1912 Teubner) pp. 59-108.) Critical studies of some of the corrupt lemmata and glosses. Concluded on pp. 180-236.

III. pp. 61-108. A. Berger. Streifzüge durch das römische Sklavenrecht. I. Frag. Vat. § 71 b and Dig. 7, 1, 21. As to the acquisition of ownership of property received as inheritance or legacy by a servus fructuarius. Mommsen's reconstruction of the fragments will not hold. Berger argues for: nunc videndum, si fructus servi legatus sit, quid contineatur legato. Quidquid is ex opera sua acquirit vel ex re fructuarii ad eum pertinet sive mancipio accipiat sive stipuletur; quidquid autem extra has duas causas acquirit, proprietario acquirit. Et si heres instituatur vel legatum accipiat, puto proprietario quaeri, quamvis Labeo distinguat, cuius gratia heres institutus sit vel legatum acceperit. Furthermore the passage in Digest 7, 1, 21 is shown to suffer from interpolation. The Justinian compilers restored to honor a solitary opinion of Labeo discarded by the classical jurists. The *evidens voluntas testatoris* was a favorite maxim of the Justinian law; a Justinian constitution (C. 6, 30, 21) covering a special case (where a slave, for whom a *liberalis causa* was pending, was named as heir) may have had some influence on the interpolation. II. Schenkungserwerb des servus fructuarius. A gift to a servus fructuarius was treated as in the analogous cases of inheritance and legacy. But the compilers of Dig. 7, 1, 22, Ulpian lib. 18 ad Lab. in this case also interpolated a distinction made by Labeo as to the intention of the donor and accepted in the Justinian law. III. Erbschafts- und Vermächtniserwerb des Dotalsklaven. Another analogous case is that of acquisition of ownership of an inheritance or legacy left to a servus dotalis. The guiding principle was Ulpian. Dig. 15, 1, 19, 1, which obtained even after the reform of the dowry laws by the constitution of Justinian. But a legacy to a servus dotalis (Paul. Dig. 25, 5, 3 pr.) belonged to the *dos*. Hence in Julian. Dig. 29, 2, 45, § 1, the last clause is contradictory. A gloss beginning with an abbreviated *quia* or *quoniam* crept into the text with *quamvis*.

IV. pp. 109-121. G. Kafka, Zu J. Adams Erklärung der Platonischen Zahl. All the data in Plato, Rep. VIII 546 B refer to a single value. Expressed algebraically, $Z = (x^2)^2 = x \cdot x \cdot x \cdot x = (3 \cdot 4 \cdot 5)^4 = y^2 \cdot 100^2 = [100(7^2 - 1)] \cdot (100 \cdot 3^2) = [100(\sqrt{50^2} - 2)] \cdot (100 \cdot 3^2) = 12\,960\,000$. Hilprecht (The Babylonian Expedition of the Univ. of Pennsylvania, Series A, Vol. XX, 1, 1906) shows that this number had the same cos-

mological significance in the Babylonian sexagesimal system. 12,960,000 days make 36,000 years, the Babylonian cycle. Plato (Rep. X, 615 B) assumes the duration of human life to be 100 years or 36,000 days. Hence a day in the life of man corresponds to a year in the life of the universe. Among the Pythagoreans 10 and 4 were perfect numbers. 10000 or $(10)^4$ would then appear to be in even higher degree a complete number. If we consider that Plato regarded 10000 as an especially important number for the soul (Phaedrus, 248 C, Rep. X, 615 A ff.) it may be that he intended $(10)^4$ as "ruler" of the immortal, "the divinely begotten" and $(60)^4$ as "ruler" of the mortal or "man-begotten", and so to establish a metaphysical differentiation of value between the decimal and the sexagesimal systems. Perhaps this distinction was to lead to the acceptance of the latter for applied, the former for pure mathematics. Kafka translates on p. 120 the puzzling passage (Rep. VIII, 546 B) and expresses the number in algebraic symbols.

V, pp. 122-153. Th. O. H. Achelis. De Aristophanis Byzantii argumentis fabularum, III. The preceding sections were published in Philol. 72, pp. 414-441, 518-545. The following points are considered: the evidence of the argumenta for the names of tragedies presented on the same occasion; the order of the victors; the number of the play; the title; the choregus; the actors; a second edition of the play; literary comments, index etc. *ὑπόθεσις* differs from *κεφάλαιον*: est vero illud *κεφάλαιον* ita institutum, ut primarii fabulae casus substantivis enumerarentur. The categories treated in the argumenta are: *ὑπόθεσις*, *οικονομία*, *σκοπός*, *πρόλογος*, *σκηνή*, *χορός*, *διδασκαλικά*. The arguments which may safely be ascribed to Aristophanes of Byzantium are: Prom., Septem, Eumen., III Oed. Tyr., I Ant., II Phil., II Med., II Alc., II Bacch., II Or., III Phoen., II Rhesus. Argumenta by Ar. Byz. are extant for only those plays of Euripides which had scholia, i. e. they were intended for scholars, and not the general public. Wilamowitz (Herakles I, p. 145) wrongly maintained the opposite view.

Miscellen.

I. pp. 154-156. A. Müller. Zur Verwendung der Musik im römischen Heer. Behn (Mainzer Zeitschrift VII, 1912, pp. 32-47) is wrong in saying that music was used exclusively for giving signals, as the following passages show: Suet. Vitell. 11 and Tib. 37; Ammian. 16, 12, 7; 19, 6, 9; 24, 6, 10; Dio Cass. 56, 22; Libanius' Autobiography I, p. 42 R.; Appian. Pun. 66; Plutarch. Aemil. Scaur. 33; Appian. B. C. I, 105; and Seneca Apocol. 12. March music was used in triumphal and funeral processions.

2. p. 156. Th. O. H. Achelis. *Ad Epiphanium*. Panar. haer. LI (II, p. 483 Dind.) read *ἐλπίσαντες*.

3. p. 157. K. Lincke. *Zu Aeneas Tacticus*. In c. 40 § 2, S. 68, 10 f. (ed. Hercher) read *τῶν μὲν ἐν τῇ πόλει τεθνηκότων*.

4. pp. 157-158. G. Esau. *Zu dem lat.-griech.-kopt. Gesprächsbuch* (Klio XIII). Schubert should have compared this papyrus leaf of the 6th century with the colloquia in C. Gl. L. vol. III, especially with the coll. Montipessulanum, which exhibits the same form and similar phrases. The fragment probably began: *Quis ostium pulsat?*

5. pp. 158-159. L. Steinberger. *Zur Tabula Peutingeriana*. The station *Coveliacas* is probably *Cavaglià*, northwest of *Vercelli*, which appears in the year 1248 and 1259 as *Cabaliacha*, *Cabaliaca*.

6. pp. 159-160. W. Anderson. *Die Meleagrossage bei den Tschuwaschen*. This Turco-Tartar tribe has a legend that a child would live until a firebrand snatched from the fire at his birth was consumed. How they got the legend cannot be determined. Mere coincidence seems unlikely.

VI, pp. 161-179. V. Coulon. *Textkritisches zu Aristophanes*. Fuller discussion of passages emended in his new critical edition.

VII, pp. 180-236. J. Baunack. *Hesychiana*. Conclusion of the studies referred to on pp. 19-60. An index of about 700 words discussed is given on pp. 233-236.

VIII, pp. 237-243. C. Ritter. *Kleinigkeiten zu Thales, Herakleitos, Gorgias*. 1. The saying, *τὴν ψυχὴν φύσιν ἀεικίνητον ἢ αὐτοκίνητον*, attributed to Thales (cf. Diels, *Doxographi Gr.*, 386a), should have been listed by Diels (*Vorsokratiker*) among the sayings of Thales, and by Gilbert in his review of Diels, and cited by Schanz and Vollgraff in their editions of the *Phaedrus* (245 C). 2. The correct reading of Herakleitos fr. 26 (Diels, *Vorsokratiker*, 2d ed., p. 66) requires the omission of the first *ὅψις*. 3. In Herakleitos fr. 51 read *παλίντροπος*. 4. Where Gorgias (Diels II 239 and 547) explains as the cause of his longevity: *τὸ μηδὲν πώποτε ἑτέρου ἐνεκεν πεποιηκέναι*, the egotism is to be understood as meaning that Gorgias never allowed himself or his principles to be moved by the interference of others.

IX, pp. 244-252. H. Wegehaupt. *Planudes und Plutarch*. *Codex Ambrosianus C 126* is an older form of Planudes' recension of Plutarch's *Moralia*. One of the scribes was *Johannes Zaridas*, a pupil of Planudes, at the time of his deepest interest in Plutarch. The other scribes were probably also pupils of Planudes who personally directed the copying and

emended difficult passages. Almost all known copies belong to the 14th century. Nikephoros owned the MS after Planudes. In the beginning of the 15th century it was in Padua in the possession of Magister Pax. In the 16th century Leonicus Thomaeus and others studied it. It passed from the hands of Joh. Vinc. Pinelli in 1601 into the possession of Cardinal F. Borromeo and thence to the Ambrosian Library.

X, pp. 253-273. P. Lehmann. Cassiodorstudien. V (continued from Philol. 71, 278-299; 72, 503-517). Ein mittelalterliches Compendium der Institutiones divinarum litterarum. The surprisingly small influence of the Institutiones on theological study even in the Carolingian period is reflected in the medieval manuals of spiritual instruction. One case is to be found in Cod. Vat. Lat. 4955 from the Benedictine cloister of S. Sophia at Benevento, fol. 140^{RA}-143^{RB}, in a Beneventan hand of the eleventh century. It is printed in full for the first time on pp. 255-271. The title is: De expositoribus divinae legis et de auctoribus a Christianis perlegendis libri III. It continues the Institutiones, was written in Italy long after Cassiodorus, as Beda and Alchvine are quoted, and possibly by Landulfus, mentioned on fol. 209^v.

XI, pp. 274-288. W. Kroll. Die Grabschrift der Allia Potestas. The metrical inscription of fifty-two verses, partly hexameter, partly elegiac, found in Rome in 1912, is printed with a commentary. A. Allius had the inscription erected to his freedwoman, Potestas (i. e. Dynamis) of Perusia. Kroll believes she was the wife of Allius. Allius wrote wretched verse and borrowed freely from Ovid. We owe it to his lack of good taste that he strikes notes rarely heard in the verse of Roman epitaphs.

XII, pp. 289-301. L. Gurlitt. Die Allia-Inschrift. Gurlitt offers a verse translation. He differs from Kroll on several points. Allia was not the wife of Allius. The *duo amantes* of vs. 28 are her own lovers, not sons. She was in appearance like Gudrun and perhaps of royal blood and certainly German! She was a slave and *femme soutenue*, living with Allius and his friend in beautiful friendship. Gurlitt agrees with C. Pascal that it was a case of polyandry, confessed with a certain naïveté. The mythology of the poem was derived from the stage, and the Ovidian snatches were probably current among the people. Allius incidentally portrays himself as a coarse goodnatured parvenu, who had no more interest in life after Allia's death.

XIII, pp. 302-317. E. Müller-Graupa. Mapalia. Sallust B. Jug. 18 describes the mapalia of the nomadic Berber tribes as though from personal observation: ceterum adhuc aedificia

Numidarum agrestium quae mapalia illi vocant, oblonga incurvis lateribus tecta quasi navium carinae sunt. Lateribus means 'sides' not 'bricks'. The word mapalia has three meanings in ancient literature: 1) a tent of wool, camel's hair, skins etc., such as the Nomads carried on their wagons; 2) a hut of woven work, now called gurbi; 3) a Berber encampment or village, the modern duar. Latera is a technical term in ancient naval architecture, and like τοῖχοι, means the sides of a ship. Tissot, Géographie comparée de la province Romaine d'Afrique (1884) I 480 observes: Le toit des gourbis berbères des environs de Tanger affecte encore la courbe des flancs d'un navire. Daremberg-Saglio shows such a hut from a sarcophagus found at Philippeville. Mapalia is connected with mappa and meant linen-tents. Quint. I, 5, 57 calls mappa a Punic word.

Miscellen.

7. pp. 318-319. S. B. Kugéas. Maximos Planudes und Juvenal. Four MSS of Max. Planudes' Greek translation of Boethius, De Consol. Phil. II, 5 have in a marginal scholium Juv. X, 19-22 from a Greek translation of Juvenal, probably by Planudes, which shows skill and spirit. If the translation were ever recovered, it might offer many new readings,

8. p. 320. O. Crusius. Ultima vox Augusti (Suet. II, 99). The true reading according to Crusius is:

ἐπεὶ δ' ἐπαίχθη μοι καλῶς τὸ παίγνιον,
δότε κρότον καὶ πάντες ἡμᾶς μετὰ χαρᾶς προπέμψατε.

Such verses would be like the *clausula mimi*. In the Oxyrhynchos 'Charition' occurs such an iambic trimeter followed by a trochaic tetrameter. Augustus improvised these verses, as if to say: *nemo me lacrumis decoret!*

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BRIEF MENTION.

One of our most highly esteemed contemporaries—to use a consecrated phrase—gives up every week a page to innocent merriment, if according to Proverbs any merriment is innocent. It is a bad plan to have a ‘funny column’, whether it ‘bangs creation’ or not, and the ‘lines’ that are forced out ‘of a jester’s notebook’, like tooth-paste from a tube, never fail to plunge me into a profound melancholy, due, as my enemies might say, to the collapse of my own essays in the world of bubbles. Just a quarter of a century has passed since a super-fine British reviewer informed me that when I adopted the lighter style, I failed both in humour and in charm. No wonder, then, that the pain was renewed when I read not long ago in Wells’s *George Moon* the profane but effective exclamation, *Scholastic humour, O God!* Scholastic humour is humour that requires the background of scholarship, a massive old wall on which the sickly sunlight is to play, and nowadays there is only a ‘bowing wall and a tottering fence’. In fact, there is no wall, no fence, and the cryptic jokes the scholasticus intended for the amusement of the esoterics fail for lack of a reflecting surface. Some years ago a writer was brought sharply to book for shewing that he was familiar with Scott, and I have known my own allusions to Dickens to perish in the inane. Indeed, all allusions are barred by the wider range of the public, and the increasing periphery of ignorance. Elusive humour is left to the eluder himself, and a keen sense of humour, as George Meredith has pointed out, dooms the humorist for the most part to a solitary chuckle. Of course, a professional comedian keeps the student on the alert. Aristophanes continues to furnish a host of problems, and a German scholar, Carl Holzinger, has gained considerable repute by his resolute search in the dim recesses of Aristophanes’ plays on words. Attic law required the searcher for stolen goods to strip himself for his task. Unfortunately, the German too often fails to lay aside his ‘Pickelhaube’ and his ‘Gamaschen’. Plato, however, as eluder or as alluder, is in my judgment one of the loneliest of souls. There is no guffaw in Plato except dramatically. He despises the loud laugh that speaks the vacant mind. The smile that plays about the lips of the Zeus of Greek literature in the heyday of his power is hidden deep in his ambrosial beard. He wrote one farce, the *Euthydemus*, to shew that he could write a farce, and then he stinted.

In the Laws the humour is grim. Plato is old. Perhaps he had to keep Philip of Opus awake. Perhaps he had grown weary of the pawkiness of Sokrates, the file-leader of the 'Quid est?' quiz. Among the various speculations as to the amusements of those who dwell in limbo, such as Pindar's blessed spirits indulged in, nothing could be more diverting to minds of a certain order than Plato's supposed comments on the interpretation of his Cratylus. And this reminds me of the use Mr. GARROD has recently made in the *Classical Quarterly* of one of Plato's mock etymologies. ἀλοχος means 'bed-fellow'. Theoretically it ought to be of both genders, but it is a tribute to Ionic wholesomeness that it is feminine only, except to Professor Buchholz, who wrote a book on Homerische Realien. But if anything is real, it is a bed-fellow. What was Buchholz thinking of? Perhaps the learned German was thinking of Catullus' 'Concubine'. Perhaps he was not thinking at all, as sometimes happens even to learned Germans. Now it is not in the Cratylus that Plato has his jest about ἀλοχος but in the Theaetetus, and this may have thrown Mr. GARROD off the track. In the Theat. 149 B, Plato says: αἰτίαν δὲ τούτου <τοῦ τὰς μαίας ἤδη ἀδυνάτους οὔσας τίκτειν ἄλλας μαιεύεσθαι> φασὶν εἶναι τὴν Ἄρτεμιν, ὅτι ἀλοχος οὔσα τὴν λοχείαν εἴληχε. That Theaetetus does not protest against the etymology is part of the fun. He is simply bewildered. It is a jest like the etymology of Σελήνη (Cratyl. 409 B), one of the manifestations of Artemis. It is a joke of which Pindar was incapable, and yet Mr. GARROD fancies that he has thrown a new and beautiful light on a famous passage of Pindar by assuming the Platonic significance of ἀλοχος in O. 10 (11), 94: ἀλλ' ὥτε παῖς ἐξ ἀλόχου πατρὶ | ποθεινὸς ἱκοντι νεότατος τὸ πάλιν ἤδη, | μάλα δὲ οἱ θερμαίνει φιλότατι νόον. If the old gentleman of Pindar's comparison had learned to distrust his powers, he ought to have chosen a mate who had proved her resources. Mr. GARROD's new interpretation has brought the same joy to me as Mr. Fennell's comment on N. I, where Pindar's hero is illustrated by Molière's Amphitryon (A. J. P. XXVI 361). In both cases I share the delighted astonishment of the putative father of Herakles, ἔσταν δὲ θάμβει δυσφόρῳ τερπνῷ τε μυχθεῖς.

Fulsere vere candidi <mihi> soles—those days of 1880 in Oxford and Cambridge, when an American Hellenist, lonely all his professorial life as to his favorite studies, was admitted to the companionship of the foremost scholars of England. 'Candidi soles' but only in a figure, for it was in a pouring rain, as I have recorded elsewhere, that Robinson Ellis recited to me long passages from his beloved Petronius (A. J. P. XXXIV 496). A fine morning, however, fine in every sense of the word, was the morning I spent with Ingram Bywater

in his rooms at Exeter, part of the time pacing up and down the 'hortus conclusus' of the college and talking of Dion Chrysostomos, who was engaging my attention at the time. I recall his illuminating comment on an author whom he knew far better than I did, and how sharp was his dissidence from those English Grecians who never go farther down than Aristotle and heap scorn on the Graeculi. It was no surprise to me to find in the catalogue of his books a number of editions of Dion. No wonder that I remember gratefully his various courtesies to me on my occasional visits to England. I read and re-read with deepest interest the tributes paid to him in the last number of the *Journal of Philology*, of which he had been the editor. They reveal in a measure the wide interests of the scholar. They give some notion of his vast and accurate learning. They afford some glimpses of the man Bywater, which will waken precious memories in the minds of those who were privileged to know him. Bywater was so much more than the prince of Aristotelians that he was.

In the jubilee number of the *Nation*, published July 7 of this year, I mentioned among my memorable contributions—memorable at least to me—the account I gave in 1880 of my visit to Mill Hill:

Mill Hill, I said, the seat of the scriptorium presided over by Dr. Murray—now Sir James Murray, as our English friends never fail to add. It was the first account published (by an American), and as a trip to Mill Hill was in the nature of a pilgrimage, I was heartily welcomed by the illustrious editor <of the Philological Society's Dictionary, afterwards familiarly known as the Oxford Dictionary>, who accompanied me on my way to Hampstead, where I was to dine with another celebrity, Sweet. As we walked across fields, Dr. Murray (now Sir James) confided to me that the only people that took an interest in the English language were Scotchmen <perhaps he said 'Scots'> and Americans. Twenty-five years afterwards the Scot<chman> and the American were to meet at Oxford as old friends.

I had hoped that this reminiscence of our first meeting and our last would catch the eye of my warm-hearted friend, but a few days afterwards he lay dead (July 26), and he can hardly have seen the paragraph which I had written with his genial personality present to my mind. In 1881 I gave ample space to an announcement of the Oxford Dictionary, prepared by Professor ALBERT S. COOK (A. J. P. II 550-554), with a reproduction of a specimen page; and from the beginning (A. J. P. V 361-366) until now the progress of the great undertaking has been followed in the *Journal* year after year by Professor JAMES M. GARNETT, one of the earliest and most faithful contributors to the *Journal*. Owing to the multiplication of philological organs in America, the English element has not been so conspicuous in these pages as it might have been. It is natural that specialists should seek the company

of specialists, and yet no range of study can or ought to afford greater delight to those of us who are born to the heritage of that noble tongue which some German chauvinistes have lately called a piratical jargon, destined to eke out a forlorn existence in the recesses of that tight little island, soon to be made tighter by the iron ring of German supremacy. Of course, all sensible Germans laugh at such extravagances, and even those who look forward to the conquest of the world profess that they will graciously allow the natural unfolding of the national spirit in letters and art. As for me, I have frankly confessed that I am still a colonial in the matter of English, and if my language is not English, it is because I know no better; so that I was not a little amused when I came across a letter of Robinson Ellis's in which he informed me that he was about to turn over my little book 'Hellas and Hesperia' to Dr. Murray, as doubtless affording American material for the great dictionary. Another purist—if I may call myself one—a warm personal friend of Sir James and an indefatigable contributor to the stores of the great Oxford Dictionary, Professor HENRY E. SHEPHERD, has furnished the local press with a tribute to Sir James's life and work, an extract from which may fittingly close this notice, otherwise sadly inadequate.

"The foremost of our contemporary scholars in his critical as well as comprehensive knowledge of the origin and development of our native language, has passed from us while the colossal dictionary to which his life and his marvellous acquirements had been consecrated was approaching its final stage. A vague dread, a dim presentiment that he might not see the end, at times possessed him, and at all periods of the fast-speeding years he might be found at his accustomed place in the scriptorium with the coming of the morning light. In winter as in summer 6 A. M. saw the great researcher absorbed in his far-ranging labors. The Oxford Dictionary is unique in the history of lexicography. The number of contributors extends into the thousands, and embraces the most representative and enlightened culture, not of Europe alone, but of our own country. Yet with his unchallenged pre-eminence in his lofty sphere, our princely scholar was devoid of arrogance or assumption of infallibility, untouched by pedantry or by the loftiness of asserted superiority; accessible ever to counsel or suggestion, at no time impervious to ideas, and in his social as well as his professional relations distinguished without variation or caprice, by graciousness, sweetness and light.

And he was worthy; full of power;
As gentle, liberal-minded, great,
Consistent; wearing all that weight
Of learning lightly like a flower.

HENRY E. SHEPHERD".

July 28.

W. P. M.: Students of the Pastoral will be interested in a new edition of Boccaccio's *Buccolicum Carmen*, by GIACOMO LIDONNICI (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1914, 355 pp. L. 4.00). This professes to be a faithful copy of the "autografo Riccardiano", with some slight changes in punctuation and spelling. It is perhaps too faithful a copy; it even gives such readings as *secus*, III, 34 (for *secum*), *tins*, XV, 43 (for *tuis*), and prints at least two lines with the metre incomplete (III, 125, IX, 98). Pages 159-316 are devoted to a discussion of the allegory of the various eclogues and an attempt to fix their dates. The 'Olympia' is referred to the year 1363 or 1364. The editor seems to promise a second edition, with standardized spelling and other concessions to the convenience of the modern reader. May it be available soon.

Another book which should be mentioned here is a new edition of the *Ecloghe Miste* of Bernardino Baldi. This is carefully edited by DOMENICO CIAMPOLI, from a manuscript in the National Library at Naples. It is number 44 in the series 'Scrittori Nostri' (Lanciani: Carabba, 1914. L. 1.00). These 'mixed' eclogues are always mentioned in histories of the Pastoral, because the author, wishing to get away from the beaten paths, hit upon the idea of blending the manner of Virgil with that of Sannazaro, and introduced, "sometimes shepherds speaking with shepherds, sometimes fishermen with fishermen, sometimes fishermen with shepherds". But his new style was less of a novelty than he or his editors seem to have supposed. The sixth eclogue of Camoens is a dialogue between a shepherd and a fisherman. It is written in 'novo estylo', and is professedly a blending of the manner of Virgil with that of Sannazaro. And in the second eclogue of Antonio Ferreira the speakers are a fisherman and a shepherd.

LUIGI GRILLI. *Poeti umanisti maggiori* (Città di Castello: S. Lapi, 1914. 336 pp. L. 2.75). This is an attractive little volume of selections from the leading Latin poets of the Renaissance. The authors represented are Angelo Poliziano, Jacopo Sannazaro, and Giovanni Pontano. There is an introduction of 25 pages, and there are explanatory notes on the text, especially on the proper names. The selections are well chosen, and the text is reprinted from good editions. But there are too many misprints, and some of the notes are rather carelessly written. On p. 152 the name 'Craterides' has nothing to do with 'Crati, a river of Calabria'; it comes from 'Crater', a name of the Gulf of Naples. And on p. 155 'saxa Telebourn' surely means the island of Capri.

A CORRECTION.

To the Editor of The American Journal of Philology.

Sir:

In a recent number of *The American Journal of Philology* (Vol. XXXVI 3, July, August, September, 1915, page 369), G. L. H. in a review of "*The Gothic History of Jordanes*" (Princeton University Press, 1915) states: "its translator should have informed his uninitiated readers of its historical value as the only, if fragmentary form, in which Cassiodorus's lost work on an important factor in history, has been preserved". May I be permitted to call the reviewer's attention to my explicit statements made on pages 10 and 14: "the Gothic History of Cassiodorus, a large work of twelve books which Jordanes reduced to the small pamphlet which alone has survived"; "we must not underestimate our indebtedness to this ecclesiastic whose compiled work has become practically the sole authority for much of our information about the Goths, and notably for the Battle of the Catalaunian Plains (451 A. D.) and Attila's memorable defeat, so far-reaching in its consequences." The reviewer further remarks: "Perhaps he would have emphasized this important point if he had made use of the two best treatments of his author, which are to be found in Wattenbach's *Deutschlands Geschichtsquellen im Mittelalter* and Manitius's *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*". Of course these works were used, and the absence of their titles from the bibliography is sufficiently explained by footnote 1 on page 43: "This bibliography does not give references to such general works as the histories of literature by Ebert, Manitius and Teuffel, Wattenbach's *Geschichtsquellen*, or similar general source books".

Very sincerely yours,

CHARLES CHRISTOPHER MIEROW.

NOTICE.

The Editor of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF PHILOLOGY has great pleasure in announcing that Professor C. W. E. MILLER whose valuable help has been gratefully acknowledged from time to time will henceforth be permanently associated with him in the conduct of the Journal as Assistant Editor.

INDICULUS SYNTACTICUS.¹

In pursuance of a plan long entertained of gathering up and bringing into a reasonable compass what seemed to me the most important things I have had to say about the study of Greek Syntax, I proceeded to make for my own use an index of my deliverances in the Journal, a laborious task, a task for which I have little natural aptitude and one accomplished not without heartsinking. *Vitam perdidit, said a certain one, laboriose nihil agendo.* My own sum of doctrine for the teaching of beginners returned to plague me. It has been quoted not infrequently in the last forty years. Maximum of Forms, Minimum of Syntax, Early Contact with the Language in Mass. Precious little syntax does one need for what may be called the surface enjoyment of literature, and may it not be said here also that beauty is skin deep? How many of the languages that an average scholar reads, ay, and enjoys, does he know down to the finer subtleties of syntax? Is a man to be debarred from reading Cervantes in the original because he has not mastered a Johns Hopkins dissertation on the Moods in *Don Quijote*? The impatient reader might well cry out with Sancho: *en priesa me ves y doncellez me demandas.* Aesthetic syntax is just such a kittle thing as Sancho's impossibility.

And yet as I come to the end of things I am unrepentant. I survey the long course of my studies, and for once take myself seriously, as if that course were worth while. My first interest in Greek Syntax after I had passed the *béjaune* stage was practical, as I have set forth elsewhere. I tried to get a better formulation of the phenomena for the sake of my classes, and fancied that I succeeded here and there. Then there came, not all at once, the conviction of the importance of syntax for the appreciation of the various ranges of literature and the art of the individual. Finally all this formulation, all this classification, all this road-making, so to speak, seemed to bring me to the point where I could hope to gain some insight into the way in which the Greek spirit strove to work out the problems of architectural speech—historical syntax in the true sense of the word, not what passes for such, not the mechanical registry of the phenomena as they emerge in literature. The history of Greek syntax is the history of the soul

¹ In lieu of *Brief Mention*. Motto: *nec, ut soles, dabis iocos.*

of the Greek people. Of course, there are those who claim for themselves, or for others, immediate vision, those who see Hellenism face to face as the Logos beheld God, who write books on the Greek Genius without even a respectable knowledge of Greek. That immediate vision is denied to most of the students of the Greek language, and the poor brothers of the guild to which I belong must toil along the lines that so many have followed and have died without the sight. Even the best of us can only divine. For why? We know the ancient tongue only after it has passed into the stage of consciousness, and there is an impassable air-line between consciousness and sympathy. One cannot thrill to the still voice of the Hellene. Even the rude inscription involves reflective scratching of the head, biting of the nails, thrusting of the tongue in the cheek. The stone-cutter and the poetaster are of the same guild. Now, I have reason to believe that my work in the three lines indicated has interested a number of Hellenists, and as the indexes to my Justin Martyr and to my Pindar are fairly complete, I have fancied that I might do some slight service by incorporating in the Journal itself instead of retaining for my own use a list of my syntactical observations as they have been recorded in the thirty-six volumes which I have been permitted to complete. It is not likely that there will be any considerable additions to the number. In earlier days my righteous soul may have been vexed by the silent appropriation of the results of my work. The Greek *νεμεσῶν* is a legitimate feeling, but if I am not 'past feeling', like the Scriptural reprobate, that feeling is chiefly one of amusement at the claims of discovery that are put forward from time to time, partly, perhaps largely, from the fact that in reviewing the course of my decades of study I have found that what I had thought was my own achievement, may have been little more than reminiscence. *τὰ μὲν δ' ἐμά* is often a vain boast. If, however, these thirty-six volumes contain anything about Greek syntax that is really mine, any satisfactory formula, any new line of research, any fresh illustration, this index will not have been prepared in vain for those who sympathize with the studies of my many years.

As a youthful critic I noted with a boy's superiority how often Longfellow repeated the simile contained in the verses: As if Diana in her dreams | Had dropt her silver bow | Upon the meadows low. Many, many years afterwards I assigned as a seminary exercise Repetitions in Aristophanes. This number registers an article on Repetitions in ancient authors (p. 99). And now after a rapid survey of the Journal from the beginning I am in a position to indite a paper on Repetitions in *Brief Mention*. My consolation must be the company I have kept.

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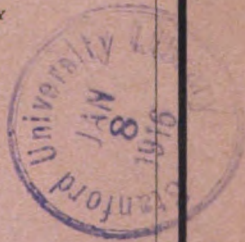
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